



ŠTĚPÁN TURČÍN

THE COURSE OF THE ŠIK REFORM AND ITS POSSIBLE FINAL FORM *PART I*

Abstract: This article examines the Šik Reform, a major but ultimately unfinished attempt to modernize the centrally planned economy of Czechoslovakia in the 1960s. It situates the reform within the broader political and economic developments of the decade, additionally providing a highlight of the failure of the Third Five-Year Plan and the shift toward a more market-responsive model of socialist management. The study focuses on enterprise autonomy, the limits of central planning, and the evolving role of reform-minded economists. Using statistical data and period documents, it analyzes both the implementation of the reform and its gradual rollback following the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion. The article concludes with an outlook on the reform's intended direction and sets the stage for a deeper exploration of its institutional and legislative dimensions in the second part.

Keywords: Šik Reform, economic planning, socialist economy, Czechoslovakia, 1960s, economic reform

Introduction

This article focuses on the unfinished economic reform of the late 1960s in Czechoslovakia, commonly referred to as the Šik Reform, and on its envisioned final form. It was the second economic reform in post-war Czechoslovakia aimed at improving the efficiency of the socialist economy; the first one, known as the Rozsypal Reform, took place at the end of the 1950s. In addition to differing in scope and depth, the two reforms also diverged significantly in terms of their preparation and implementation. The Rozsypal Reform was designed as a systemically coherent package and was implemented in three stages between 1958 and 1960. In contrast, the Šik Reform, which began its development in 1963, was formally introduced to public debate and was implemented gradually. Its underlying concept evolved over time due to both internal and external factors, and its ideal version ultimately could not be realized due to external intervention in 1968.

Thanks in part to the broad publicity surrounding the Šik Reform, a number of unrealized proposals and documents have been preserved – not only draft legislation but also materials authored by various theorists and institutions in 1968 and 1969. These sources offer insight into the intended direction of the reform process. The aim of this study is to analyze the development and specific elements of the reform, from its ideological inception in 1963 to the final, unsuccessful efforts to continue it in 1969. The analysis focuses particularly on the degree of enterprise autonomy and the associated role of central planning. It also takes into account the evolving attitudes of the political leadership toward the reform's implementation – factors that help illustrate the reform's trajectory, depth, and the prospects for its successful realization.

To this day, debates continue over whether the incomplete Šik Reform could have functioned effectively within a centrally planned economy based on state ownership – raising living standards and boosting economic performance – or whether it was a utopian illusion inevitably

leading either to a restoration of capitalist structures or collapse under the weight of internal contradictions. Views on this issue, both in academic and public discourse, are often colored by ideological biases. From today's perspective, it can be challenging to fully grasp the historical context in which the reform was conceived and attempted.

While existing research has largely examined the course and individual steps of the reform, relatively few scholars have addressed what its final form might have looked like. I believe that exploring this aspect may help to clarify lesser-known dimensions of the process and offer a more comprehensive understanding of the Šik Reform.

The study primarily employs descriptive methods and basic statistical analysis. It outlines the political and economic developments from the early considerations of the reform's necessity to its eventual suppression. Special attention is given to the Third Five-Year Plan (1961–1965) and the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1966–1970), with selected performance indicators presented in tables to enhance clarity. The second article on this topic will cover practical cases, primarily using analytical methods, and shall be divided into two parts, the first part, covering the years 1963 to 1967, dealing with the formation of the reform's conceptual foundations and the implementation of some of its initial elements, and the second part, focusing on 1968 and 1969, addressing proposed but unrealized measures intended to take the reform further, as well as the reformers' subsequent, unsuccessful efforts to bring these ideas into practice.

Numerous authors have examined the Šik Reform in their scholarly works. A valuable overview of economic reforms in Czechoslovakia is provided by Zdislav Šulc's study *Stručné dějiny ekonomických reforem v Československu (České republice) 1945–1995* [A Brief History of Economic Reforms in Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic) 1945–1995]. Karel Kaplan discusses the development of the Czechoslovak economy between 1957 and 1967 and the attitudes of political leaders toward economic reform in the first volume of *Kořeny československé*

reformy 1968 [The Roots of the Czechoslovak Reform of 1968]. Ota Šik himself published his memoir *Jarní probuzení – iluze a skutečnost* [Spring Awakening: Illusion and Reality], in which he recounts many fascinating aspects of the reform's genesis and course.

