

Contents

Foreword	xv
Acknowledgments	xvii
Preface	xix
Abbreviations	xxi

A Framework 1

1. The Questions 1
2. Some Thoughts on Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict 4
3. Sources of Ethnic Conflict 6
4. On Negotiation for a Constitution: General Criteria 7

Prologue 11

- I. The Setting 13
 1. Constitution Makers and Foreign Advisors 13
 - a. The Actors 13
 - b. The Stage 15
 2. A Lesson in Self-Knowledge 16
 3. On Asymmetric Federation—and Beyond 18
 4. A Parenthesis: On a Good “Gestalt” 22
- II. The Asymmetry of the Czech and Slovak State 23
 1. Environmental Conditions: Geography, Demography, Ethnicity, Economy 23
 2. Social Conditions: History, Religion, Culture 26
 3. An Interlude: A “Contempt” Theory 30
 4. Political Conditions 32
- III. The Threshold Issues 35
 1. The Scope and Flexibility of Constitutions 35
 2. On Modifying Constitutions 38
 3. On Supremacy of Federal Law 40
 4. The Constitution as a Symbol 41
 5. On Secession and Referendum 42

- 6. The Constitution and Society 45
- 7. What Federation? 47
- 8. The Arena 49
 - a. The Principal Institutions 49
 - b. The Early Process 51

First Act 55

- IV. The Negotiations for Devolution (1990) 57
 - 1. "The Hyphen War": A Revelation (January–April 1990) 57
 - 2. Negotiating a Power-Sharing Law (April–December 1990) 60
 - a. A Historic First: Lnáře 60
 - b. A Private Rendezvous (July 1990) 62
 - c. A Triad Quadrille (August–November 1990) 62
 - d. The Power-Sharing Bill in the Parliaments—President's "Crisis" Proposals 68
 - 3. The New Power-Sharing Law (December 1990) 72
 - a. "From the Top" or "From Below"? 72
 - b. Allocative Patterns: A Comparative Aside 74
 - c. The Chosen Pattern 75
 - d. The Emerging Jurisdictional Conflicts: The Constitutional Court Speaks 78
 - e. An Afterthought: Spotlight on the "Heroes" 82
- V. The June 1990 Elections and the Changing Scene 87
 - 1. The Elections 87
 - 2. Political Differentiation in Context 88
 - a. In the Czech Republic: A Cleavage 88
 - b. In Slovakia: A Split, Mečiar Dismissed (April 1991) 91
 - 3. An Afterthought: More on "the Heroes" 95
 - 4. An Interlude: The Federal Assembly, a Success Story? 97

Second Act 103

- VI. Negotiations on a "Treaty" (Winter–Spring 1991) 105
 - 1. The Proposal for a "State Treaty," "a Bombshell"? (February 1991) 105
 - 2. Comments by the International Group 105
 - 3. The President's Legislative Initiative (March 1991) 108
 - 4. "From Castles to Manors": Presidential Talks (Winter–Spring 1991) 109
 - a. Prelude to Kroměříž: "The Plank Compromise" 109
 - b. Who Stands Where for What? 112

