

COURAGE

Cultural Opposition: Understanding the Cultural Heritage of Dissent in the Former Socialist Countries

Country Reports



CZECH REPUBLIC

Authors

Michaela Kůželová

Miroslav Michela

Regensburg 2018



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 692919.

About the authors

Michaela Kůželová is a researcher
at the Institute of Czech History,
Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague
Michaela.Kuzelova@seznam.cz

Miroslav Michela is an Assistant Professor
at the Institute of Czech History,
Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague
miroslav.michela@ff. cuni.cz

To quote this report:

Michaela Kůželová, Miroslav Michela: "Czech Republic," COURAGE Country Reports. Regensburg, November 2018, DOI: http://doi.org/10.24389/cr_czechrepublic

Table of Content

1. Introduction.....	4
2. Background and framework	5
2.1 <i>Legislation and the political articulation of “dealing with the communist past”</i>	5
2.2 <i>Researching opposition under state socialism and afterwards</i>	7
2.3 <i>Institutions and the legal foundations of the preservation and interpretation of the past</i>	11
3. Analysis of the collections in the COURAGE Registry	13
3.1 <i>Typology</i>	13
3.2 <i>Themes, actors, users</i>	15
3.3 <i>Financial background</i>	17
4. Conclusion and Recommendations	18
5. Appendix.....	21
5.1 <i>Bibliography</i>	21
5.2 <i>List of Collections Described</i>	23
5.3 <i>List of Persons Researched</i>	25
5.4 <i>List of Persons Interviewed</i>	29
5.5 <i>List of Operating Institutions and Owners</i>	29

1. Introduction

The history of Czech and Slovak cultural opposition during the communist period is usually represented abroad through literary works and their authors. Among the most important and frequently translated authors is Václav Havel, the first post-communist president of Czechoslovakia and an important representative of the dissident movement. Like Havel, many dissidents became active in politics after the “Velvet Revolution”, and several of them became particularly influential. At the beginning of the 1990s, many unofficially distributed literary and musical works were published and became an iconic part of the recognized cultural production and anti-communist legacy of the new political order.

It is important to stress, however, that the types, actors and chronology of Czech and Slovak dissident cultures were quite different. Such divergences are also represented in the quality and range of historical scholarship on cultural opposition, dissent, and exile issues for the period 1948–1989 in the two successor states – the Czech and Slovak Republics. In the Czech Republic, topics relating to opposition and dissent enjoyed much more attention than in Slovakia. This information gap is also visible in the processing of opposition collections, a general understanding of the themes, and the public’s demands to deal with these issues. The differences are rooted in the different developments after the Second World War. After 1989 the most influential group was the so-called “sixty-eighters”. The generation affected by the atmosphere of the “Prague Spring” and “occupation” became of key importance. In his book about how the “Velvet Revolution” has been represented, James Krapfl pointed out that ordinary citizens from Czechoslovakia did not want to abolish socialism because of their strong identification with the ideals of reform socialism.¹ In post-communist Slovakia, in addition to the reform-socialist heritage, politics was heavily influenced by the Catholic and populist legacies maintained predominantly by the nationalist section of the Slovak community in exile.

As for the overall discourse concerning “communist rule”, two different periods of the suppression of non-official cultural production are usually identified in relation to Czechoslovak opposition activities and movements in the socialist era.² The first one, connected with the years of establishing communist rule in the country after 1948, is usually called the anti-communist resistance. The second period was the so-called Normalization, which followed the socialist attempts at reform in the 1960s and the Prague Spring in 1968. From the 1970s, any clear opposition inside the Communist Party was almost completely absent. On the other hand, civil opposition began to grow in various milieus, ranging from political-oriented intellectual opposition to alternative youth scenes. Such chronologies are, however, only a starting point towards a deeper understanding of the conceptual changes and

¹ Krapfl, *Revolution with a Human Face*.

² Blažek, “Typologie opozice a odporu proti komunistickému režimu,” 10–24; Tůma, “Czechoslovakia,” 29–49; Veber, *Třetí odboj ČSR v letech 1948-1953*.

various individual stories inside the composite groups of cultural opposition. Despite the decisive efforts of the state and party representatives towards cultural homogenization, not even the official culture represented a static, unified system. The boundaries between official culture and that which was forbidden or tolerated were flexible and sometimes not very easy to grasp.³

2. Background and framework

2.1 Legislation and the political articulation of “dealing with the communist past”

Apart from the rehabilitations and restitutions that were supposed to remedy past injustices, lustration became a major issue in the new politics of history in 1990. Czechoslovakia was the first post-communist country to introduce lustration legislation. An act which was ratified by the Federal Assembly in October 1991 banned the following groups from higher administration offices and public functions: former dignitaries of the Communist Party, members of the *Lidové milice* (People's Militia) and the *Státní bezpečnost* (State Security; StB), their secret collaborators, the alumni of certain Soviet universities, and other representatives of the former regime.⁴

Since 1993, Czechoslovakia has been divided into separate Czech and Slovak republics. The different development in the Czech and Slovak parts of the country was also visible in terms of their de-communization practices. The Czech Republic is generally considered as an example of the active de-communization process. In the Czech Republic these topics enjoyed much more attention, which is visible on an institutional level, in historiography, but also in public life. Divergences are also visible in the quality and range of historical scholarship on cultural opposition, dissent, and exile issues for the period 1948–1989. The "Act on the Unlawfulness of the Communist Regime and the Resistance against it (Nr. 198/1993 Coll.)", ratified by the Czech Parliament in July 1993, declared the former regime as illegitimate and worthy of condemnation, as opposed to the resistance against it – all forms of which were to be regarded as legitimate, morally warranted and respectable.⁵ According to this theory, the period of Czechoslovak communist rule from February 1948 to November 1989 was one of continuous totalitarian rule, an aberration from the “democratic traditions” set out in the interwar period and restored after 1989.⁶ As a result of this trend, in January 1995 the Úřad dokumentace a vyšetřování zločinů komunismu (Office for the Documentation and Prosecution of Communist Crimes; ÚDV) came into existence under the auspices of the

³ Alan, “Alternativní kultura jako sociologické téma,” 13.

⁴ Kopeček, “Czech Republic.”

⁵ Act on the Unlawfulness of the Communist Regime and the Resistance against it (Nr. 198/1993 Coll.) URL: <http://www.ustrcr.cz/data/pdf/normy/sb198-1993.pdf>.

⁶ Kopeček, “Czech Republic.”

Ministry of the Interior. This institution is still in existence and its objective is to “detect and prosecute crimes” committed in the above-mentioned period of 1948–1989.⁷ The office has documented hundreds of cases of crimes committed by the communist state administrative and political apparatus against its own citizens and describes the mechanisms of state terror and repression.