More objective analyses of the economic reform only began to appear in works published after 1989. Nevertheless, descriptions of specific steps and proposals of the Šik Reform can also be found in many contemporary sources from the 1960s, such as laws, official documents, and the press. Key documents relating to the Šik Reform can be found in Zdislav Šulc's *Dokumenty k hospodářské politice v Československu z let 1963–1969* [Documents on Economic Policy in Czechoslovakia 1963–1969], as well as in the extensive volume by Jitka Vondrová titled *Ekonomická reforma 1965–1969* [The Economic Reform 1965–1969]. The thinking of the then political leadership regarding the reform process is also reflected in the stenographic transcripts of the Czechoslovak Parliament. For deeper research, sources held in the National Archives – such as the records of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia – can also be of significant value.

1. Economic and Political Developments in Czechoslovakia During the Šik Reform

The formulation of the Third Five-Year Plan (1961–1965) was marked by excessive optimism, partly stemming from the success of the previous plan, during which national income grew by an average of 7% annually and increased by a total of 40.5% over five years.¹ Expectations for future progress were further buoyed by the declarations of Soviet leader N. S. Khrushchev, who predicted that socialism would soon surpass the most advanced capitalist economies and that the tran-

¹ FEDERÁLNÍ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD. *Historická statistická ročenka ČSSR*. [Federal Statistical Office. Historical Statistical Yearbook of the ČSSR.] Praha: SNTL, 1985, s. 88.

sition to communism was on the horizon.² The main objective of the Third Five-Year Plan, which also proclaimed the victory of socialism in Czechoslovakia, was to increase national income by more than 42%. Industrial output was expected to grow by at least 56%, agricultural production by 22–23%, and personal consumption by 30%.³

However, the plan's targets exceeded the actual capabilities of the Czechoslovak economy. For example, the projected increase in iron metallurgy was so inflated that its realization would have led to serious economic imbalances and reduced overall efficiency. At the same time, the limitations of extensive growth became more evident – shortages in raw materials, energy, capital, and labor began to pose serious challenges. External pressures also played a role, including the need for additional military spending related to the Berlin and Cuban crises, the consequences of the Sino-Soviet split, and a series of unfavorable natural events. Together, these factors led to an economic stagnation in the early 1960s and fostered a growing sense of public discontent. In 1961, the Third Five-Year Plan effectively collapsed, and for the next four years, the economy was managed through short-term, annual operational plans. In 1962, the planning system introduced under the first economic reform (1958–1960), known as the Rozsypal Reform, was abandoned and replaced by the previous administrative-directive model of economic management.⁴ A striking indication of the gravity of the situation was the fact that, in 1963, for the first time since the end of World War II, national income declined in absolute terms, specifically by 2.2%. Over the entire duration of the Third Five-Year

² PRŮCHA, Václav. Dvě zmařené ekonomické reformy. [Two Thwarted Economic Reforms.] *Hospodářské noviny*, 2000, roč. 44, č. 92, s. 7. ISSN 0862-9587

³ Zákon č. 165/1960 Sb., o třetím pětiletém plánu rozvoje národního hospodářství Československé socialistické republiky. [Act No. 165/1960 Coll., on the Third Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.]

