

Contents

Foreword <i>Václav Havel</i>	ix
Acknowledgments	xi
List of Major Parties and Coalitions	xiii
Maps	xv
The Past as Prologue <i>Michael Kraus and Allison Stanger</i>	1
1 Contending Views of Czechoslovakia's Demise <i>Michael Kraus and Allison Stanger</i>	7
Part I—The Legacies of the Past	
2 Inevitability, Probability, Possibility: The Legacies of the Czech–Slovak Relationship, 1918–1989, and the Disintegration of the State <i>Carol Skalnik Leff</i>	29
3 The Possibilities for Czech–Slovak Compromise, 1989–1992 <i>Jan Rychlík</i>	49
Part II—Institutional Challenges and Constitutional Controversies	
4 From “Velvet Revolution” to “Velvet Split”: Consociational Institutions and the Disintegration of Czechoslovakia <i>Petr Kopecký</i>	69

5	The Impact of Institutional Factors on the Breakup of the Czechoslovak Federation <i>Sharon Wolchik</i>	87
6	Electoral Rules and the Fate of Nations: Czechoslovakia's Last Parliamentary Election <i>František Turnovec</i>	107
7	The Price of Velvet: Constitutional Politics and the Demise of the Czechoslovak Federation <i>Allison Stanger</i>	137

Part III—Media, Economic, and International Factors

8	Failing Democracy: Journalists, the Mass Media, and the Dissolution of Czechoslovakia <i>Owen V. Johnson</i>	163
9	Explaining Czechoslovakia's Dissolution: Assessing Economic Performance before and after the Breakup <i>Jan Svejnar</i>	183
10	The End of Czechoslovakia: International Forces and Factors <i>Michael Kraus</i>	199

Part IV—The View from the Ground: Czech and Slovak Perspectives

11	A Retrospective Look at the Dissolution of Czecho-Slovakia <i>Ján Čarnogurský</i>	221
12	The Division/Dissolution of Czechoslovakia: Old Sins and New Forms of Selfishness <i>Petr Pithart</i>	227
13	A Comment on Čarnogurský and Pithart <i>Daniel Kroupa</i>	235
14	Fragments from the Dividing of Czechoslovakia <i>Miroslav Macek</i>	241
15	Domestic and International Aspects of the Czechoslovak State's Crisis and End <i>Milan Zemko</i>	247
16	Czechoslovakia after 1989: The Reasons for the Division <i>Peter Zajac</i>	259

17	Notes on the Role of Television in Czechoslovakia's Dissolution <i>Martin Vadas</i>	269
Part V—Czechoslovakia's Dissolution in Comparative Perspective		
18	On Ethnic Conflicts and Their Resolution <i>Stanley Hoffmann</i>	287
19	Lessons from the Breakup of Czechoslovakia <i>Michael Kraus and Allison Stanger</i>	299
Appendix: Narrative Chronology of the Czech–Slovak Conflict, 1990–1992		307
Index		333
About the Contributors		345

Index

Adamec, Ladislav, 139, 142
Africa, conflicts in, 288–290, 292–296.
 See also ethnic conflicts
Agrarians, Slovak, 31, 33, 46n11. *See also* First Republic
Antal, Jozsef, 210. *See also* Hungary
Arab-Israeli conflict, 293. *See also* intra- and interstate conflicts
arms industry. *See* Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic, Dienstbier, economic conditions, foreign policy, Mečiar, Slovakia
Austria, 70, 91, 194. *See also* Austro-Hungarian Empire, economic conditions
Austro-Hungarian Empire, 80, 91, 184, 195, 291; compromise of 1867, 61.
 See also First Republic
Baltic republics, struggle for independence, 89, 248, 253
Beneš, Edvard, 2, 41, 46n6, 201, 263; nationalist philosophy, 3; relations with Soviet Union, 201, 203. *See also* Czechoslovakia, First Republic
Bil'ak, Vasil, 50–51. *See also* Communist Party in Czechoslovakia
Bohemia, 1–2, 5, 210, 229, 241, 300, 302.
 See also Czech-Slovak relations, World War II
Bratislava, 2, 9, 171, 174, 210. *See also* constitution and state treaty, 1989–1992; Slovakia
Brezhnev, 201, 216n6
Brno, constitutional and state treaty negotiations at, 244–246
Burešová Dagmar, 53, 55, 57, 251; common state, view of, 255
Čalfa, Marián, 52–53, 169, 244, 250, 280; arms sales, 208; “federal Slovak”, 251; Government of National Understanding, interim federal prime minister, 139. *See also* constitution and state treaty, 1989–1992; dissolution
Čarnogursky, Ján, 18–20, 56, 59, 77; constitution and state treaty negotiations, role in, 140, 146, 148–149, 223–224, 243, 252–254; dissolution, analysis of, 18–19, 221–225; European Community, membership in, 213–214, 224–225; fall of communism, impact on Czech-Slovak relations, 221; Maastricht, as model for Czechoslovakia, 211; nationalism, role of, 236; Slovakia, views on independence of, 212–214; Soviet coup of 1991, views of, 211. *See also* Christian Democratic

