## Contents

Li	st of Tables	viii
Acknowledgements		ix
Мар		X
In	troduction	1
1	Building the State	9
2	The Communists Take Power	21
3	Havel – Power to the Powerless	39
4	Politics After Communism	55
5	The Economy – Capitalism without Property	75
6	Civilising Society	103
7	The Velvet Divorce	127
8	Surviving Mečiar	149
Conclusion – Prospects for the EU		171
Notes		179
Bibliography		195
Index		199

## Index

107, 172, 184

Citizenship law, see also Roma, Action Programme, 27-8 Anti-Semitism see also Jews, 17, 24, 118-19, 183 Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), 57, 128, 130 Austro-Hungarian Empire, 10, 13, 14, 60, 61, 65, 71, 107 Civic Democratic Party (ODS), 58-61, 65, 71, 72, 92, 106, 107, 140, 142, different experiences of by Czechs and Slovaks, 10 151, 172-73, 185 contrast with HZDS, 151 and Neo-liberalism, 58-61, 172 Banking sector, Czech, 75, 87, 88, 89, pact with ČSSD, 56, 61, 72-73, 94, 93, 100, 101, 186, 187 Banking sector, Slovak, 174 173, 185 Bankruptcy, 81, 88, 89, 92, 100 Civic Forum, 37, 57, 91, 92 numbers of completed as conglomerate party, 57 compared with VPN bankruptcies in Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, 89 (table) Civil society, 2, 23, 28, 45, 52, Becker, Gary, 82, 85 108-13, 163 Beneš decrees, 17 importance of to defeating Mečiar, see also Germans, expulsions, theft 163 Bohemia and Moravia, protectorate Class and party support, 58 Collectivism, 18, 19 of, 15 Commission for Security and Bourgeois nationalists, 26, 136 Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Bratislava, 4 Brezhnev Doctrine, 181 118 - 119Bureaucracy, 181 Communist Party, 14, 21, 24, 27,29, 33, 36, 62-4, 68, 71, 111, 136, Capitalism, 6, 7, 34, 47, 48, 75-102, 180, 181, 184 103 purge of after 1968, 30, 33, 36, 62, Čarnogurský, Ján, 139, 167,168, 194 Censorship, 27, 29, 43, 113 Communism, 1, 3, 19, 21-38, 40, 41, importance of for communist rule, 62 Communists and expulsion of Charter 77, see also dissidence, 31–3 Sudetens, 17 Chinese reforms, 35 Country cottages, 37, 125 Corruption, 6, 47-9, 56, 60, 66, 67, Christian Democratic Movement 72, 100, 104-8, 115, 116, 160, (KDH), 139, 145, 157, 159, 167, 193 189 Christian Democratic Uniondiffering form of in Czech and Czechoslovak People's Party Slovak Republics, 160 (KDU-CSL), 61-2, 65, 69, 71, 72, Culture, 7, 10, 13, 27, 49, 103, 108,

125

Czechoslovakism, 3, 11-12, 13, 134, 135 Democratic Union, 154-5, 159, 167, 192 Democratic Party, Slovak, 136 Democracy, 6, 13, 19, 22, 23, 40, 44, 55, 73-4, 127, 149, 150, 154-5, 156, 161, 163, 165 in Czech Republic, 6, 55, 73-74 in First Republic, 13, 19 in Slovakia, 127, 149, 150, 154-155, 156, 161, 163, 165 Demonstrations, 147, 181, 182, 190 De-Stalinisation, 24, 26 Dissidence, 23, 30-33, 36, 38, 40-4, 182 after 1968, 30-3 and Havel, 40-4 and intellectuals, 31, 42-3, 182 Dlouhý, Vladimír and speed of Czech privatisation, 186 Dubček, Alexander, 25-30, 36, 37, 38, 136, 181 compared with Gorbachev, 25, 36, 181 on Havel and the Velvet Revolution, 38 reacting to Soviet invasion, 28-30 Ďurica, Milan S., 128-30 Dzurinda, Mikuláš, 167, 168, 174 Economic reform, Czech, 7, 56, 65, 66,