From the beginning of the 2000s, a new wave of politicizing the “communist past” began with an emphasis on the fact that de-communization had not yet finished in light of the success of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia in elections, and that a new politics of memory that strove to re-educate the nation about the “totalitarian past” was needed.⁸ In 2001 the government rejected the Senate amendment to the Act on the Declassification of State Security Files with a reference to inconsistencies with the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, the Personal Data Protection Act and the Lustration Act. In 2002, the law no. 149/1996 Coll. was amended by the relatively broad act 107/2002, which allowed the study of those materials to people over the age of 18.⁹

A very important institution, based on political will, was established by parliament in 2007 by its “own law” – no. 181/2007 Coll. concerning the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the Security Services Archive, to examine the era of communism and the Nazi occupation. Inspiration from similar “institutes of national memory”, especially in the Slovak Republic and Poland, can also be seen in its multi-task mission of science, education and popularization.¹⁰ Another result of the effective collaboration between the founders of the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes and right-wing politicians was the law no. 262/2011 Coll. concerning resistance fighters and resistance against communism, which was ratified and came into effect on the symbolic date of 17 November 2011, the anniversary of the “Velvet Revolution” in 1989. The aim of the law is defined as: “to express respect and gratitude to the women and men who actively defended the values of freedom and democracy during the communist totalitarian power with the deployment of their own lives, personal freedoms and property”.¹¹ People who had been engaged in the resistance were entitled to the status of war veterans and the social advantages and financial aid which went with that status. The legislative motion caused heated debate within the Czech Parliament. The implementation of the law and its practical consequences came with a significant increase in the administrative agenda – the result of which a special department was established in the Security Services Archives (Department of the Act no. 262/2011 Coll. concerning resistance

⁷ <http://www.policie.cz/clanek/urad-dokumentace-a-vysetrovani-zlocinu-komunismu-679905.aspx>

⁸ Kopeček, “Czech Republic.”

⁹ <https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/2002-107>

¹⁰ <https://www.ustrcr.cz/en/about-us/>; Kovanic, “Institutes of Memory in Slovakia and the Czech Republic – What Kind of Memory?,” 81–104; Sniegon, “Implementing Post-Communist National Memory in the Czech Republic and Slovakia,” 97–124.

¹¹ <https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/2011-262>

and resistance to communism). According to information from the website of the Ministry of Defence from 30 July 2018, more than 1,600 people have been recognized for their activities.¹² The above-mentioned legislative measures were strongly linked to the political atmosphere within Czech political culture. The politicization was visible in various forms of mobilizing the media, usually framed by the strong anti-communist attitudes.¹³ From the point of view of collecting and archival practices and research, these legal measures resulted in some changes and the significant support in establishing one influential institution which specializes on the topics of state oppression and opposition practices – the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes. On the other hand, these acts did not have a significant impact on the activities of many other important and very productive players dealing with the issue of cultural opposition.

2.2 Researching opposition under state socialism and afterwards

The origins of historical research into opposition in socialist Czechoslovakia dates back to the end of the 1960s and stemmed from the military invasion of the Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia in 1968, which was followed by mass expulsions from the Communist Party in 1969-1970, when more than half-a-million members did not have their party membership renewed. Many reformist intellectuals and artists lost their jobs and the opportunity to engage with the public. Some of them were even forced to leave the country.

Many historians had publicly come out in favour of the reform called the “Prague Spring” in 1968 and, therefore, after the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact troops, were surplus to the new regime’s requirements. Shortly after the occupation, Milan Otáhal and Vilém Prečan, historians from the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, collected key documents about the first seven days of the occupation of Czechoslovakia and published them as study material for internal use in the documentary publication *Seven Prague Days 21-27 August 1968*, the so-called “Black Book”. The authors of this book encountered many problems and Vilém Prečan, like many others, later went into exile. Czech and Slovak historians emigrating after 1968 thus joined their colleagues who had already left Czechoslovakia after the Communist takeover in February 1948. This was not a negligible group, as 106 Czechoslovak historians emigrated after February 1948 and later created the basis for Czechoslovak exile historiography. The violent suppression of the Prague Spring in 1968 then forced another 56 historians to emigrate. Monika Mandelíčková calculated that 35 historians and archaeologists employed by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences went into exile during the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, the number of Czechoslovak emigres from the field of technical and natural sciences was much higher, amounting to hundreds of scientists.¹⁴

¹² <http://www.veterani.army.cz/vydana-osvedceni>

¹³ See for example: Mayer, *Češi a jejich komunismus*; Gjuričová et al., *Rozdělení minulostí*; Hrubeš and Návrátil, “Constructing a Political Enemy,” 41–62.

¹⁴ Mandelíčková, *Historie v exilu*, 52–53.

By the early 1970s, the vibrant civil society in Czechoslovakia had been heavily subdued. The period of Normalization, i.e. the attempt to reverse the political reform process initiated during the Prague Spring of 1968, was also followed by different forms of control and repression, limitations to the freedom of movement, the restoration of censorship, bans on publications, blacklisting, etc. In the everyday life of Czechoslovak society this led to the strict differentiation between private and public positions.¹⁵ Nevertheless, many historians who had been dismissed from their jobs, as well as other scientists and writers, published their works in samizdat form (see for example the samizdat journal *Historical Studies*).¹⁶

These ostracized historians then became influential in Czech and Slovak academic developments and also public debates about contemporary history and the recent past after 1989. The position of historians during the transformation era in Czechoslovakia was also symbolically underpinned by the establishment of the Historical Commission of the Coordination Centre Civic Forum in 1989, which was run by dissident and exile historians, for example, Jan Křen and Milan Otáhal. Many of them obtained leading positions after the development of new academic institutions.

Immediately after the fall of the Iron Curtain, topics which had been taboo began to open up in Czechoslovakia, with discussions about various practices of oppression in the 1950s and the liberalization of the late 1960s. The 'sixty-eighters' and dissidents became widely recognized and very active in the process of building a new post-socialist society. Just after the fall of the communist regime, new and very influential institutions were established with the aim of examining the history and memory of dissent and cultural opposition.¹⁷

The Institute of Contemporary History, as a part of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, was established in early 1990 and headed by Vilém Prečan in a type of personal union with the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre in Scheinfeld. The institute was established with the aim of documenting and analysing contemporary Czech history and became very influential in forming the academic discourse surrounding the "communist era". From the outset, the institute, which dealt with Czech history from the Munich Agreement in 1938 to the 1990s, made a great effort to expand its own archive and library. Over a relatively short period the institute acquired many interesting archive collections. Another very important step was the opening of the Libri Prohibiti library in 1990. The library was headed by Jiří Gruntorád and became a leading library and archive, administering different kinds of valuable sources connected to the various opposition activities in Czechoslovakia and abroad. Academic institutions and archives such as the Museum of Czech Literature and the Czech National Archive, which had been established prior to 1989, played an important role in collecting, processing and discussing the activities and heritage of dissent and exile at that time.

¹⁵ See e.g. Simecka, *The restoration of order*.

¹⁶ *Minulost a dějiny v českém a slovenském samizdatu 1970-1989*.

¹⁷ Kolář, Pavel - Kopeček, Michal. "A Difficult Quest for New Paradigms," 217–226.

The official recognition of various representatives of the cultural opposition also came through official (commercial) publications or exhibitions of their works. In 1992 an exhibition of exile and samizdat publications was organised by the Museum of Czech Literature in cooperation with the Institute of Contemporary History, with an extensive accompanying programme. The provision of information on various activities of the cultural opposition in Czechoslovakia and later in the Czech Republic continues more or less interrupted to this day. An important role here is played by many well-established academic and memory institutions, and also very active individuals who were in some way personally involved in the anti-communist counter-cultural activities (for example, members of the alternative or underground movement).

During the 1990s, research connected to opposition practices was focused mainly on the period which followed the Second World War and the 1950s, and geographically rooted within the Czechoslovak state. More precisely, most of the works focused on the political issues of the communist seizure of political power and the methods they used to govern. However, there were also publications dealing with the historical background to the Prague Spring in 1968 and the history of the origins of Charter 77.¹⁸ From the mid-1990s, researchers began to focus on various civil and youth initiatives and movements during Normalization. Also some controversies concerning the interpretation of the role of the dissidents emerged.