Movement, constitution and state treaty, Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, Mečiar

Catholicism, 2

Central Europe, 199, 229, 266, 287, 304. *See also* Eastern Europe, economic conditions

Chamber of the Nations. *See* Federal Assembly

Chamber of the People. *See* Federal Assembly

Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor, 2

Charter 77, 6. *See also* Havel

Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), 19, 77, 211–213, 222, 224, 243, 251. *See also* Černogursky; constitution and state treaty, negotiations; Mečiar; political institutions and parties

chronology of Czech-Slovak dissolution, 49–64, 307–332

Civic Democratic Party (ODS), 9, 21; constitution and state treaty negotiations, role in, 57–63, 213, 244, 259–260, 302–303. *See also* Klaus, Macek, political institutions and parties

Civic Forum, 51, 74, 109; constitution and state treaty negotiations, role in, 140–142, 251, 252, 262; reasons for conservative approach to constitutional draft, 140–142; Slovak demands, parody of, 242; split of party, 54–55; timing of elections, 302. *See also* constitution and state treaty, elections (1990), elections (1992), Havel, political institution and parties, Velvet Revolution

civil society, 13, 97–98, 114, 262. *See also* Czech-Slovak relations

Cold War, 5, 18–19, 23, 202–203 287–288, 306; *See also* ethnic conflicts, interstate conflicts, intra- and interstate system, NATO, self-determination

communism: bourgeois nationalists, 33, 94; collapse of, in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union, 7; fall of communist regime in Czechoslovakia, 2, 51, 99; post-communist transformations, nature of, 203; resistance to, source of Czechoslovak solidarity, 75, 221; rise and takeover in Czechoslovakia, 1, 5, 72, 90; transition literature, 137. *See also* Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, Prague Spring, Soviet Union, Stalin

Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, 6, 32, 39, 50, 72–73, 78, 95, 139, 172–173, 305; coup d'état of 1948, 185; "federalized totalitarianism," legacy of, 203; legacy and power of, 6, 64n4, 90; purges, 5–6, 33, 93–94; Round Table talks, 73; ultimate authority on rights and obligations, 299; television, control of, 270. *See also* communism, Czechoslovakia, mass media

concentration camps, 5

consociational government, 10, 40, 84n14, 305; examples of, 70–71, 82; failure in Czechoslovakia, 10, 69–70, 75–76, 80–83, 305; political leadership, role of, 70; power sharing, 69–72, 304–305; preconditions for, 71–72, 80–81. *See also* Constitutional Amendment of 1968, ethnic conflicts, intra- and interstate conflicts

Constitutional Amendment of 1968, Law on Federation, 11, 21, 40–41, 49, 76; Communist Party, attitude toward federation, 204; control of constitutional process, 204; Czech-Slovak dissatisfaction with, 50–51; dissolution, role in, 237; federal structures in, 49–50, 73–74, 143; "pseudofederalism," 203, 206; subordination of republics to center, 204. *See also* constitution and state treaty, Czech-Slovak relations, Federal Assembly, minority veto

constitution and state treaty, 1989–1992: alternatives, search for, 251–254, 256; comparisons with 1968 deliberations, 153; constitutional framework, need for new, 250, 262; constitutional

"moment," 151–152; constitutional reconstruction, choices, 138, 256; Constitution of 1960, legacy of, 143–144, 150; deadline for drafting, 20, 151, 232, 261, 302; deadlock and failure, reasons for, 64, 145–146, 149–150, 152–154, 221–225, 237–238, 248, 259, 263–265; dissolution, extraconstitutional solution to, 238–239; drafting of new, 20, 85n21, 98, 138, 147; drafting process and approval, 147–148, 213; economic and defense union, proposed, 20, 216, 245–246; Hrádeček, meetings at, 146–150, 153; legal training, lack of, 264; nationalist perspectives of, 248–249; negotiations, 23, 38, 48n42, 51–64 *passim*, 98–99, 140–141, 145–150, 224, 250–252; partition as second best solution, 22, 256, 260; power sharing agreement, 53–57, 145, 149, 251, 266, 304; referendum on, 58, 61–62, 256, 259; republics pay own way, 222; rule of law, 262; Slovak "blackmail" and demands for equality, 153, 222–223, 263; sovereignty, disputes over, 144–146, 149, 204, 214; Tocqueville, Alexis de, 262; Trenčianské Teplice, meetings at, 53, 145, 250. *See also* Černogursky, Civic Forum, Czech-Slovak relations, Czechoslovakia, dissolution electoral system, elites, Havel, Klaus, Mečiar, minority veto, referendum

Constitution of 1920. *See* First Republic

Constitution of 1948, 73

Constitution of 1960, 72, 141, 143

Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), 183, 186. *See also* Eastern Europe, economic conditions

cultural differences. *See* Czech-Slovak relations

Czech National Council. *See* Czech Republic, elections (1992)