⁴ SIRŮČEK, Pavel a kol. *Hospodářské dějiny a ekonomické teorie: (vývoj, současnost, výhledy)*. [Economic History and Economic Theories: Development, Present, Prospects.] Slaný: Melandrium, 2007, s. 193. ISBN 978-80-86175-03-4

Plan, instead of the intended 42% growth, national income rose by only 10.2%. Agricultural output not only failed to meet the planned growth of 22–23% but actually decreased by 2.7% between 1960 and 1965 (see **Table 1**).⁵ Overall, Czechoslovakia's economic growth in the first half of the 1960s was among the slowest in Europe.⁶

The economic crisis significantly undermined the confidence and complacency of regime leaders, which had been fueled by the unusually high economic growth of the late 1950s. In response, policymakers adopted several measures. In addition to abandoning the unrealistic five-year plan (which had practically failed), they drastically curtailed accumulation and investment funds – especially in 1963 – out of fear of social unrest. As a result, personal consumption grew at a faster pace than national income. Growth in the production of consumer goods also had a positive effect. Efforts were made to boost agricultural output, with the aim of raising it to match the level of industrial production. The leadership decided to deepen economic alignment with the Soviet Union. Czechoslovak officials negotiated the import of raw materials and supplies from the USSR that they could not purchase on capitalist markets, along with a loan to finance purchases on those markets. By 1965, when national income rose by 3.4%, it appeared that the worst of the crisis had passed – but its underlying causes remained unresolved.⁷

The failure of the Third Five-Year Plan and the slowdown in living standards were also reflected in public consciousness. Criticism of the

⁵ FEDERÁLNÍ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD. *Historická statistická ročenka ČSSR...* [Federal Statistical Office. Historical Statistical Yearbook of the ČSSR...], s. 88, 213.

⁶ PRŮCHA, Václav a kol. *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1918–1992* [Economic and Social History of Czechoslovakia 1918–1992]. Díl 2, Období 1945–1992. Brno: Doplněk, 2009, s. 316. ISBN 978-80-7239-228-5

⁷ KAPLAN, Karel. *Československo v letech 1953–1966, 3. část* [Czechoslovakia in the Years 1953–1966, Part 3]. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1992, s. 103–105. ISBN 80-04-25745-3

Table 1: Annual, Average, and Total Growth of Selected Indicators Compared to Original Plans, 1961–1965 (in %)

Indicator	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	Avg. 1961–65	Total 1960–65	Plan
National Income	6.8	1.4	-2.2	0.6	3.4	2.0	10.2	42
Industrial Production	8.8	6.1	-0.6	4.1	7.9	5.3	28.9	56
Agricultural Output	0.3	-7.0	7.1	3.5	-6.0	-0.4	-2.7	23
Personal Consumption	3.4	2.4	1.1	3.0	5.1	3.0	15.8	30

Source: FEDERÁLNÍ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD. *Historická statistická ročenka ČSSR...* [Historical Statistical Yearbook of the CSSR...], s. 88, 91, 213, 241; Zákon č. 165/1960 Sb., o třetím pětiletém plánu rozvoje národního hospodářství Československé socialistické republiky [Act No. 165/1960 Coll., on the Third Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic]. Author's calculations based on absolute values in constant/comparable prices. Planned values are midpoints of given ranges, rounded to whole numbers.

Communist Party's policies increased, distrust of the centrally directed management system grew, and interest in foreign economic theories – including the work of Western economists – expanded. At the same time, the dogmatic environment that had dominated Czechoslovak economic thought began to erode, as evidenced by the writings of economists such as O. Šik, K. Kouba, J. Goldmann, and others.⁸ These developments contributed to a weakening of the regime's authority and overall stability, and gradually led to a limited liberalization of the political and social climate.⁹ Among other things, the regime abandoned its previous declarations that Czechoslovakia was approaching the stage of transitioning from socialism to communism.¹⁰

Not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in other countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), a new economic reform became a pressing demand of the time. Its goal was to revive the role of the market.¹¹ The reform was officially launched in January 1965. In essence, it aimed on one hand to fundamentally change how central plans were formulated and linked to the economy, and on the other hand to increase the responsiveness and autonomy of enterprises in reacting to market signals. Desired behavior by these enterprises was to be guided by economic instruments of the center, while planning and central management would no longer impose directives on enterprises through administrative-command methods.¹²

⁸ PRŮCHA, Václav. Dvě zmařené ekonomické reformy [Two Thwarted Economic Reforms]. *Hospodářské noviny*, 2000, roč. 44, č. 92, s. 7. ISSN 0862-9587

⁹ LONDÁK, Miroslav. Ekonomická tzv. Šikova reforma [The So-Called Šik Economic Reform]. *Encyklopedie českých právních dějin, II. svazek D–J*. Plzeň: Aleš Čeněk, 2016, s. 324. ISBN 978-80-7380-587-6

¹⁰ PRŮCHA, Václav a kol. *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1918–1992...* [Economic and Social History of Czechoslovakia 1918–1992...], s. 318.