The turn of the millennium, which was also marked in Czech historiography by a generational conflict publicly expressed at the Congress of Czech historians in Hradec Králové in 1999,¹⁹ brought a thematic and methodological extension to historiographical publications, accompanied by conceptual and methodological discussions. A new discipline – oral history – was also established in the Czech Republic by Miroslav Vaněk, the current director of the Institute of Contemporary History, which augmented the traditional historical heuristic with the voices of the “ordinary people”, such as rock fans and musicians and environmental activists. Vaněk came up with the concept of small “islands of liberty” in the normalizing society, which were supposed to be spaces in which the actors managed to escape the closed society to create free space for free behaviour. This concept became influential in the interpretation of Czechoslovak cultural opposition before 1989.²⁰ In the new century, researchers from the Institute of Contemporary History have published many articles and books related to dissent and various forms of opposition. This was not just about expanding our knowledge of significant events and groups in a traditional way, but it also saw the

¹⁸ About the discussion on Czech contemporary history publications see: Schulze Wessel et al., *České soudobé dějiny v diskusi*.

¹⁹ Svátek, “*Pokus o bilanci*,” 78–94.

²⁰ Vaněk et al., *Ostrůvky svobody*; Blažek, Laube and Pospíšil, *Lennonova zeď v Praze*.

introduction of some comparative and methodologically innovative works.²¹ Almost 30 years after establishing the institute, these topics remain key for its researchers.²²

Another important publication came out one year before Vaněk's collective work. Former sociologist Josef Alan built up a team of insiders and produced a dense and very informative book called *Alternative Culture: The Story of Czech Society 1945 – 1989*. It was the first comprehensive attempt to summarize the various independent cultural streams in Czechoslovakia before 1989. Alan delineated the traditional view of culture (as official and unofficial), and highlighted the ambivalence of the social contexts and the normalization regime.

One strong influential factor behind the research into dissent, communist repression and the different kind of opposition attitudes was the establishment of the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, which has published various books about the history of the Czech underground movement and hippies.²³ The efforts of the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes to raise awareness about the so-called "third resistance" among the population have been supported by its political patrons from right-wing political parties. However, one former employee of the institute, historian Vítězslav Sommer, argued that the "third resistance" is a highly controversial, nationalist and ahistorical concept which uses sharp dichotomies and a vulgarized theory of totalitarianism to portray Czechoslovak historical reality.²⁴

From a conceptual point of view, in comparison with the 1990s when the regime and society were often depicted as two separate spheres, there is an interpretive shift emphasizing the importance of social consensus and negotiation routines. Within the context of analysing alternative culture, this shift is visible in the monograph by Přemysl Houda about the folk festival in Lipnice.²⁵ But the most extensive discussion, both on an academic and popular level, about the character of the communist dictatorship and the possibilities of escaping it, is connected with the work of historian Michal Pullmann, who criticized the so-called totalitarian approach. In his book "The End of the Experiment", Pullmann distanced himself from those approaches and highlighted the consensual dimension of Normalization. After publishing the book he was attacked by the mass media as a revisionist.²⁶ The division of the community of historians on this issue is still apparent today.

²¹ Blažek, Laube and Pospíšil, *Lennonova zed' v Praze*; Vaněk, *Byl to jenom rock'n'roll?*; Vilímek, *Solidarita napříč hranicemi*; Otáhal, *Opoziční proudy v české společnosti 1969–1989* and many others.

²² Plato et al., *Opposition als Lebensform*; Suk and Andělová, *Jednoho dne se v našem zelináři cosi vzbouří*; Pažout, *Trestněprávní perzekuce odpůrců režimu v Československu*; Suk et al., *Šest kapitol o disentu*; *Antologie textů z disentu a exilu (1969–1989)*, online: <http://www.disent.usd.cas.cz/>.

²³ Among others see: Stárek Čuňas and Kostůr, *Baráky*; Machovec, „Hnědá kniha“ o procesech s českým undergroundem; Machovec, *Pohledy zevnitř*; Pospíšil and Blažek, „Vratte nám vlasy!“.

²⁴ Sommer, „Cesta ze slepé uličky "třetího odboje",“ 9–36.

²⁵ Houda, *Intelektuální protest, nebo masová zábava?*, 206–207. See also Vaněk, *Nedalo se tady dýchat*.

²⁶ Vrba, „The Debate about Michal Pullmann's Book.“

Very recently the Institute of Czech Literature of the Czech Academy of Sciences published an important book entitled *The Czech Literary Samizdat 1969-1989*. Recent research into the Czech samizdat phenomenon shows that despite the long-term interest and systematic work of many kind of agents, cultural opposition as a research topic still has great research potential.²⁷

2.3 Institutions and the legal foundations of the preservation and interpretation of the past

Material connected to the history of cultural opposition in Czechoslovakia can be found in collections owned by state-owned or state-supported institutions, independent foundations, or are part of private collections. Most of these institutions do not specialize in opposition activities, but by the archival law have to collect historical artefacts and documents. The Czech state also supports institutions through a grant system. There are also internationally recognized specialized foundations which continue to energetically collect and distribute information about dissent and exile before 1989.

However, these collections would not exist today without personal courage, and the ingenuity of the actual members of dissident and non-conformist circles. These collectors ranged from state institutions to individuals who were often dissidents. As an example of the good practice of official institutions, we might mention the Museum of Czech Literature, where materials produced by banned authors were purchased before 1989 as well as after the fall of the communist dictatorship.²⁸ The significant role of this institution in preserving the heritage of pre-1989 cultural opposition is illustrated by the fact that artists, in particular writers, offered their own documents to this museum. Before 1989, these purchases were officially carried out through antiquarian bookshops. Therefore, the employees of these bookshops participated in the collections as well. The purchases were a means of support for the banned artists and writers, and were carried out thanks to the employees of these state institutions (the best known is Marie Krulichová from the acquisition department of the Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature). Similar purchases were also made by the National Museum. In addition to the financial support for opposition artists, these activities also led to the preservation of valuable historical sources for future generations.

The Czechoslovak liberalization period of the 1960s witnessed a significant development in art collections, including works by non-conformist artists, including photographs, manuscripts, illustrations, paintings, and graphic art. For example, the Benedikt Rejt Gallery was founded at that time with the aim of reflecting contemporary trends in the visual arts. The head of the gallery, Jan Sekera, was known for supporting the purchase of works by unofficial artists. Another notable art collector was Jiří Hůla, who established the Fine Art Archive in 1980s.²⁹

²⁷ Pribáň et al. *Český literární samizdat: 1949–1989*.