Czechoslovakia: arms sales, 206–207; asymmetry and weakness of institutional structures, 11, 31, 73, 101, 143–144, 204, 261; birth of, 1, 66n3, 199, 200; censorship, 94; Communist rule, legacy of, 90, 153, 203; dissolution, compared to Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, 7, 24, 88–90, 100, 199, 212, 250, 253, 256, 259–260, 299–301; division of state assets, 101; federalized totalitarianism, legacy of, 203–206; Germany and Hungary, fear of, 17–18, 200–201, 209, 228; historical overview, 1–6, 200–203; Hungarian card, playing of, 218n29; interwar period, (1918–38), 1; minorities, German and Hungarian, 3, 31, 89, 101–102, 200–201, 209, 266–267; modernizing forces, 266; relationship with Soviet Union, 201–202, 216n6; republics, historical differences, 1–6, 8–9, 41–42, 89–90, 241, 247–248, 267, 305–306; reunification, after World War II, 93, 247–248; segmented society, 69–70; Soviet coup of 1991, impact of, 211–212; "stateness" problem, 8, 29–30, 34, 45; "uninterrupted existence" of, 210. *See also* Austro-Hungarian Empire, civil society, consociational government, Constitutional Amendment of 1968, constitution and state treaty, Czech Republic, Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, economic conditions, elections (1992), elites, ethnic conflicts, First Republic, foreign policy, Havel, intra- and interstate conflicts, Maastricht, mass media, NATO, elections of 1992, political institutions and parties, Prague Spring, Slovakia, television, World War II

Czech Republic: arms industry, 207; better off without Slovakia, 230; borders of, 194; centralism, tolerance of, 229; Ministry of International Affairs, 215; National Council, 55, 57, 108, 143–144, 148, 222, 251, 265; resource transfer to Slovakia, 222, 243. *See also* constitution and state treaty,

Czechoslovakia, Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, economic conditions, elections (1992), elites, foreign policy, Havel, Pithart, political parties, Prague, Slovakia

Czechs, 2, 20. *See also* Czechoslovakia, Czech-Slovak relations, Slovakia

Czech-Slovak relations: compromise and cooperation, tradition of, 78–80, 82, 114, 146, 305; cultural, historical, and social differences, 47n13, 47n19, 165, 231, 237, 241, 263, 266–267; Czech arrogance and chauvinism, 35, 139, 230, 249, 261; “dialogue of deaf,” 146, 305–306; elites and triadic leadership, 32–33, 38–39, 76; empathy, lack of, 248; ethnic conflicts and homogeneity of republics, 75, 82, 89, 94, 98, 100, 300; external threats, role of, 80, 202, 221, 305; “federal Slovaks,” 251; First Republic, 29–30, 89, 92; grievances and misunderstandings, legacy of, 16, 35–37, 40–43, 45, 51, 80, 153, 165, 168, 215, 222, 230–231, 248, 305–306; hyphen war, 22, 52–53, 176, 222, 236, 241, 249; identity, search for, 215; institutional linkages, lack of, 97–98; interstate relationship between, 214–215; Kočice government program, 30, 93, 203–204; Marxist analysis of, 34–35, 205; minorities, role in, 3–4, 31, 82; political leadership, importance of, 302–303; post-1989 overviews, 37–46, 88–89, 99, 221–225; Round Table talks, 73, 139–140; self-determination, common quest for, 2; Slovak demand for autonomy and equality, 153, 201, 222; Slovak gains during crises, 36, 47n5; Slovak ingratititude, 35, 42, 90, 94, 98, 261; socialism, attitudes toward, 231; sovereignty issues, 144–145, 204, 214, 253; Soviet influence on, 205; subordination of republics to center, 204–205; transformation, keys to successful, 262; twin challenges, democratization and decolonization, 306; violence, absence in relationship, 300. *See also* Austro-Hungarian Empire, Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, Constitutional Amendment of 1968, constitution and state treaty, Czech Republic, dissolution, economic conditions, electoral system, elites, ethnic conflicts, Federal Assembly, foreign policy, Havel, intra- and interstate conflicts, Klaus, mass media, Mečiar, nationalism, political institutions and parties, Slovakia

de Gaulle, Charles, 142

demonstration effect. *See* Maastricht, Treaty of

Dienstbier, Jiří, 55, 217n15; arms sales, 207–208; foreign policy views, 202, 205. *See also* constitution and state treaty, foreign policy, Havel, political institutions and parties

dissidents, 6, 19, 141–142, 221, 236, 303–304; composition of, 78; role in binding republics, 221. *See also* Havel

dissolution: constitutional framework, cause of, 37–39, 299; economic conditions, role in, 184, 195–196; electoral system, impact on, 107; foreign policy, role in, 199–200, 215–216; inevitability of, 8–9, 18–19, 23, 44–46, 64, 87–88, 102, 138, 214, 225, 227, 247; institutional factors, role in, 96–100; internal and external influences on, 199–200, 216; international context of, 17–18, 199, 216; lessons from, 102, 301–306; mass media, role in, 13–15, 43, 163–166, 175, 177–178, 237, 250, 261, 282–283; political institutions, role of, 304–305; political leadership, role in, 302–304; post-dissolution relations, 225, 228–229, 246, 267; public opinion and polls, 42, 44, 61, 88–89, 94–95, 98, 100, 102, 253–254, 256, 263, 302; reasons for, 1, 7–24 *passim*, 44–46, 64, 80, 87–89, 199, 206, 241, 252,