¹¹ PRŮCHA, Václav. *Dvě zmařené ekonomické reformy* [Two Thwarted Economic Reforms], s. 7.

¹² SIRŮČEK, Pavel a kol. *Hospodářské dějiny a ekonomické teorie...* [Economic History and Economic Theories...], s. 194.

Table 2: Annual, Average, and Total Growth of Selected Indicators Compared to Original Plans, 1966–1970 (in %)

Indicator	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	Avg. 1966–70	Total 1965–70	Plan
National Income	9.1	5.3	7.2	7.3	5.7	6.9	39.7	23
Industrial Production	7.4	7.1	5.5	5.4	8.5	6.8	38.8	31
Agricultural Output	11.3	5.2	4.8	0.7	1.3	4.7	25.1	20
Personal Consumption	5.3	3.5	10.8	6.6	1.1	5.5	30.1	18

Source: FEDERÁLNÍ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD. *Historická statistická ročenka ČSSR...* [Historical Statistical Yearbook of the CSSR...], s. 88, 89, 91, 213, 241; FEDERÁLNÍ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD. *Statistická ročenka Československé socialistické republiky 1972* [Statistical Yearbook of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic 1972]. Praha: SNTL, 1972, s. 166; Zákon č. 83/1966 Sb., o čtvrtém pětiletém plánu rozvoje národního hospodářství Československé socialistické republiky [Act No. 83/1966 Coll., on the Fourth Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic]; *Vývoj a cíle národohospodářské politiky ČSSR* [Development and Objectives of the National Economic Policy of the CSSR], s. 159. Author's calculations based on absolute figures/indices in comparable/constant prices. Planned indicators were calculated as midpoints of given ranges and rounded to whole numbers.

The preparation of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1966–1970) was more complex, in part because it was expected to coincide with the implementation of the economic reform. The plan's authors could not precisely anticipate how the central and enterprise sectors would behave under the new conditions. Compared to previous plans, the Fourth Five-Year Plan included a significantly reduced set of macroeconomic indicators and shifted its focus from physical to value-based measures.¹³ It was essentially a compilation of general objectives, which could not be fully aligned with enterprise-level plans. As a result, the economy continued to be guided primarily by annual plans (as had been the case from 1962 to 1965), and only partially adhered to the directives of the five-year strategy.

The economic policy focus for 1966–1970 was to revitalize the economy after the stagnation of the early 1960s and to transition to a more intensive form of growth. Both of these goals were tied to the reform, which was expected to support the generation of resources and enable a return to economic equilibrium. The specific targets of the Fourth Five-Year Plan – somewhat more modest than those of its predecessor – included achieving, over five years, national income growth of 22–24%, industrial output growth of 30–32%, agricultural output growth of 20.1%, and personal consumption growth of 17–19%.¹⁴

When looking at the aggregate data for the years 1966 to 1970, one can observe favorable economic and social developments. In the areas of national income, industrial and agricultural output, and personal consumption, not only were the Fourth Plan's targets exceeded (see

¹³ PRŮCHA, Václav a kol. *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1918–1992...* [Economic and Social History of Czechoslovakia 1918–1992...], s. 320.

¹⁴ Zákon č. 83/1966 Sb., o čtvrtém pětiletém plánu rozvoje národního hospodářství Československé socialistické republiky [Act No. 83/1966 Coll., on the Fourth Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic]; *Vývoj a cíle národohospodářské politiky ČSSR* [The Development and Objectives of the National Economic Policy of the CSSR]. Praha: Svoboda, 1968, s. 159.