²⁸ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n2077>

²⁹ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n4043>

This collection is now stored in the popular and frequently visited DOX gallery in Prague. Important collections of art were also purchased in exile. In 1968, Jan and Meda Mládek bought a substantial collection from an exhibition of Czechoslovak art organised in Washington, and began to establish their own collection of unofficial Czechoslovak and East European art. After 1989, Meda Mládková moved back to her homeland and her collection became the basis for the Kampa Museum, now a very popular and important institution.³⁰ Nowadays, pre-1989 works by unofficial artists can be found in private galleries and museums, but also in public (regional) galleries all over the Czech Republic. Some art collections are stored in academic institutions. This is the case with the video-archive of the Academic Research Centre of the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague, which also includes many pre-1989 non-conformist works.³¹

The variety of today's collections would not have been possible without the courage of several dissidents who risked their own freedom. The persecution of samizdat producers and distributors was mostly based on accusations of "anti-state," "anti-government," "anti-socialist," or "anti-Communist" attitudes. This was the case of Jiří Gruntorád, a publisher and collector of samizdat literature and signatory of Charter 77, who was imprisoned twice as a result of his samizdat activities. His pre-1989 samizdat collection has been significantly expanded since the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia and now constitutes only a fraction of the current samizdat and exile collections of the Libri Prohibiti library founded by Gruntorád in 1990.³²

Libri Prohibiti was established as a foundation which aimed to collect exile and samizdat literature in one place and make this accessible to the public in order to spread a "message about the past" and show how the communist regime in Czechoslovakia operated. Jiří Gruntorád was convinced that such a library should be private and independent. Libri Prohibiti's collection of samizdat periodicals was listed by UNESCO in the Memory of the World Register. Alongside Jiří Gruntorád, another iconic collector was Jaromír Šavřda, a Czech writer, dissident and signatory of Charter 77, who was also imprisoned for many years for distributing samizdat literature in the 1970s and 1980s.³³

The role of Czechoslovak exiles was very important for spreading information about the suppression of human rights in Czechoslovakia, as well as for preserving alternative cultural material. For example, we might mention the activities of the Czechoslovak Society of Art and Sciences based in the United States with several branches around the world, or exiled politicians such as Jiří Pelikán and Pavel Tigrid. A very special institution in this sense, the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre for Independent Literature, was founded in 1986 in the Federal Republic of Germany by prominent individuals in exile. The centre combines the

³⁰ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n2875>

³¹ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n1393>

³² <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n4518>

³³ <http://cultural-opposition.eu/courage/display/n24744>.

functions of a literary archive and specialized library with research, study, information and publishing facilities. Original samizdat texts and periodicals were copied there and regularly distributed to large western libraries. The centre also smuggled books, magazines, documents and technical equipment for producing samizdat literature back to Czechoslovakia. The collections of this centre are now stored in the Archives of the National Museum.³⁴ Several foreign institutions played important roles in preserving Czechoslovak (or East European) collections. These were mainly academic institutions or libraries, for example, the Research Centre for East European Studies in Bremen, the Library of Congress, the British Library, the Royal Library of Belgium, the University of Nebraska – Lincoln,³⁵ and the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.³⁶

3. Analysis of the collections in the COURAGE Registry

3.1 Typology

Today, literary materials probably make up the most numerous type of collections documenting unofficial Czechoslovak cultural activities before 1989. For example, in the Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature, dozens of collections of banned, unofficial or non-conformist writers, poets and journalists can be found.³⁷ Therefore, it is characteristic for the Czech Republic that a large number of (not only literary) collections are stored in large state or public institutions (the Museum of Czech Literature, the National Archives, the National Museum, the Security Services Archive). As the majority of these are situated in Prague, this system can be defined as being quite centralized. For example, experts from the National Archives have collected a large number of private and institutional papers from members and organizations of the dissident and exile communities.³⁸ Useful materials concerning cultural opposition can also be viewed in institutional collections such as the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, now stored in the National Archives – e.g. documents from the political bureau or secretariat meetings, or materials from the ideological commission of the Communist Party. The security services also produced and collected a large amount of data which became part of much public controversy after the establishment of the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes in 2007. Although there are no specific collections in the Security Services Archives dealing primarily with cultural opposition, many materials connected to this topic can be found in various collections, e.g. in

³⁴ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n37719>

³⁵ Especially the Charter 77 Collection.

³⁶ For example, Private collections of the Czech poet Karel Šiktanc, the journalists Stanislav Budín and Ferdinand Peroutka, the historians Vilém Prečan and Karel Kaplan, the writer Josef Škvorecký and many others.

³⁷ For example, Private collections of Ivan Blatný, Ferdinand Peroutka, Dominik Tatarka, Jan Zahradníček, Ludvík Vaculík, Václav Černý, Jiří Kolář, Ladislav Mňačko, Jan Lopatka, and many others. Apart from private collections, the video and audio library of the Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature is also an important source of materials documenting Czechoslovak cultural opposition before 1989.

³⁸ For example, Private collections of the Czechoslovak dissidents Petr Uhl and Milan Hübl or the materials of Jazz Section.

the documents of State Security Units or in operative files (mainly materials related to people under surveillance). The Central Press Supervision Authority Collection, which documents the control of the press and newly issued publications in Czechoslovakia from 1953 to 1968, is an example of a more specialised collection.³⁹

This does not mean, however, that private or smaller institutions, or institutions outside Prague are not important in preserving pre-1989 cultural heritage in the Czech Republic. As mentioned above, private institutions such as the Libri Prohibiti library and the Kampa Museum are crucial to the process of storing, preserving, and disseminating the heritage of Czechoslovak cultural opposition. As many Czechoslovak dissidents were writers whose books had been banned in Czechoslovakia in the 1970s and 1980s, cultural opposition is usually seen from a dissident-literary perspective. This perspective is embodied in a very dynamic private institution – the Václav Havel Library. The library was established by Václav Havel's wife Dagmar Havlová, with the involvement of sociologist Miloslav Petrušek and the politician Karel Schwarzenberg. The library is gradually gathering, digitizing and making accessible written materials, photographs, audio recordings, and other materials linked to Václav Havel, and is very active in popularizing Havel's legacy and organizing public discussions about opposition movements. Important personal collections dealing with cultural opposition are also to be found in the Moravian Museum and the Moravian Provincial Archive in Brno, as well as in the Brno and Ostrava City Archives.

Lastly, we cannot omit the role of academic and research institutions. Several Czech universities, for example the Archive of the Charles University in Prague⁴⁰ and the Archive of Masaryk University in Brno,⁴¹ also preserve materials dealing with cultural opposition, mainly from the students' point of view. The Jan Patočka Archive, focusing on the famous Czech philosopher's legacy, is run by Charles University and the Czech Academy of Sciences within the Centre for Theoretical Study. One unique oral-history collection, partly related to cultural opposition, is administrated by the Oral History Centre of the Institute of Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences. Czechoslovak exile activities can be studied in specialized institutions such as the Centre for Czechoslovak Exile Studies, part of Palacký University in Olomouc,⁴² or the private Museum of Czech and Slovak Exile of the 20th Century in Brno.

However, during Normalization, underground music also gradually became a visible symbol of cultural opposition in Czechoslovakia. Although it is naturally easier to preserve written material than unofficial music, some collections dealing with alternative music can be found:

³⁹ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n168343>

⁴⁰ For example, Private collection of Czech philosopher and dissident Ladislav Hejdlánek or Student movement collection.

⁴¹ For example, Personal collection of Czech historian and dissident Jaroslav Mezník.