260–261, 282, 299–306; Western arguments against, 259. *See also* Čarnogursky, consociational government, constitution and state treaty, Constitutional Amendment of 1968, Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic, Czech-Slovak relations, economic conditions, elections (1990), elections (1992), elites, Havel, intra- and interstate relations, Klaus, Kroupa, Macek, mass media, Mečiar, nationalism, Pithart, political institutions and parties, referendum on dissolution, self-determination, Slovakia, sovereignty, Soviet Union, television, Yugoslavia, Zajac, Zemko Dubček, Alexander: constitutional commission, head of, 223; Prague Spring, 73; relations with Soviet Union, 202, 216n6; socialism with a human face, 6, 94. *See also* Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, Prague Spring

Eastern Europe, 2, 5, 17, 266; economic conditions, 16, 183, 186(tables 9.2 and 9.3), 188(table 9.4), 189(table 9.5), 190, 192, 195(table 9.6); political conditions, 1–2, 5, 76, 199, 287. *See also* Central Europe, Cold War, economic conditions, European Union, Warsaw Pact

economic conditions: agriculture, 184; arms industry, 16, 185, 194, 196n9–11, 207; common economic plans, 187; comparative performance, 16, 183–197 *passim*, 265; disparities between republics, 2–3, 15–17, 79–80, 91–92, 100; exchange rate policy, 191; First Republic, development during, 184–185; foreign trade and investment, 191–192; government budgets, 188–189, 189(table 9.4), 205; growth rates, 186(table 9.1), 187, 195; guest workers, 194, 196n12; income and wage differentials, 185–187; income

distribution, 189; inflation, 182, 187, 188(table 9.2); investment, 190–191, 190(table 9.5); money pipeline to Slovakia, 228, 235; nomenklatura capitalism, 267; population, 3, 80–81, 184; post-split developments, 195; preferential investment in Slovakia, 15–16, 35, 41–42, 50, 79, 94, 185, 194, 205, 228, 235, 243; Slovak economy, underestimation of, 183–184, 187, 195; unemployment, 16, 79, 95–96, 184, 192–195, 193(table 9.6), 196n11, 252, 265; unit labor costs, 187–188, 188(table 9.3); *See also* Czechoslovakia, Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, Eastern Europe, foreign policy, Slovakia education, 168, 300; Slovak nationalism and, 34, 47n13, 91–92, 94 elections (1990), 12, 45, 53, 109, 143, 169, 301. *See also* electoral system, political institutions and parties elections (1992), ix, 6, 9–10, 13, 19, 64, 78, 109–125 *passim*, 151, 221; institutional legitimacy, creation of, 300. party alignments, 57–59, 109, 255–256, 302; party profiles and representations in federal parliament, Czech, and Slovak national councils, 113–123(figures 6.1–6.10 *passim*), 111–128(tables 6.1–6.14 *passim*); television, role of, 174–175; voter participation, 109. *See also* electoral system, mass media, political institutions and parties, television electoral system, 107–109, 143; asymmetry of institutional structures, 144; electoral rules and distribution of power, 118–125; parliament, elements of, 108, 143; threshold levels and proportional representation, impact of, 13, 58, 70, 74, 108–109, 118–125, 134n3, 143; voting power, 115, 118–125, 129–134. *See also* elections (1990), elections (1992), elites, Federal Assembly, minority veto, political institutions and parties

elites: consociational government, role in, 71, 80; dissolution, role in 9–12, 20–23, 39, 47n19, 62, 78, 82–83, 96, 199, 212, 215, 235–236, 261, 267, 301, 303. *See also* constitution and state treaty, Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, elections (1990), elections (1992), electoral system political institutions and parties

emigration, Czech and Slovak diaspora, 2

Estonia, independence movement of, 249

ethnic conflicts, 3–4, 7, 23–24, 85, 95, 98–99, 248; clash of civilizations, 289; collective intervention in, 294–295; economic disparities, result from, 15; international regimes, role in settling, 292–295, 297; interstate breakdowns, role in, 289–290; minorities, protection of, 292, 296; multiple faces and parents, 23–24; Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, role of, 292–293; resolution of, 292–297; universal security dilemmas, created by, 290; violence, forms of, in, 292; voluntary secession, 292. *See also* Czech-Slovak relations, intra- and interstate conflicts, self-determination, sovereignty

European Community. *See* European Union

European Union, 24, 100, 209, 213, 214, 228, 238, 293; conflicts, role in, 293–297. Czechoslovakia, interest in joining, 213–214, 224–225. *See also* čarnogursky, economic conditions, foreign policy