Table 2), but so were the results of the Third Five-Year Plan (see **Table 1**). National income grew at a rate nearly matching that of the highly praised Second Five-Year Plan, while agricultural output far surpassed its levels from 1956 to 1960.¹⁵ The significant rise in agricultural production was driven by changes in the management and incentivization of the sector. Czechoslovakia's food self-sufficiency improved alongside rising consumption, and agriculture, long considered a weak point, began to evolve into a stabilizing factor for the economy, aided in part by higher procurement prices. By the mid-1960s, living standards had also begun to advance.¹⁶

At the outset of the economic reform during 1966–1967, new conditions were established for enterprise management. The role of internal financing of investments by enterprises was strengthened, and the wage ceiling was abolished.¹⁷ However, one of the more problematic developments was the accelerated adjustment of wholesale prices, effective January 1, 1967, which led to an average price increase of approximately 29%, far exceeding the original target of a maximum 19% rise.¹⁸ Price imbalances became increasingly apparent, and some enterprises acquired disproportionately large financial gains without any improvement in efficiency – contradicting the reform's goal of applying effective economic pressure on enterprise performance.

These newly enriched enterprises no longer depended on the credit system and launched a surge of new investment projects. Wage increases and investment demand not backed by real production capacity further encouraged inflationary tendencies. In contrast, other enter-

¹⁵ FEDERÁLNÍ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD. *Historická statistická ročenka ČSSR...* [Historical Statistical Yearbook of the CSSR...], s. 88, 213.

¹⁶ SIRŮČEK, Pavel a kol. *Hospodářské dějiny a ekonomické teorie...* [Economic History and Economic Theories...], s. 194.

¹⁷ PRŮCHA, Václav a kol. *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1918–1992...* [Economic and Social History of Czechoslovakia 1918–1992...], s. 323.

¹⁸ KYSILKA, Hugo a ZAHRADNÍČEK, Ivan. *Cenová problematika v ČSSR* [The Price Issue in the ČSSR]. Praha: Svoboda, 1977, s. 150.

prises found themselves in difficult financial situations – often through no fault of their own – and sought government subsidies or relief from standardized mandatory contributions.¹⁹

At the beginning of 1968, the economic reform gained momentum with the replacement of Antonín Novotný as head of the Communist Party by Alexander Dubček, and the election of Ludvík Svoboda as president. The key political document of this period became the Akční program KSČ [Action Programme of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], adopted by the Central Committee of the CPCz on April 5, 1968. Reform efforts aimed at moving closer to a market economy, and the success of the reform was increasingly seen as dependent on changes to the political system.²⁰

The State Statistical Office, in its report dated May 22, 1968, concerning the effects of democratization on economic development, stated the following: “Economic developments in 1968 are taking place under conditions of high political activity among workers and social and economic institutions. Even in the first quarter of 1968, the economic instruments of the new management system failed to steer developments in the desired direction. The favorable income situation as a whole does not allow the center to implement either desirable structural changes in production or more intensive use of production factors. Enterprises are able to finance inventory growth and investments from their own resources, which weakens the role of credit. In the first quarter of 1968, the financial operations of state and cooperative organizations were marked by a 10.5% increase in output, an 11.4% rise in gross income, and a 24.8% rise in net profit. Higher income generation led to increases in both contributions to the state budget and enterprise funds.”²¹

¹⁹ PRŮCHA, Václav a kol. *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1918–1992...* [Economic and Social History of Czechoslovakia 1918–1992...], s. 324.

²⁰ PRŮCHA, Václav. *Dvě zmařené ekonomické reformy...* [Two Thwarted Economic Reforms...], s. 7.

²¹ Národní archiv, f. 07/15, sv. 12, a. j. 114, Současný hospodářský vývoj (stručně

Following the invasion by Warsaw Pact troops in August 1968, the reform programme was gradually curtailed. In April 1969, when Gustáv Husák replaced Alexander Dubček as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a new era began – one that would come to be known as the period of “Normalization.” The administrative-command system of economic management was reinstated, a return to dogmatism emerged in economic sciences, and politically motivated purges were carried out, affecting many economic experts as well.²²