Czech nationalism and democracy, 7

Economic reform, Czech, 7, 56, 65, 66, 75–102, 119–26, 171, 174–5, 187 and business practices, 119–26, 175 contentment with among population, 76 (table) evaluation of, 75, 76, 95–102

Economic reform, Czechoslovakia, 25, 47, 48 and break-up of state in 1993, 142 and Ota Šik, 25–6 and totalitarianism, 25

Economic Reform, Slovak, 151, 160, 166, 167

151, 160 under Dzurinda government, 166 - 7Education, 13, 22, 97, 129, 135 and Czech secondary school enrolment, 97 and rise of new Slovak elite before Second World War, 13, 135 Elections, Czech, 56, 63, 70-3, 185 in 1998, 70-3 Elections, Czechoslovak, 21, 22, 23, 37, 136, 140 in 1946, 21, 22, 136 in 1992, 140 Elections, Slovak, 136, 149, 150, 157, 161-4, 168 in 1946, 136 in 1998, 149, 150, 157, 161-4, 164 (table) presidential, in 1999, 168 Electoral system, Czech, 56, 73, 173 Environment, 24, 47 European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), 80 European Union (EU), 8, 59, 92, 119, 149, 150, 155, 158, 162, 165, 171 - 7criticism of Mečiar, 155, 158, 162 and Czech accession chances, 8, 171 - 177and Slovak accession chances, 8, 149, 150, 158, 165, 171-7 Federal Assembly, 142,143 Slovak constitutional veto in, 143 Federation, Czechoslovak, 3,8,136, break-up of, 3, 8 preferences for retaining, 138 First Republic, 9-15, 17, 19, 40, 134 Czech and Slovak differences in, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15 establishment of, 9, 134 Sudeten Germans in, 11, 17 First World War, 9, 15, 21

and Mečiar's style of government.

Foreigners, as source material Hlinka, Andrej, 12, 135 evaluating Czech reforms, Hungary, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 25, 29, 36, 76, 81, 91, 102,134, 166, 179 119 - 25Freedom Union (US), 57, 60, 61, 71, 1956 revolution in, 25, 29 Slovak experience of rule by, 10, 11, 72, 107 Friedman, Milton, 82, 85, 94 13, 15, 134, 179 Hungarian Coalition Party (SMK), 159, 161, 162, 164, 193 Gál, Fedor, 152 Garton Ash, Timothy, 50-3 Hungarian minority, 11, 141, 149, Gaulieder, František, 155, 156, 193 165, 194 German minority, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, and formation of first Republic, 11 mistreatment of under Mečiar, 149, 40, 51, 180 expulsion of, 16-19, 24, 40, 51 165, 194 Husák, Gustáv, 26, 30 as 'fifth column', 17 as bourgeois nationalist, 26 seizure of property of, 19 Glasnost, 33 normalisation and, 30 Gorbachev, 25, 33-38, 181 Hyphen debate in 'Czecho-Slovakia', and 1997 visit to Prague, 36 137 and Brezhnev doctrine, 36, 181 HZDS, see Movement for a his impact on Czechoslovakia, Democratic Slovakia 33 - 8and Soviet reform process, 35-6 Ideology, 2, 24, 26, 27, 34, 35, 41, 42, Gottwald, Klement, 23 43, 58-61, 95, 109, 151, 114, 181, Gypsies see Roma 182 Industry, 44, 134 Habsburg Empire, see Austro-Investment funds, 80, 86-8, 100 Hungarian Empire Havel, Václav, 4, 5, 7, 19, 26, 31, 32-3, Jews, see also anti-Semitism, 24, 129, 37, 38, 39-53, 56, 67-70, 99, 111, 132 112, 137, 144-5, 182, 191 as model East European dissident, KDH see Christian Democratic 31, 40, 41 Movement criticising Czech reform process in Kirschbaum, Stanislav J., 128, 130-2 1997, 46-9, 56, 69 Klaus, Václav, 4, 5, 6, 7, 47, 48, 49, 52, declining popularity of, 39 53, 56, 57, 59, 60, 65-7, 69, 70, and his values, 32-3, 41, 45 73, 75-102, 106, 107, 114, 118, and inability to hold federation 127, 171, 172-3, 175, 185, 186 construction of ODS around, 60, intact, 137, 140, 144-5, 191 and Klaus, 4, 47-49, 52-3, 69-70 61, 66, 71, 107, 172-173, and lustration, 111, 112 184-185 and Margaret Thatcher, 76, 80, 85, and morality-based presidency, 5, 89, 90, 185 7, 51, 67-70 and Power of the Powerless, 40-5 as neo-liberal or social democrat, 59, 78, 85, 89-95, 186 Hayek, Friedrich von, 84, 94 and rejection of Havel, 49, 69-70 Helsinki Final Act, 31-2 Hitler, Adolf, 16, 128, 131, 132, 184 Komárek, Valtr, 90, 91, 94