Federal Assembly, 49–50, 59, 63, 73–74, 98, 108, 143, 238–239. *See also* Constitutional Amendment of 1968, constitution and state treaty, dissolution, electoral system

federation, 32, 87, 96, 263; common state, 2, 9, 19, 93, 218n45, 247, 254–255, 260, 265, 305; dysfunctional in Czechoslovakia, 240, 246. *See also* Carnogursky, Constitutional Amendment of 1968, constitution and state treaty, Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, Havel, Mečiar, Velvet Divorce

First Republic, 1918–38: arts and sciences in, 4–5; clergy, role of, 91; constitution of 1920, 30, 72, 139, 142; creation in 1918, 1–2, 66n33, 72; Declaration of Independence (1918), 2, 142; economic conditions, 79, 184; education, role of, 34, 91; equal political and civil rights, 3; institutional relations, 30–31; interwar governance, strategy of, 31; liberal democracy, as a, 1, 4, 30; media's role, 167; minorities, treatment of, 4, 31; Pittsburgh Agreement, 2, 148, 158n5, 300; political and cultural orientation, 4–5; Slovakia, autonomy of, 31, 200–201, 263; Slovak views of, 102; social engineering, during, 34, 47n13; traditions, adopted by Czech Republic, 102 triadic leadership, 32–33. *See also* Austro-Hungarian Empire, Czechoslovakia, Hlinka Populists, Second Republic, Slovakia

foreign policy: arms sales, 206–209; foreign ministries, establishment of separate, 101, 215–216; Germany, friendship and cooperation treaty, 209; Hungarian minority, impact of, 210–211; investment in Czechoslovakia, 210; Moscow influence on, 205–206; reaction to Soviet coup of 1991, 211–212; state and regional crises, impact of, on, 206, 212, 215–216. *See also* Cold War, constitution and state treaty, Czech-Slovak relations, Dienstbier, dissolution, Dubček, Havel, Maastricht, Mečiar, NATO, World War I, World War II

Fukuyama, Francis, 18, 202, 221, 288

Gabčíkovo Dam, 64, 66n34, 205, 211, 267. *See also* Hungary

Germany: Friendship Treaty with Czechoslovakia, 209; Sudeten Germans, 3, 5, 209, 266. *See also*

Czechoslovakia, foreign policy, Hitler, Munich Agreement of 1938, Sudetenland, World War II

Gorbachev, Mikhail, 6, 95, 139, 303. *See also* Soviet Union

Gottwald, Klement, 204. *See also* Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, Stalin

Government of National Understanding. *See* Čalfa

Great Moravian Empire, 1

Habsburg Empire, 3, 46n2. *See also* First Republic

Havel, Václav, 18, 20, 40, 53, 59, 62, 75, 99, 150, 209, 214; arms sales and disarmament, 208; Charter 77, 6; constitution and state treaty negotiations, 20, 75, 137, 141–142, 146–152, 223, 232–233, 262, 264, 301, 304; dissolution of Czechoslovakia, reasons for and attitudes toward, ix, 6–8; “federalized totalitarianism,” 18, 203, 206, 299; foreign policy views, 202; hyphen war, 52, 249; leadership, compared to Milosevic, 301; leadership, moral force of, 304; media, professionalism of, 271–272; Public Against Violence, support of, 222; reaction to Soviet coup of 1991, 211–212. *See also* Civic Forum, constitution and state treaty, dissolution, elites, foreign policy, political and institutional parties, referendum, Velvet Divorce, Velvet Revolution

Hitler, Adolph, 4, 5, 18, 201, 291–292. *See also* ethnic conflicts, Munich Agreement of 1938, World War II

Hlinka Populists, 31–33, 92–93, 169. *See also* First Republic, Slovakia, Tiso

Hungary, 82, 91, 188, 192, 201, 210–211, 267, 287; minority in Czechoslovakia, 210, 267; rule of Slovak lands, 2, 5; Slovakia, relationship with, 210–211; Slovakia and Ruthenia, former provinces of, 3. *See also* Austro-Hungarian Empire, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Europe, economic conditions

Huntington, Samuel, 287

Hus, Jan, 2

Husák, Gustav, 50–51, 140, 204, 250. *See also* Communist Party in Czechoslovakia

hyphen war. *See* Czech-Slovak relations

intelligentsia, 4–5

interstate system: collapse of Soviet Union, changes following, 202, 216; dissolution of Czechoslovakia, impact on, 200; what constitutes a nation, 288; World War II, changes following, 200–202. *See also* Cold War, ethnic conflicts, foreign policy, self-determination, sovereignty

intra- and interstate conflicts: examples of, 289–290, 292–297; resolution of, 23, 292–297; use of force in, 295. *See also* Cold War, ethnic conflicts, self-determination, sovereignty