In the economic sphere, the military intervention led to several disruptions, including a temporary decline in workforce productivity, a wave of panic buying, and a surge of emigration. This emigration cost the country a significant portion of its population – most of them skilled workers in their prime productive years. The suppression of reform efforts had lasting consequences for the public consciousness, eroding any lingering belief in the possibility of reshaping the political and economic system into what had been previously referred to as “socialism with a human face,” a vision promoted by Alexander Dubček.²³

Reform efforts were also brought to an end not only in Czechoslovakia, but in the Soviet Union and other COMECON countries as well.²⁴ One of the most significant structural changes to affect the management system of the national economy was the introduction of federalization, enacted by a constitutional law in October 1968 and taking effect at the beginning of 1969. This change ended the asymmetric constitutional arrangement that had defined Czechoslovakia since 1945.²⁵

podklady) od Státního statistického úřadu z 22. května 1968 [Current Economic Development (brief background materials) from the State Statistical Office, May 22, 1968], s. 1.

²² SIRŮČEK, Pavel a kol. *Hospodářské dějiny a ekonomické teorie...* [Economic History and Economic Theories...], s. 196.

²³ PRŮCHA, Václav a kol. *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1918–1992...* [Economic and Social History of Czechoslovakia 1918–1992...], s. 326–327.

²⁴ PRŮCHA, Václav. *Dvě zmařené ekonomické reformy...* [Two Thwarted Economic Reforms...], s. 7.

²⁵ PRŮCHA, Václav a kol. *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1918–*

2. Outlook: What to Expect in the Second Part of This Study

This article has explored the economic and political context in which the Šik reform was conceived, developed, and – at least partially – implemented during the 1960s in Czechoslovakia. Particular attention was paid to the macroeconomic dynamics, the changing political climate, and the evolving role of central planning.

The second part of the study, to be published in the next issue of GIRN, will delve into the practical dimension of the reform process. It will trace the specific measures introduced between 1963 and 1969, examine the reform's implementation challenges, and analyze its intended final shape as envisaged by reform theorists. Drawing on unpublished documents and legislative drafts from 1968 and 1969, it will reconstruct the direction in which the reform was meant to evolve – before it was interrupted by external intervention. The second part will thus offer deeper insight into the reform's unrealized goals and provide a clearer picture of its potential significance within the broader trajectory of socialist economic governance in Central Europe.

LITERATURE

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Národní archiv, f. 01, sv. 201. a. j. 127, Zasedání ústředního výboru Komunistické strany Československa dne 12.–13. prosince 1968 (stenografický zápis). [National Archives, f. 01, vol. 201, inv. no. 127, Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on December 12–13, 1968 (stenographic record).]

Národní archiv, f. 07/15, sv. 12, a. j. 114, Důvodová zpráva k Usnesení vlády Československé socialistické republiky ze dne 3. března 1969 č. 38 k informaci o hlavních problémech diskuze k návrhu zákona o socialistických podnicích. [National Archives, f. 07/15, vol. 12, inv. no. 114, Explanatory Report on the Resolution of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic of March 3, 1969, No. 38, regarding the main issues in the discussion on the draft law on socialist enterprises.]

Národní archiv, f. 07/15, sv. 12, a. j. 114, Současný hospodářský vývoj (stručné podklady) od Státního statistického úřadu z 22. května 1968. [National Archives, f. 07/15, vol. 12, inv. no. 114, Current Economic Development (brief background materials) from the State Statistical Office, May 22, 1968.]

Národní archiv, f. 07/15, sv. 12, a. j. 114, Usnesení předsednictva ÚV KSČ z prosince 1968. [National Archives, f. 07/15, vol. 12, inv. no. 114, Resolution of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCz, December 1968.]

Národní archiv, f. 07/15, sv. 12, a. j. 114, Zásady pro zřizování kolektivních podnikatelských orgánů v podnicích z 24. května 1968. [National Archives, f. 07/15, vol. 12, inv. no. 114, Principles for the Establishment of Collective Entrepreneurial Organs in Enterprises, May 24, 1968.]