Kováč Michal, 5, 150, 153, 155, 157, 161 Kováč, Michal Jr., kidnapping of, 149, 155–6, 161, 165 Kozený, Viktor, 80 Kruschev, 24, 25, 26

Labour mobility in EU, 177 Language law, 165 Lawlessness, 47–9, 83, 84, 105, 150, 156, 161, 165 Lenin, 1, 29, 34, 40, 136 Lizner, Jaroslav, 105–6, 188 Lustration, 111–13

Magyarisation, 134 Marshall aid, 22 Masaryk, Tomáš, 10, 11, 12, 14, 46, 55, 74 and attitude to Slovakia, 11-12 Matica Slovenská, 13 Mečiar, Vladimír, 5, 8, 127, 129, 130, 141, 149-69, 171, 173, 175 construction of HZDS around, 151 and democratic failings, 127, 150, 165 formation of political personality, 5, 130, 150, 152-6, 160 and Slovak independence, 127, 141 Media, 2, 23,39, 77, 113-15, 127, 159, 160, 165, 193 corruption in, in Czech Republic, under communism, 2, 113, 114 Miloševic, Slobodan, 150 Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), 129, 138, 140, 142, 143, 145, 151, 152, 153, 159, 164, 168 comparison with ODS, 151 defence of Ďurica, 129 Munich, 15, 22

Nationalism, 3, 4, 55, 58–9, 112, 131, 132, 134, 137–47 Czech, 55, 58–59

Macháček, Jan, 84, 85

Slovak, 127, 131, 132, 137-147 National Consciousness, 8, 55, 131, 133, 134, 146, in 19th century Slovakia, 134 and Czech expulsion of Germans. 16, 18-19 and Czech service culture, 121-126 rise of in pre-War Slovakia, 12 NATO, see North Atlantic Treaty Organisation Neo-Liberalism, 58-60, 78, 85, 86, 89-95, 151, 172, 186, 187 New Right, see Neo-Liberalism Nomenklatura, 109 Normalisation, 30-3 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), 149, 150, 157, 165, 166, 171 Novotný, Antonín, 26, 27, 38, 190 ODS, see Civic Democratic Party Parties, Czech, 7, 57-65, 71, 106-8 centre, 61-62, 71, 172 left, 62-65, 71, 172 right, 57-61, 71, 172 Parties, Slovak, 141, 142, 145, 146, 151, 152, 154, 159, 162, 173, 192, 193 Party of Civic Understanding (SOP), 159, 164, 168 Party of Democratic Left (SDL), 153, 154, 159, 164, 167, 168, 192