Jewish community, 3

Jiřínsky, Zdeněk, 141, 241. *See also* constitution and state treaty

Kalvoda, Jan, 56, 148–149, 264

Klaus, Václav, 9–10, 10, 25n16, 59, 154, 176; constitution and state treaty negotiations, 24n3, 43, 48n42, 57, 100, 154, 244–246, 292, 302–303; media coverage of, 281; meetings with Mečiar, 48n42, 57–63, 81, 89, 96, 99, 175, 244–246, 256; mission to Košice, 242–243; *See also* constitution and state treaty, Civic Democratic Party, Civic Forum, dissolution, elites, Havel, Mečiar, political institutions and parties

Klepáč, Ján, 56, 58

Košice Program of 1945. *See* Czech-Slovak relations

Kováč, Michal, 21, 25n18, 60, 244–245

Kroupa, Daniel, 235–239. *See also* Černogursky, constitution and state treaty, dissolution, Pithart

Kun, Bela, 36

Lenin, 204

Lithuania, independence of, 219

lustration laws, 270–271. *See also* television

Maastricht, Treaty of, 17–18, 211, 216. *See also* Czech-Slovak relations, foreign policy

Macek, Miroslav (ODS), 20–21, 60; dysfunctional federation, cause of dissolution, 240, 246; Klaus, relationship with, 25n16; Mečiar's negotiating tactics, 21, 60, 245. *See also* constitution and state treaty, dissolution, political institutions and parties

Marx, 289

Masaryk, Tomáš, 2, 23, 47n13, 167; founding vision of, 200, 227, 260; Hrad Group, 167, 179n19; nationalist philosophy of, 3. *See also* communism, Czechoslovakia, First Republic

mass media: American journalism, comparisons with, 176–177; censorship and state control, 6, 169, 173, 175–176, 216n6, 274, 276; cross-circulation in republics, 164, 170–172, 177, 230–231, 270; Czech and Slovak media, goals of, 167–169; Havel's views of, 271–272; historical development of, 166–167, 177–178, 270, 273–275; national discourse, role in creating, 13–15, 43, 166, 168, 174–176; nationalist views in, 167, 169–170, 175, 177, 237; newspapers, 167–168, 171, 270; objectivity and professionalism, 13–14, 163–165, 169, 172, 175, 177, 250, 270, 280, 282; political parties, relationship with, 165–166, 168, 172, 279–280; popularity of, 266, 278; public trust in, 164, 166, 172, 174, 178, 281; radio, 167, 174–175; stereotypes in, 167–168; television, 14–15, 166, 172–176, 266; Velvet Revolution, 168. *See also* Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, Havel, Mečiar, television

Mečiar, Vladimír, 7, 9–10, 21, 25n18, 41, 48n42, 53, 57–58, 60, 77–78, 85n29, 95, 100, 209, 222–223, 242, 244–246, 302–303; confederation, conception of, 56, 213–214, 216, 223; constitution and state treaty negotiations, 21, 145, 154, 213, 250–251, 254, 256, 302–303; Klaus, meeting with, 21, 48n42, 57–63, 81, 89, 96, 99, 175, 244–246, 256, 302–303; mass media, use of, 164, 166–167, 174, 177–178, 274, 278; Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, founder of, 223; mass media, use of, 164, 166–167, 174, 177–178, 274, 278; power sharing, ultimatum on, 54; prime minister, ouster as, 55, 208, 223; secret talks with Soviet generals, 208; self-determination, Slovakia's right to, 213; Slovak sovereignty, declaration of, 223; Slovenia, as model for dissolution, 12. *See also* constitution and state treaty, dissolution, Klaus, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, political institutions and parties, Public Against Violence

Mikloško, František, 53, 57, 148, 251. *See also* constitution and state treaty, Slovakia

Milovy accord, 9, 22, 57, 150, 223–224, 255. *See also* constitution and state treaty, dissolution

minority veto, 11, 45, 49, 70, 74, 98, 143, 238, 282, 304–305; dissolution, cause of, 21; paralysis of decision-making, 152, 204, 238, 304–305. *See also* Constitutional Amendment of 1968, constitution and state treaty, Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, electoral system, political institutions and parties

Moravia, 5, 82, 140, 171, 210, 241, 252, 300, 302. *See also* Czechoslovakia, World War II

Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), 9, 48n42, 77, 95–96, 100, 209, 224; dissolution negotiations, 55–63, 244, 259–260, 302–303; referendum, promise of, 223. *See also* constitution and state treaty, dissolution, Klaus, Mečiar, political institution and parties, Public Against Violence

Movement for Civic Freedom (HOS), 140. *See also* constitution and state treaty, political institutions and parties

Munich Agreement of 1938, 36, 93, 209, 222, 228; partition of Czechoslovakia, 1, 5, 259. *See also* foreign policy, Hitler, Sudetenland, World War II

nationalism, 22, 34–35, 97, 215; degeneration into war, 291; dissolution, cause of, 20–22; international allegiances, need for, 296–297; irrational nature of, 289; Marx, view of, 289; multiple faces and parents, 290–291; provides social identity, 289. *See also* Beneč, Cold War, Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, ethnic conflicts, foreign policy, intra- and interstate conflicts, Masaryk, Slovakia