⁴² For example, Radio Free Europe Collection, The Council of Free Czechoslovakia Collection, Exile periodicals and publications Collection.

for example, in the audio-visual section of the Libri Prohibiti library⁴³, in the Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature, in the National Archives, and in the Popmuseum, a private institution which specializes in the history of pop and rock music.⁴⁴

Recently a new trend has been emerging in the use of the internet for disseminating collections. In the first instance, some institutions focus on digitizing their collections – for example, the private Václav Havel Library, the public Security Services Archive and the website Scriptum.cz.⁴⁵ In the second instance, some institutions create databases, registries or online catalogues, usually intended for both the general public and professionals. These online activities thus help to popularize collections and pre-1989 cultural heritage. These databases deal mostly with art collections (Artlist.cz, Artarchiv.cz).⁴⁶ In addition, several oral-history collections are currently online, such as the collection of the above-mentioned Oral History Centre of the Institute of Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences,⁴⁷ or the online collection of interviews – Memory of Nations – of the non-profit organization Post Bellum.⁴⁸ Apart from institutions, individuals also use the internet as a platform for presenting cultural opposition materials, such as František Stárek Čuñas, a former dissident, journalist, and politician, whose website Cunas.cz contains many unique digitized materials.⁴⁹

3.2 Themes, actors, users

Democratic opposition, samizdat and tamizdat, emigration and exile, the human rights movement, literature and literary criticism, underground culture – these topics are frequently featured and described as such in the registry of Czech collections dealing with the history of cultural opposition in Czechoslovakia.⁵⁰ The most common type of material in the collections are manuscripts (manuscripts make up more than 50% of the collections) – this stems from the fact that the majority of the collections are stored in “traditional” archival institutions. More than 10% of the collections predominantly consist of art works (especially “art collections”, for example, the Art Collection of the Museum of Czech Literature and the Jan and Meda Mládek Collection). It is important to note that many Czech regional galleries also usually contain some works by pre-1989 unofficial artists, to a greater or lesser degree. Music recordings also make up a similar share in the collections (e.g. Popmuseum, the audio-visual section of Libri Prohibiti etc.). Publications dominate in the collections of Libri Prohibiti. Only small part of the collections are available online.

⁴³ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n932>.

⁴⁴ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n27337>.

⁴⁵ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n41370>.

⁴⁶ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n13849>.

⁴⁷ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n105041>.

⁴⁸ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n15530>.

⁴⁹ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n1857>.

⁵⁰ The registry contains at least 78 descriptions of Czech collections; it is however only a fragment of the total number of collections dealing with this topic which are stored in the Czech Republic.

The majority of the collections are situated in Prague, though many of them are also stored in Brno, with one in Ostrava and three in other smaller cities. For the website collections, the location is irrelevant. This high centralization is due to the fact that the large national institutions situated in Prague (e.g. the Museum of Czech Literature, the National Museum, the National Archive of the Czech Republic, etc.) have been successful in collecting materials concerning cultural opposition. About one quarter of the collections are private (the Libri Prohibiti library's collection is particularly extensive). A huge number of collections related to Czechoslovakia and exile activities are located abroad.

All of these institutions, both private and public, promote their collections using various means: they organize exhibitions, conferences, public presentations, seminars; they often participate in media events and look for ways to attract potential visitors.

For the majority of the collections, the most typical visitors are researchers and university students (usually collecting materials for their master's or PhD thesis, mostly students of history, literary criticism, or others related disciplines). The exceptions are art collections (visitors are usually the general public or tourists) or specialized collections. For example, the Centre for Queer Memory is usually visited by the LGBT community and senior citizens.

It is important to note that collections dealing with the history of cultural opposition in Czechoslovakia are very numerous and the majority are personal collections. This means that the legacy or materials collected by one person often form one collection. Let us take the example of the Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature. The registry describes 12 collections from this archive and 10 of them are personal collections. However, about 60 collections dealing with cultural opposition are stored in the Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature (the majority of them are again personal collections). The situation is similar for the private Libri Prohibiti. In the registry we can find 9 collections which are operated (and owned) by this institution. Nevertheless, the Libri Prohibiti library contains far more collections, including many private collections which are even not mentioned on their website.

It is important to mention that the structure of institutions and collections are very different. For example, the above-mentioned Libri Prohibiti is described more as containing several collections. On the other hand, the Václav Havel Library, which is no less important in terms of its material, forms one large collection according to the structure of the institution. Moreover, institutions operating personal collections usually have a larger number of collections than institutions operating thematic collections. For example, the Popmuseum, a "one-collection institution" (according to the registry), collects material about popular music. The Popmuseum contains recordings and other materials from many artists. A similar situation can also be found in art collections which usually contains works by several artists.

3.3 Financial background

Public collections, or more precisely the public or state institutions which administer these collections, are usually funded from state or regional resources. For example, the Museum of Czech Literature, as well as the National Gallery in Prague, the National Museum and the Museum of Romany Culture, are primarily financed from the budget of the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic. The Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic funds and controls the state archives, including the National Archives of the Czech Republic. The Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, as well as the Security Services Archive, which is part of this institution, is financed by the government. Institutes from the Czech Academy of Sciences (e.g. the Institute of Contemporary History which administers the Oral History Centre) are financed from the state budget, whereas Czech public universities (e.g. Charles University in Prague, Masaryk University in Brno) are funded by the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport of the Czech Republic. However, this does not mean that these institutions do not also look for support from other sources. They apply for grants from the Czech Grant Agency or from the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic (especially the NAKI grants). These projects are often part of a broader group including other institutions (e.g. cooperation between archives, universities, institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences, etc.). Although international grants are not the main source of their budgets, some public institutions are already involved in international cooperation within this field. The Museum of Czech Literature was part of an international project financed by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA); the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes participates in a project supported by the European Union's Erasmus+ programme, etc. Public regional institutions are usually administered by the region. For example, the Comenius Museum in Přerov is operated and supported by Olomouc Region. Other sources also come from the city of Přerov, including special grants. Therefore, public institutions operating on a national scale usually receive financial sources from state organizations, whereas institutions with a regional remit can acquire sources from regional authorities. However, this division is not always the rule.

State agencies not only finance public institutions, but private ones as well. Grants and contributions from the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic are (to a greater or smaller extent) part of the financial budget of the Václav Havel Library, Libri Prohibiti, the Centre for Contemporary Arts Prague, the Fine Art Archive, the Kampa Museum, the Popmuseum, Post Bellum, and others. Private institutions also use grants and contributions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic (e.g. Libri Prohibiti, Václav Havel Library or Post Bellum) or from the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport of the Czech Republic (e.g. Post Bellum). Collections situated in Prague also usually receive contributions from the City of Prague (e.g. Václav Havel Library, Libri Prohibiti, Popmuseum, Post Bellum, Kampa Museum, Society for Queer Memory, Fine Art Archive, Centre for Contemporary Arts) and/or from the Prague City Districts (e.g. Popmuseum, Post Bellum, Kampa Museum, Centre for Contemporary Arts). Regional cities support private collections as well – for example, the Exodus Association based

in Třemošná in the Pilsen region. This association, which operates the website scriptum.cz, is supported by, among others, the city of Pilsen and the Pilsen Region.

Private institutions also often use sources from private foundations (e.g. the Fondation Zdenek et Michaela Bakala is the main sponsor of the Václav Havel Library) or from private companies (for example, several important Czech companies are among the sponsors of Post Bellum). Several institutions are also (partly) supported by foreign sources, e.g. by the US Embassy in the Czech Republic (Václav Havel Library, Post Bellum), by the Stiftung Erinnerung, Verantwortung, Zukunft (projects of the private Post Bellum or the public Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes). Lastly, some private institutions are also financed by private donors, for example, Libri Prohibiti (individual donations ranging from thousands to hundreds of thousands of crowns).

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

The collections held in the Czech Republic and described in the COURAGE online registry illustrate the various activities and background to a culture which did not follow the official state ideology. The stories behind these collections show how the specific activities and actors were interconnected at a regional and international level. It is important to note that the topic of cultural opposition in Czechoslovakia before 1989 is of international significance, and there already exist frameworks and contacts across borders (especially Czech-German and Czech-Polish cooperation). However, the “national perspective” still dominates in the Czech Republic. Narratives focused on dissent and exile became an integral part of constructing a post-socialist Czech identity. They became part of regular public commemorations, often framed within a contemporary political context.