Národní archiv, f. 07/15, sv. 21, a. j. 215, Rozhovor s. Šika s redaktory švýcarské televize 24. listopadu 1968. [National Archives, f. 07/15, vol. 21, inv. no. 215, Interview of Comrade Šik with Reporters from Swiss Television, November 24, 1968.]

Národní archiv, f. ÚV ČSR – Praha 1969, Záznám z jednání schůze vlády dne 4. března 1969. [National Archives, f. Central Committee of the ČSR – Prague 1969, Record of the Government Meeting on March 4, 1969.]

Národní archiv, f. ÚV KSČ – Ekonomické oddělení, kar. 54, Usnesení vlády Československé socialistické republiky ze dne 8. dubna 1966 č. 139 k návrhu programu urychlené realizace nové soustavy řízení. [National Archives, f. CPCz Central Committee – Economic Department, box 54, Resolution of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic of April 8, 1966, No. 139, on the Proposal for the Programme of Accelerated Implementation of the New Management System.]

PUBLISHED SOURCES

FEDERÁLNÍ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD. *Historická statistická ročenka ČSSR. Praha: SNTL, 1985.* [Federal Statistical Office. Historical Statistical Yearbook of the CSSR. Prague: SNTL, 1985.]

FEDERÁLNÍ STATISTICKÝ ÚŘAD. *Statistická ročenka Československé socialistické republiky 1972. Praha: SNTL, 1972.* [Federal Statistical Office. Statistical Yearbook of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic 1972. Prague: SNTL, 1972.]

Rok šedesátý osmý v usneseních a dokumentech ÚV KSČ. Praha: Svoboda, 1969. [The Year Sixty-Eight in the Resolutions and Documents of the CPCz Central Committee. Prague: Svoboda, 1969.]

ŠULC, Zdislav (ed.). *Dokumenty k hospodářské politice v Československu z let 1963–1969. Praha: Vysoká škola ekonomická, 1998. ISBN 80-7079-514-X.* [Documents on Economic Policy in Czechoslovakia 1963–1969. Prague: University of Economics, 1998.]

VONDROVÁ, Jitka (ed.). *Ekonomická reforma 1965–1969. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2010. ISBN 978-80-7285-131-7.* [The Economic Reform 1965–1969. Prague: Institute of Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2010.]

CONTEMPORARY DAILY PRESS

Jak postupují práce na nové soustavě řízení? Na otázky redakce odpovídá dr. F. Boreš, vedoucí odboru Státní plánovací komise. *Rudé právo*, 1965, roč. 45, č. 133, s. 2. [How Is the Work on the New Management System Progressing? Interview with Dr. F. Boreš, Head of Department at the State Planning Commission. *Rudé právo*, 1965, vol. 45, no. 133, p. 2.]

O návrhu zásad zdokonalení plánovitého řízení národního hospodářství. *Rudé právo*, 1964, roč. 45, č. 289, s. 3–4. [On the Draft Principles for Improving the Planned Management of the National Economy. *Rudé právo*, 1964, vol. 45, no. 289, pp. 3–4.]

Spolutvůrci celostátní politiky. Ze společné schůze národních vlád. *Rudé právo*, 1969, roč. 49, č. 50, s. 1–2. [Co-Creators of Nationwide Policy. From the Joint Meeting of the National Governments. *Rudé právo*, 1969, vol. 49, no. 50, pp. 1–2.]

Usnesení Ústředního výboru KSČ o hlavních směrech zdokonalení plánovitého řízení národního hospodářství a o práci strany. *Rudé právo*, 1965, roč. 45, č. 29, s. 1–4.

[Resolution of the CPCz Central Committee on the Main Directions of Improving the Planned Management of the National Economy and on the Party's Work. *Rudé právo*, 1965, vol. 45, no. 29, pp. 1–4.]

Usnesení ÚV KSČ k hlavním výsledkům, problémům a úkolům hospodářské politiky v současném období. *Rudé právo*, 1968, roč. 49, č. 336, s. 2. [Resolution of the CPCz Central Committee on the Main Results, Problems, and Tasks of Economic Policy in the Current Period. *Rudé právo*, 1968, vol. 49, no. 336, p. 2.]