151, 152, 154, 159, 162, 173, 192, 193
Party of Civic Understanding (SOP), 159, 164, 168
Party of Democratic Left (SDL), 153, 154, 159, 164, 167, 168, 192
Patronage, 31, 58, 104
Pensioners Party, 71, 185
Perestroika, 33
PHARE Programme, 128
Poland, 15, 21, 31, 36, 76, 81, 91, 102, 182
and Silesia, 15
Prague Spring, 25–30, 36, 59, 181
and Action Programme, 27

and Gorbachev, 25, 36, 181

Presidency, Czech, see Havel Presidency, Slovak, 150, 155, 157,

161, 168

amnesty powers of, 161, 157 and election of Schuster, 168 Privatisation, Czech, 5, 47, 48, 79-89, 91, 93, 106-8, 186, 189 corruption in, 47, 106-8, 189 and property rights, 48, 82-6 Privatisation, Slovak, 154, 160, 165 Property rights, 25-6, 82-7, 105, 174 Public Against Violence (VPN), 151, 152 Public Opinion, 2, 8, 27, 39, 60, 76, 133, 138, 152, 159, 161, 162, 181, 182 on corruption, 104 on Havel, 39, 182 on lustration, 113 on Mečiar, 152 on Roma, 117 on splitting the federation, 133, 138 (table), 138-140, 191 on success of Czech economic reform, 76 (table)

Racism, 103, 116–19, 154
Reagan, Ronald, 34
Referendum, 73, 145, 150, 151, 157–8
Religion, 11, 24, 41, 44, 45, 58, 62, 182, 193
Republican Party, 64, 68, 71, 119, 182, 184
Restitution, 91, 93
Roma, 59, 117–19, 176–7
and Czech/Slovak accession chances, 176–7
Rudolfínum, 46

under communism, 2

StB, see security police Schuster, Rudolf, 159, 168, 194 SDK, see Slovak Democratic Coalition SDL, see Party of the Democratic Left Second World War, 4, 21, 22, 33, 100 Security (secret) police, 2, 22, 23, 31, 36, 111, 112, 152, 155, 156, 161, 165

Abuse of under Mečiar, 152, 155, 156 Under communism, 2, 22, 31 Shock Therapy, 91, 96 Šik, Ota, 25-6 Silesia, 15 Škoda, arms factories, 25 Sládek, Miroslav, 64 Slovak Information Service (SIS), see Security police Slovak Democratic Coalition (SDK), 159, 161, 162, 164, 167 Slovak National Party (SNS), 145, 151, 153, 154, 164 Slovak People's Party, 12, 135 Slovak wartime state, 4, 12, 15, 128-32, 135 Social Democratic Party, Czech (CSSD), 56, 61, 62-5, 71, 72, 107, 172, 173 pact with ODS, 56, 61, 72-3, 94, 173 Socialist economy, 2 Solidarity, 31, 182 Soviet Union, 2, 15, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 136 Stalin, 1, 16, 21, 22, 24, 29 Stalinism, 2, 23 and misuse of term, 23 in Soviet Union, 2 Štepán Miroslav, 113 Stock Market, Czech, 75, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 88, 98, 99, 100, 101, Strikes, 37, 159 Students, 28, 36 Sudeten Germans, see German

Terror, 2, 18, 23, 24, 29
Thatcher, Margaret, 34, 76, 80, 82, 85, 89, 90, 184, 185
Tiso, Jozef, 4, 16, 128–132, 135, 141
Tošovský, Josef, 56, 69, 70, 100
Totalitarianism, 1–2, 22, 26, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 103, 110, 180
Trade, 24, 98, 120

minority

Transition, 4, 6, 55, 65, 68, 70, 74, 76, 100, 104, 106, 117, 142, 169, 172

Trianon, Treaty of, 11

Triple transition, 3, 8, 175

evaluation of usefulness as

interpretive device, 3

Tuka, Vojtech, 130-1

Unemployment, 39, 65, 73, 88, 92, 93, 99, 101,119, 140, 167, 172, 187 in Czech Republic, 39, 65, 73, 99, 101, 119, 172, 187 in Slovakia, 140, 167

United States, 22, 34, 35, 117, 149

Velvet Revolution, 36–8, 57, 113, 116, VPN, see Public Against Violence

Warsaw Pact, 27, 29, 31, 33, 136 Working Class, 37 Workers Party (ZRS), 151, 154, 164, 192

Yalta, 22 Yugoslavia, 146

Zeman, Miloš, 62, 94, 101