The current Czech research which examines this phenomenon, including the popularization of material stored in Czech institutions, is highly productive and has the strong potential to attract a wider public. In addition to academic and highly analytical texts, a significant number of activist/witness outputs have been produced, such as books, exhibitions, documentary films etc. The Václav Havel Library has been very active in connecting academic discourse with former participants, along with current discussions on recent political and cultural issues concerning cultural opposition.

In general, the history of Czechoslovak dissent, democratic exile and cultural opposition is one of the main fields of interest in studying and discussing the contemporary history of Czechoslovakia. Therefore, many Czech institutions also continue to be interested in the work of Czech studies abroad. The connection of academics and their work with institutions administering the relevant collections is usually a very good means for presenting and popularizing the topic, in addition to helping to propose ways to interpret and research

contemporary Czech/Czechoslovak history. The dominant historical discourse still focuses on the communist government's terror and the resistance by armed groups to the regime and the totalitarian approach, but there are also new, very influential approaches inspired mainly by Western academia.

Czech archivists and stakeholders have already made great efforts to preserve the heritage of dissent, exile and cultural opposition. In that respect, we have identified a variety of successful practices in acquisitions, communication, preservation, and popularization that have been changing over time and place. At the beginning of the 1990s, the successful collection work was predominantly connected to the personal ties of those engaged in the opposition movement. They established highly specialized, and in the case of preserving cultural opposition heritage, very important and successful institutions such as Libri Prohibiti or the Institute of Contemporary History of the Czechoslovak (later Czech) Academy of Sciences. Others, such as Czechoslovak Documentation Centre, were already in existence abroad.

Nowadays, many non-specialized institutions have a large number of collections, one especially successful example being the archivists from the National Archives and the National Museum (where the archive of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre is also held) and the Museum of Czech Literature. Most of the collections are stored in Prague in well-equipped, large, nationwide institutions run by the state. In these institutions we can find a huge number of personal collections, which is related to the question of trust towards the institutions and their social function.

The Stakeholders and archivists from both public and private institutions administer collections who deal with cultural opposition are usually very professional and show an enthusiastic attitude to this topic and stored artifacts. However, a significant part of this material is not officially accessible because it has not yet been processed. Despite that, the will usually exists to support researchers and they have the opportunity to access materials which have not been fully processed. In some cases, access to the collection is denied due to the protection of personal rights or permission from the heirs is requested. Moreover, copyright issues pose a great challenge following the adoption of the new EU GDPR regulation. Sometimes archives also have problems with storage capacity. Many buildings were reconstructed in the 1990s and some new buildings were also built at that time. However, many buildings are now in such a condition that costly reconstruction is required.

Institutions usually present their activities to the wider public through the media (Czech Television, Czech Radio) or through various kind of events such as exhibitions, public discussions, conferences or articles in the press. The opportunities for promotion are strengthened by collaboration between a variety of institutions. This cooperation in collecting, preserving, disseminating and analysing the topic is usually very good and can also be seen on various occasions, including mutual promotion. Institutions sometimes even share information about new acquisitions and give instructions on how to work with them.

These institutions often organize special programmes for pupils and students or children in general. Some institutions, for example the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, have developed their own educational activities based on recent trends in the methodology of history teaching. Many educational materials dealing with the topic of dissent and culture in Czechoslovakia before 1989 can be found at the <http://dejepis21.cz> website. Another very successful website is moderni-dejiny.cz, run by the civic association PANT, which has received support from, among others, the European Union. These educational materials are often created by teachers or through close cooperation with other institutions, e.g. the Libri Prohibiti library. Many educational documents for students contain primary sources – images (photos, scans) of material stored in various Czech archives and libraries. The use of these educational materials (e.g. working papers) or the digitalization of material helps to significantly raise awareness and acquire knowledge on the topic of cultural opposition in Czechoslovakia before 1989, including a better understanding of authoritarian forms of governance and the means of opposition.

The inclusion of the collections in the COURAGE registry provides great potential for increasing the national and international profile of this topic, such as the use of internet search engines, which is a very common practice nowadays, especially among the younger generation and students. Therefore, it is essential for archives and libraries not only to organize events such as exhibitions (which are often visited mainly by professionals), but also to have financial sources for broader popularization, especially on the internet. For example, the activities of the Security Services Archives are already in this direction. In addition to the preservation and extensive digitalization of archival sources, this archive is also very active in presenting such topics to a wider public.

Digitalization has received a great amount of attention in this respect, and numerous projects have been carried out to facilitate the digitalisation process of collections and other materials as it enables wider public access to these collections. The websites of the Security Services Archives, Libri Prohibiti, the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre or vons.cz and scriptum.cz offer a great deal of useful information. However, the adaptation and interpretation of the topic is not always attractive for the public. The “Memory of Nation” project run by the Post Bellum association is an example of a successful approach. As part of this project, short biographical stories, including links to original sources, have been published in the mainstream media.

On the other hand, there is also the question of how to attract offline visitors to a collection which cannot be digitized. One possible way of encouraging visitors to a museum is to include places in state-funded tourist schemes which would be available to state employees in the form of free vouchers to be used in designated places.

Even if the normative and institutional frameworks have been well designed for creating satisfactory conditions for the preservation and popularization of the topic, we have a few suggestions to be discussed on a national level which have arisen from discussions with the interested parties:

- Special financial funding by public institutions for purchase and transport of archival and other material from abroad to the Czech Republic would be useful. For example, an agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is already very helpful in this regard.
- Strengthening cooperation with Czech centres abroad is needed
- An increase in financial support (on the basis of the recent Archival Law) for private collections and owners is required. Otherwise some material will not be retained as some actors/owners/witnesses do not want to donate/sell their documents and material to state/public institutions. – Private institutions have to be able to maintain and fulfil the role of cultural heritage preservers (supported by the state), as well as public institutions.
- Better conditions for the research activities of archivists are needed (changing the content of their work).
- In order to acquire EU grants, know-how and well-trained administrative staff are needed. Salary levels in state and public institutions are usually not compatible with the financial requirements of qualified and experienced project managers.

5. Appendix

5.1 Bibliography

- Alan, Josef. "Alternativní kultura jako sociologické téma." In *Alternativní kultura: Příběh české společnosti 1945-1989*, edited by Josef Alan, 9–59. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2001.
- Blažek, Petr. "Typologie opozice a odporu proti komunistickému režimu: Přehled koncepcí a limity bádání." In *Opozice a odpor proti komunistickému režimu v Československu 1968-1989*, edited by Petr Blažek, 10–24. Praha: Filozofická fakulta UK, 2005.
- Blažek Petr, Roman Laube and Filip Pospíšil. *Lennonova zed' v Praze: Neformální shromáždění mládeže na Kampě 1980–1989*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny Akademie věd České republiky, 2003.
- Gjuričová, Adéla et al. *Rozdělení minulosti: Vytváření politických identit v České republice po roce 1989*. Praha: Knihovna Václava Havla, 2011.
- Houda, Přemysl. *Intelektuální protest, nebo masová zábava? Folk jako společenský fenomén v době tzv. Normalizace*. Praha: Academia, 2014.
- Hrubeš, Milan and Jiří Navrátil. "Constructing a Political Enemy: Anti-communist Framing in the Czech Republic between 1990 and 2010." *Intersections: East European Journal of Society and Politics* 3, no. 3 (2017), 41–62.
- Kolář, Pavel and Michal Kopeček, Michal. "A Difficult Quest for New Paradigms: Czech Historiography after 1989." In *Narratives unbound. Historical studies in post-*