NATO, 7, 100, 202, 293, 295. *See also* Cold War, ethnic conflicts, foreign policy, intra- and interstate conflicts, United States

normalization, 6, 9, 20, 50, 79, 143, 201–202, 236–237, 250. *See also* Constitutional Amendment of 1968, constitution and state treaty, Czechoslovakia, Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, economic conditions, federation

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), 292–293. *See also* ethnic conflicts, intra- and interstate conflicts

Organization of African Unity, 293. *See also* ethnic conflicts, intra- and interstate conflicts

Ottoman Empire, 287

Pithart, Petr, 19–21, 52–53, 174; civic community, absence of, 19; constitution and state treaty Czech ignorance of Slovakia, 19–20, 230–231; discussions, 52–54, 57, 140, 214, 232, 255, 302; dissolution 19, 227–229, 232–233; European Union, interest in joining, 228; Havel, role in dissolution, 232–233; Slovak nationalism, misunderstanding of, 229; statesmanship, failure of, 232. *See also* constitution and state treaty, Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, elites, political institutions and parties

Poland, 188, 192, 202, 287, 304. *See also* Eastern Europe, economic conditions, political institutions and parties, 12–13, 19, 75, 109–110, 213, 280–281; dissolution negotiations, 50–63, 75, 76–77, 244, 252, 254–255, 263, 265; fragmentation of, 13, 109; new parties, creation of, 51; postcommunist transformations, role in, 304; profiles and representations in federal parliament, Czech, and Slovak national councils, 113–123 (figures 6.1–6.10); 111–128 (tables 6.1–6.14); *See also* Civic Forum, constitution and state treaty, elections (1990), elections (1992), electoral system, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), Public Against Violence (VPN)

Potsdam Conference, 5. *See also* World War II

Prague: German occupation, 5; “Pragocentric” policies, 32, 34, 39, 164, 201, 203, 215, 208, 229. *See also* Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution

Prague Linguistic Circle, 4–5

Prague Spring, 1, 6, 73, 94, 141, 165, 172–173; federation law, 204; legacy of, 6; Soviet invasion, 3, 211, 263. *See also* Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, Dubček

Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. *See also* Bohemia, Moravia, Munich Agreement of 1938, World War II

Protestantism, 2

Public Against Violence (VPN), 20, 51–52, 74, 77, 109, 208, 212, 222, 243–244, 252, 262–263; convention of, 244, 279; election tactics, 236; Mečiar, recall of, 223; Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, party split, 224. *See also* Čarnogursky, elites, Havel, Mečiar, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, political institutions and parties, television, Zajac

referendum on dissolution, 10, 14, 58, 99, 158, 176, 223, 259, 264, 279, 302. *See also* constitution and state treaty, Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, Havel, Mečiar

Romania, 192. *See also* Central Europe, economic conditions

Ruthenia, 3, 5, 201, 203. *See also* Hungary, Ukraine

Rychetsky, Pavel, 141, 164. *See also* constitution and state treaty

Second Republic (1945–48), 39, 93. *See also* Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, First Republic

self-determination: electoral system, role of, 107, 125; examples of, 202, 287–288; international limitations on, 296 post-Cold War conflicts, 288; secession, last resort, 296; Slovakia, right to, 212–213; sovereignty, conflicts with, 23–24, 287, 295–296. *See also* Čarnogursky, constitution and state treaty, 1989–1992, Czech-Slovak relations, intra- and interstate conflicts, ethnic conflicts, Mečiar, Slovakia, sovereignty

Silesia, 2

Slovak Christian Democrats, 77, 109. *See also* political institutions and parties

Slovak Communist Party (KSS), 31, 51. *See also* political institutions and parties

Slovak Democratic Party, 51. *See also* political institutions and parties

Slovakia: arms industry, 19, 185, 199, 206–208; clergy, 92; constitution, adoption of, 62; creation of, in 1939, 90; education, role of, 34, 91, 47n19, 300; equality, demand for, 4, 94, 222; Hungarian minority in, 102; independence, unintended outcome, 303; industrial structure of, 79, 91; inequality with Czechs, 6; Ministry of International Affairs, 101, 214–215; National Council, 9, 22, 31, 44, 52, 57, 78, 108, 143, 148, 222, 238, 249, 265; nationalism, 20–21, 34–35, 77, 90–91, 101–102, 169, 201, 215, 229, 235–237, 242; 1947 coup, 204; postwar autonomy of, 97, 203, 263; sovereignty, declaration of, 230; World War II, legacy of 72–73, 73n90, 97, 300; Žilina accords, 40, 93. *See also* constitution and state treaty, Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic, Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, economic conditions, ethnic conflicts, First Republic, mass media, Mečiar, nationalism, Soviet Union, World War II

Slovak National Council. *See* elections (1992), Federal Assembly, Slovakia

Slovak National Party, 41, 212; confrontational nationalism, 236. *See also* political institutions and parties, Slovakia

Slovak People's Party. *See* Hlinka Populists

Slovaks, 2, 20. *See also* Slovakia

sovereignty: limitations on, in New World Order, 23–24, 288, 295–296; secession, last resort, 296; self-determination, conflicts with, 287, 295–296. *See also* constitution and state treaty, Czech-Slovak relations, ethnic conflicts, foreign policy, intra- and interstate conflicts, self-determination, Slovakia