LAWS

Zákon č. 165/1960 Sb., o třetím pětiletém plánu rozvoje národního hospodářství Československé socialistické republiky. [Act No. 165/1960 Coll., on the Third Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.]

Zákon č. 83/1966 Sb., o čtvrtém pětiletém plánu rozvoje národního hospodářství Československé socialistické republiky. [Act No. 83/1966 Coll., on the Fourth Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.]

ONLINE SOURCES

Stenoprotokol 2. schůze Federálního shromáždění Československé socialistické republiky ze dne 28. dubna 1969. Dostupné z: <https://www.psp.cz/eknih/1969fs/slsn/stenprot/002schuz/s002001.htm> [Stenographic Transcript of the 2nd Session of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, April 28, 1969.]

SCHOLARLY ARTICLES AND STUDIES

KOSTA, Jiří. *K historii a koncepci československé ekonomické reformy v letech 1965–1969*. Acta Oeconomica Pragensia, 2005, roč. 13, č. 3, s. 27–47. [On the History and Concept of the Czechoslovak Economic Reform of 1965–1969.]

LONDÁK, Miroslav. Ekonomická tzv. Šikova reforma. In: *Encyklopedie českých právních dějin, II. svazek D–J*. Plzeň: Aleš Čeněk, 2016, s. 322–338. ISBN 978-80-7380-587-6. [The So-Called Šik Economic Reform.]

PRŮCHA, Václav. *Dvě zmařené ekonomické reformy*. Hospodářské noviny, 2000, roč. 44, č. 92, s. 7. ISSN 0862-9587. [Two Thwarted Economic Reforms.]

SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS

KAPLAN, Karel. *Československo v letech 1953–1966, 3. část*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1992. ISBN 80-04-25745-3. [Czechoslovakia in the Years 1953–1966, Part 3.]

KAPLAN, Karel. *Kořeny československé reformy 1968*. Brno: Doplněk, 2000. ISBN 80-7239-061-9. [The Roots of the Czechoslovak Reform of 1968.]

KYSILKA, Hugo a ZAHRADNÍČEK, Ivan. *Cenová problematika v ČSSR*. Praha: Svoboda, 1977. [The Price Issue in the CSSR.]

PRŮCHA, Václav a kol. *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1918–1992. Díl 2, Období 1945–1992*. Brno: Doplněk, 2009. ISBN 978-80-7239-228-5. [Economic and Social History of Czechoslovakia 1918–1992. Vol. 2: The Period 1945–1992.]

SIRŮČEK, Pavel a kol. *Hospodářské dějiny a ekonomické teorie: (vývoj, současnost, výhledy)*. Slaný: Melandrium, 2007. ISBN 978-80-86175-03-4. [Economic History and Economic Theories: Development, Present, Prospects.]

ŠIK, Ota. *Jarní probuzení – iluze a skutečnost*. Praha: Zürich: Mladá fronta, 1990. ISBN 80-204-0208-X. [Spring Awakening – Illusion and Reality.]

ŠULC, Zdislav. *Hospodářská politika*. Praha: Consus, 1993. ISBN 80-901004-7-3. [Economic Policy.]

ŠULC, Zdislav. *Stručné dějiny ekonomických reforem v Československu (České republice) 1945–1995*. Brno: Doplněk, 1998. ISBN 80-7239-005-8. [A Brief History of Economic Reforms in Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic) 1945–1995.]

Vývoj a cíle národohospodářské politiky ČSSR. Praha: Svoboda, 1968. [The Development and Objectives of the National Economic Policy of the CSSR.]

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Štěpán Turčín (born in Jičín) graduated from the Prague University of Economics and Business, where he specialized in Economic Policy (as the primary area of Master's degree studies), Modern Economic History. His research focuses primarily on national economic policy in Czechoslovakia during the second half of the 20th century. He is currently a PhD candidate at the Faculty of Economics.

Ing. Štěpán Turčín
Národohospodářská fakulta
Vysoká škola ekonomická v Praze
Nám. W. Churchilla 1938/4
130 00 Praha 3
turs00@vse.cz
ORCID 0009-0002-9788-393X