- communist Eastern Europe, edited by Sorin Antohi, Balázs Trencsényi, Péter Apor, 173–248. Budapest: CEU Press, 2007.
- Kopeček, Michal. "Czech Republic: From the Politics of History to Memory as Political Language." *Cultures of History Forum*, December 2, 2013. Accessed November 19, 2018. DOI: 10.25626/0021. <http://www.cultures-of-history.uni-jena.de/debates/czech/czech-republic-from-the-politics-of-history-to-memory-as-political-language/>.
- Kovanic, Martin. "Institutes of Memory in Slovakia and the Czech Republic – What Kind of Memory?" In *Faces of the Agent: Secret Agents and the Memory of Everyday Collaboration in Communist Eastern Europe*, edited by Péter Apor, Sándor Horváth and James Mark, 81–104. London: AnthemPress, 2017.
- Krapfl, James. *Revolution with a human face: politics, culture, and community in Czechoslovakia, 1989-1992*. London: Cornell University Press, 2013.
- Machovec, Martin, ed. „Hnědá kniha“ o procesech s českým undergroundem. Praha: Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, 2012.
- Machovec, Martin, ed. *Pohledy zevnitř: česká undergroundová kultura ve svědectvích, dokumentech a interpretacích*. Příbram: Pistorius & Olšanská, 2008.
- Mandelíčková, Monika. *Historie v exilu: československá exilová historiografie v letech 1948-1989*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2017.
- Mayer, Françoise. *Češi a jejich komunismus: paměť a politická identita*. Praha: Argo, 2009.
- Minulost a dějiny v českém a slovenském samizdatu 1970-1989*. Compiled by Vlk, Jan, Vendula Vaňková and Milan Drápala. Brno: Doplněk, 1993.
- Otáhal, Milan. *Opoziční proudy v české společnosti 1969–1989*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2011.
- Pažout, Jaroslav. *Trestněprávní perzekuce odpůrců režimu v Československu v období takzvané normalizace (1969-1989)*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, v.v.i., 2017.
- Plato, Alexander von et al. *Opposition als Lebensform: Dissidenz in der DDR, der ČSSR und in Polen*. Berlin: Lit, 2013.
- Pospíšil, Filip and Petr Blažek. „Vraťte nám vlasy!“ *První máničky, vlasatci a hippies v komunistickém Československu*. Praha: Academia, 2010.
- Pribáň, Michal et al. *Český literární samizdat: 1949–1989*. Praha: Academia, 2018.
- Schulze Wessel, Martin et al. *České soudobé dějiny v diskusi*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2011.
- Simecka, Milan. *The restoration of order: The normalization of Czechoslovakia, 1969-1976*. London: Verso, 1984
- Sniegon, Tomas. "Implementing Post-Communist National Memory in the Czech Republic and Slovakia." In *European cultural memory post-89*, edited by Conny Mithander, John Sundholm and Adrian Velicu, 97–124. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013.
- Sommer, Vítězslav. "Cesta ze slepé uličky "třetího odboje": Koncepty rezistence a stadium socialistické diktatury v Československu ", *Soudobé dějiny* 19, no. 1 (2012), 9–36.
- Stárek Čuñas, František and Jiří Kostúr. *Baráky: souostroví svobody*. Praha: Pulchra, 2010.
- Suk, Jiří and Kristina Andělová, eds. *Jednoho dne se v našem zelináři cosi vzbouří: eseje o Moci bezmocných*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, v.v.i., 2016.
- Suk, Jiří et al. *Šest kapitol o disentu*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, v. v. i., 2017.

- Svátek, František. "Pokus o bilanci průběhu a výsledků „sporů historiků“ v České republice na přelomu tisíciletí." *Soudobé dějiny* 8, no. 1 (2001) 78–94.
- Tůma, Oldřich. "Czechoslovakia." In *Dissent and Opposition in Communist Central Europe: Origins of Civil Society and Democratic Transition: Origins of Civil Society and Democratic Transition*, edited by Detlef Pollack and Jan Wielgohs, 29–49. Aldershot-Burlington: Ashgate, 2004.
- Vaněk, Miroslav. *Byl to jenom rock'n'roll? Hudební alternativa v komunistickém Československu 1956–1989*. Praha: Academia, 2010.
- Vaněk, Miroslav. *Nedalo se tady dýchat: Ekologie v českých zemích v letech 1968 až 1989*. Praha: Maxdorf, 1996.
- Vaněk, Miroslav et al. *Ostrůvky svobody: kulturní a občanské aktivity mladé generace v 80. letech v Československu*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2002.
- Veber, Václav. *Třetí odboj ČSR v letech 1948-1953*. Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice, Fakulta filozofická, 2014.
- Vilímek, Tomáš. *Solidarita napříč hranicemi: Opozice v ČSSR a NDR po roce 1968*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR – Vyšehrad, 2010.
- Vrba, Jakub. "The Debate about Michal Pullmann's Book The End of the Experiment." *Cultures of History Forum*, October 30, 2013. Accessed November 19, 2018. DOI: 10.25626/0021. <http://www.cultures-of-history.uni-jena.de/debates/czech/the-debate-about-michal-pullmanns-book-the-end-of-the-experiment/>

5.2 List of Collections Described

1. Art Collections at the Museum of Czech Literature
2. Artist
3. Audiovisual Section of the Libri Prohibiti
4. Benedikt Rejt Gallery
5. Black Book – Documentation Collection
6. Božena Komárková Collection at the Moravian Museum
7. Centre for Czechoslovak Exile Studies Collection
8. Central Press Supervision Authority Collection at the Security Services Archive
9. Charter 77 Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
10. Charter 77 Foundation Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
11. Cunas.cz
12. Czech Exile Collection at Libri Prohibiti
13. Czech Samizdat Collection at Libri Prohibiti
14. Czech Sci-Fi Fanzines Online Collection
15. Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences Collection
16. Czechoslovak Writer Publishing House Collection
17. Dominik Tatarka Collection at the Museum of Czech Literature
18. Egon Bondy Collection at the Museum of Czech Literature
19. Exile Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre

20. Ferdinand Peroutka Collection at the Museum of Czech Literature
21. Fine Art Archive (Czech Republic)
22. Foreign Exile Collection at Libri Prohibiti
23. Foreign Samizdat Collection at Libri Prohibiti
24. Interviews Collection of the Oral History Center
25. Ivan Blatný Collection at the Museum of Czech Literature
26. Ivan Dejmál Collection at Libri Prohibiti
27. Ivan Jirous Collection at Libri Prohibiti
28. Ivan Medek Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
29. Ivana Tigrádová Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
30. Jan and Meda Mládek Collection
31. Jan Čep Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
32. Jan Hus Educational Foundation Collection
33. Jan Patočka Archives
34. Jan Tesař Collection at the Moravian Museum
35. Jan Trefulka Collection at the Moravian Museum
36. Jan Zahradníček Collection at the Museum of Czech Literature
37. Jaromír and Dolores Šavřda
38. Jaroslav Mezník Collection at the Archive of the Masaryk University
39. Jaroslav Seifert Collection at the Museum of Czech Literature
40. Jaroslav Šabata Collection
41. Jazz Section Collection at the National Archives
42. Jindřich Chalupecký Collection at the Museum of Czech Literature
43. Jindřich Štreit in Sovinec Collection
44. Jiří and Běla Kolář Collection
45. Jiří Gruša Collection at the Moravian Museum
46. Jiří Lederer Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
47. Jiří Ruml Collection
48. Ladislav Mňačko Collection at the Museum of Czech Literature
49. Masaryk Society Collection at the Archive of Masaryk University
50. Memory of Nations
51. Milan Hübl Collection
52. Milan Jelínek Collection at the Moravian Museum
53. Milan Knížák Collection at the Museum of Czech Literature
54. Milan Šimečka Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
55. Milan Uhde Collection at the Moravian Museum
56. Mojmír Vaněk Collection
57. Museum of Romani Culture Collections
58. Opus Bonum – Symposiums in Franken
59. Original Videojournal Collection
60. Pavel Kohout Collection at the Moravian Museum
61. Pavel Tigrád Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre

62. Polish Underground Library at Libri Prohibiti
63. Popmuseum
64. Rudolf Mihle Collection
65. Samizdat Collection of Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
66. Scriptum.cz
67. Skilling H. Gordon Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
68. Society for Queer Memory Collections
69. Strike Committee Collection at the Archive of Masaryk University
70. The society of students of Faculty of Arts, UJEP Brno collection at the Archive of Masaryk University
71. Václav Havel Collection at the Museum of Czech Literature
72. Václav Havel Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
73. Václav Havel Library
74. Video and Audio Library of the Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature
75. Video Archive of the Academic Research Centre of the Academy of Fine Arts
76. VONS Collection at Libri Prohibiti
77. VONS Collection of the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
78. Vons.cz

5.3 List of Persons Researched

- Blatný, Ivan
- Blažek, Petr
- Bondy, Egon
- Boudník, Vladimír
- Brabenec, Vratislav
- Chalupecký, Jindřich
- Chvatík, Ivan
- Čep, Jan
- Dejmal, Ivan
- Diestler, Radek
- Drábek, Jaroslav
- Durec, Ivo
- Dzurko, Rudolf
- Eliáš, Jan
- Feierabend, Ladislav Karel
- Fiala, Jiří
- Filla, Emil
- Ginsberg, Allen
- Gruntorád, Jiří
- Gruša, Jiří

- Grygar, Milan
- Haloun, Karel
- Hauková, Jiřina
- Havel, Václav
- Havlíček, Dušan
- Havlová, Dagmar
- Havlová, Olga
- Hendrych, Jan
- Higgins, Dick
- Hlaváček, Josef
- Hlaváček, Ludvík
- Hlavsa, Milan
- Holomek, Miroslav
- Hrabalik, Petr
- Hübl, Milan
- Hůla, Jiří
- Hýbl, František
- Janouch, František
- Janoušek, Vladimír
- Janoušková, Věra
- Jelínek, Milan
- Jirous, Ivan Martin
- Kalinovská, Milena
- Karlíková, Olga
- Kmentová, Eva
- Knížák, Milan
- Knowles, Alison
- Kocábová, Darja
- Kocman, Pavel
- Kohout, Pavel
- Kohoutová, Jelena
- Kolář, Jiří
- Kolářová, Běla
- Komárková, Božena
- Kotyk, Petr
- Kouba, Pavel
- Kratina, Radoslav
- Kytnar, Josef
- LaVigne, Robert
- Lederer, Jiří
- Marek, Vlastimil
- Mašita, Karel

- Meacham, Frances
- Medek, Ivan
- Medek, Mikuláš
- Mezník, Jaroslav
- Mihle, Rudolf
- Michálek, Jiří
- Michalski, Krzysztof
- Mládek, Jan
- Mládková, Meda
- Mňačko, Ladislav
- Načeradský, Jiří
- Nekvindová, Terezie
- Němec, Rudolf
- Nepraš, Karel
- Opekar, Aleš
- Otáhal, Milan
- Palcr, Zdeněk
- Pallas, Jiří
- Patočka, Jan
- Peroutka, Ferdinand
- Peroutková, Slávka
- Pešta, Andrej
- Petrusek, Miloslav
- Petříček, Miroslav
- Pitaš, Stanislav
- Placák, Petr
- Polívka, Jiří
- Potůček, Martin
- Prečan, Vilém
- Průša, Sandra
- Rambousek, Jiří
- Reiner, Martin
- Ruml, Jiří
- Růžičková, Renáta
- Seidl, Jan
- Seifert, Jaroslav
- Sekal, Zbyněk
- Sekera, Jan
- Serke, Jürgen
- Schwarzenberg, Karel
- Sisel, Václav
- Skilling, Gordon Harold

- Slávik, Dušan
- Slavík, Otakar
- Sobotovičová, Sláva
- Srp, Karel
- Stárek, František
- Svoboda, Miroslav
- Šabata, Jaroslav
- Šavrda, Jaromír
- Šavrdová, Dolores
- Šimečka, Milan
- Šimečková, Eva
- Šimotová, Adriena
- Šimsa, Jan
- Šimsová, Milena
- Škácha, Oldřich
- Škvorecký, Josef
- Šmarda, Jan
- Štefančíková, Alica
- Štreit, Jindřich
- Tasinato, Oto
- Tatarka, Dominik
- Teige, Karel
- Tesař, Jan
- Tigrid, Pavel
- Tigridová, Ivana
- Topol, Filip
- Topol, Jáchym
- Trefulka, Jan
- Trinkewitz, Karel
- Třešňák, Vlastimil
- Uhde, Milan
- Vaculík, Ludvík
- Vaněk, Miroslav
- Vaněk, Mojmír
- Veit, Vladimír
- Veselý, Aleš
- Vladislav, Jan
- Wilson, Paul
- Zahradníček, Jan
- Zajíček, Pavel

5.4 List of Persons Interviewed

- Bielešová, Štěpánka
- Diestler, Radek
- Dvořák, Karel
- Frei, Jan
- Gruntorád, Jiří
- Habrovcová, Jana
- Hlaváček, Jiří
- Hlaváček, Ludvík
- Hůla, Jiří
- Hýbl, František
- Janošová, Lenka
- Jeřábková, Eleonora
- Kotyk, Petr
- Konečný, Karel
- Malaťák, Demeter
- Opekar, Aleš
- Prečan, Vilém
- Průša, Sandra
- Rendek, Peter
- Růžičková, Michaela
- Sobotovičová, Sláva
- Stárek, František
- Svoboda, Miroslav
- Šmíd, Michal
- Štreit, Jindřich
- Tymr, František
- Vaněk, Miroslav
- Vidlák, Martin

5.5 List of Operating Institutions and Owners

- Academy of Fine Arts in Prague
- Archive of the Masaryk University
- Archives of Ostrava
- Benedikt Rejt Gallery
- Centre for Contemporary Arts Prague
- Centre for Czechoslovak Exile Studies
- Centre for the Documentation of Totalitarian Regimes
- Centre for Theoretical Study

- Civic Association Fine Art Archive
- Comenius Museum in Přerov
- Committee for the Defence of the Unjustly Prosecuted
- Czech Television
- Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
- Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences
- Czechoslovak Writer Publishing House
- Exodus Association
- Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes
- Institute of Contemporary History
- Moravian Museum
- Moravian Provincial Archive in Brno
- Museum Kampa – Jan and Meda Mládek Foundation
- Museum of Czech Literature
- Museum of Romany Culture
- National Film Archive
- National Gallery in Prague
- National Museum of Czech Republic
- Oral History Centre
- Original Videojournal
- Popmuseum
- Post Bellum
- Security Services Archive
- Society for Queer Memory
- Society of Libri Prohibiti
- Václav Havel Library