Soviet Union, 5, 88, 97, 192, 263; Brezhnev doctrine, 303; collapse of, 201; coup of 1991, 211, 301; Czechoslovakia, relationship with, 203, 205, 263; dissolution, compared to

Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, 90, 100, 199, 212, 253, 259–260, 299–301; divide and rule policy, 201, 305; equality among nations, 204; intervention, 288; Kočice government program, Moscow's authorship of, 203–204; resource allocation in Czechoslovakia, 205; sovereignty of Soviet republics, impact of, 212. *See also* Cold War, communism, Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, foreign policy, Gorbachev, NATO, Prague Spring

Stalin, Josef, 5, 201, 204. *See also* communism, Soviet Union

state treaty. *See* constitution and state treaty, dissolution

Sudetenland, 266, 292; cessation to Germany, 5, 201; Germans in, 3–4, 168, 201, 209, 261; polls on expulsion, 210; post-war expulsion of Germans, 5, 266; return of Germans, 209. *See also* Germany, Hitler, Munich Agreement of 1938, World War II

Syria, arms sales to, 207–208

television: censorship, 274; Czech Television (ČTV), creation of, 274–275; dissolution, role in, 282–283; Federal Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting, 273–275; federal television, division of assets, 275, 277–278; history of, 270, 273–275; informational sovereignty of republics, 274–276; instrument of Communist Party, 172, 270, 276; lustration and employment, 270–271, 273; Mečiar, vision of television's role, 174–175, 274, 278–280; 1992 election coverage, 15, 277–278, 281; objections to federal programs, 274–276; political parties, influence on coverage, 280–281; professionalism and training, 170, 172, 270–271, 273, 280–281; programming balance and conflicts between federal and republic television, 172–174, 273, 276–278, 281; public trust in, 166, 174; referendum, coverage of, 14, 176, 279; relationship with Czech and Slovak Television, 277–279; servility to state, 176, 271, 273, 280–281; Slovak Television (STV), 15, 274–281 state monopoly, end of, 173; Velvet Divorce, contribution to, 15, 282–283; western assistance, 271. *See also* Czech-Slovak relations, dissolution, mass media, Mečiar

Tiso, Josef, 92. *See also* Hlinka Populists

totalitarianism, legacy of, 18, 22. *See also* Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, Czech-Slovak relations, Havel

Ukraine, 193, 203. *See also* economic conditions, Hungary, Ruthenia, Soviet Union

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. *See* Soviet Union

United Nations, role in conflicts, 290, 293–296. *See also* Cold War, ethnic conflicts, intra- and interstate conflicts, United States

United States: arms sales by Slovakia, 208

Cold War interventions, 202, 288;

United Nations, relations with, 293;

Yugoslavia, involvement in, 303. *See also* Cold War, Soviet Union, United Nations

Vadas, Martin, 269, 282–283. *See also* constitution and state treaty, television

Velvet Divorce, ix, 8–9, 19, 23, 44, 81, 83, 101, 212, 225, 292, 306;

consociational government, role in, 10;

elites, critical role of, 302–303; post-divorce relations, 225; reasons for, 114, 299–302; television, role of, in, 302–303. *See also* Civic Forum, constitution and state treaty, Czech-Slovak relations, Havel, mass media

Velvet Revolution, 1, 6, 109, 221;

constitutional development, 139–141, 151. *See also* Civic Forum, Havel, Velvet Divorce

Visegrad, 196n9, 228. *See also* Eastern Europe, economic conditions

Warsaw Pact, 6, 139, 202, 205. *See also* Cold War, Eastern Europe, Soviet Union

Wilson, Woodrow, 2, 200. *See also* First Republic, self-determination

World War I, 199, 202; interstate system, transformation after, 200, 202; nationalism, role in start of, 291. *See also* Czechoslovakia, First Republic, foreign policy

World War II: Czech-Slovak experiences, during, 72, 247–248, 259; nationalism, role in start of, 291; postwar reunification of Czechoslovakia, 72, 93, 97, 247–248, 259, 300; protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, German occupation of Czech lands, 5, 72, 80, 259; Slovak state, creation of, 93. *See also* Czechoslovakia, Hitler, Munich Agreement of 1938, Second Republic, Sudetenland

Yeltsin, Boris, 301

Yugoslavia, 39, 88, 97, 199–200, 248, 250, 288, 295; dissolution, compared to Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union, 7, 24, 88–90, 100, 199, 212, 250, 253, 256, 259–260, 299–301; elections, 301; ethnic groups, 281 *See also* Eastern Europe, ethnic conflicts, intra- and interstate conflicts

Zajac, Peter, 22–23; dissolution, reasons for 260–267. *See also* constitution and state treaty

Zemko, Milan, 22; dissolution, analysis of factors in, 247–256; Czech power plays, 250–251. *See also* constitution and state treaty