- c. Kroměříž: The President Bows Out (June 1991) 114
 - d. On Negotiation Forums and Tactics 118
 - 5. A Side Issue: Moravia-Silesia 119
 - 6. An Interlude: Bratislava and Prague in Spring 1991 121
- VII. Slouching toward Bethlehem (Summer–Fall 1991) 123
 - 1. The Darkening Sky 123
 - 2. The Referendum Law Adopted 126
 - 3. The Republic Legislatures Take Over: New Bottles—Old Wine (September–November 1991) 128
 - a. In Bratislava: Some Progress? 128
 - b. In the Baroque Štířín 132
 - c. In the President's Mountain "Hut" at Hrádeček: A Major Czech Concession? 133
 - d. In Častá-Papiernička: Facing the Core Issue 136
 - e. In the Federal Assembly: The End of the Referendum Route? 137
- VIII. The President's Call to Arms (Fall 1991–Winter 1992) 139
 - 1. An Appeal to Citizens 139
 - 2. The Five Legislative Proposals 141
 - 3. The Politicians Respond 143
 - 4. The Federal Assembly Response 143
 - a. The Debate on the President's Proposals 143
 - i. Yes in Principle 145
 - ii. Yes But (Really No?) 145
 - iii. No 146
 - 5. Some Thoughts and Afterthoughts 148
 - 6. Coda: Behind the Budget Imbroglio 151
- IX. Back to the Republics' Legislatures: The Last Hurrah (February 1992) 155
 - 1. Prelude to Milovy 155
 - 2. In Snowbound Milovy: An Agreement in Sight? 156
 - a. On the Status of the Treaty 156
 - i. First Parenthesis: The Curse of "Sovereignty" 160
 - b. On Foreign Affairs Powers and "International Subjectivity": Milovy Continued 161
 - ii. Second Parenthesis: The Disputed Treaty-Making Power 163
 - c. Once More: The Allocation of Competences—"Sovereignty" Again: Milovy Continued 165
 - d. The Institutions: "The Three Heads" 167
 - e. Summing Up 169

3. The Milovy Text in the Presidia 172
 4. "The Three Heads" in the Federal Assembly: The Dead End 174
- X. Onward to the Elections (Spring 1992) 177
1. The Campaign 177
 2. The June 1992 Elections: "The Center Cannot Hold" 183
 - a. With the Czechs to the Right 183
 - b. "The Earthquake" in Slovakia 184
 3. Monday Morning After and Hindsight 185
 4. Prague in Spring 1992: The Last Interlude 188
 - a. A View from an Island 188
 - b. The Lady Has a Toothache 189
 - c. Havel Not Reelected 190
 - d. Up and Down with Law Students and Lawyers 191
 - e. On Havel, Lincoln, and the King of Sweden 192

Third Act 195

- XI. The Lion v. the Unicorn: The Breakup (Summer 1992) 197
1. The Five Rounds (June–July 1992) 197
 - a. Round One: Testing 197
 - b. Round Two: Facing Two Alternatives—Federation or "Confederation" 199
 - c. Round Three: Crossing the Rubicon 202
 - d. Round Four: The Political Agreement 203
 2. The Context 208
 - a. The Three New Governments 208
 - b. Havel Resigns (July 1992) 209
 3. Round Five: A New Political Agreement 210
 4. In the Federal Assembly, Again Referendum? (August 1992) 213
 5. Round Six: Setting the Date 214
 - a. A Stumble 214
 - b. A "Union" Again: A "Trial Balloon"? 216
 - c. Return to the Plane Tree 218
 6. Summing Up: Spotlight on "the Heroes-Villains" 220
- XII. The Deed Is Done (Fall 1992) 227
1. An Overview 227
 - a. At the Federal Level 227
 - b. At the Republic Level 228
 2. The Defiant Federal Assembly (September–October 1992) 229

- a. The “Extinction” Bill: Legitimate Process or Treason? 229
- b. The Opposition Triumphs: A “Union”? 232
- c. The Reaction: Tension Grows 234
- d. Klaus v. Mečiar Again: The Seventh Round—Jihlava 238
- e. Jihlava Afterglow 239
- 3. Toward a New Form of Coexistence: Bilateral Treaties (October–November 1992) 241
 - a. Koloděje: “Trust Restored” and Treaties Discussed 241
 - b. Javorina: Treaties Agreed 244
 - c. Židlochovice: Eight More Treaties Agreed 248
- XIII. Back to the Federal Assembly: Facing the Opposition (Fall 1992 Continued) 251
 - 1. New Federal Government Program 251
 - 2. Dividing Federal Property 253
 - a. The Government Bill 253
 - b. The Opposition 255
 - 3. The Vote 257
 - 4. Havel for President and the End of an Era 258
 - 5. At the End: Again the “Extinction” Bill 258
 - a. The Overture 258
 - b. The Revamped Bill: Reaching for a Common Language 260
 - c. The Confrontation on the Referendum 262
 - d. The Final Vote: Part One 265
 - e. In the Meantime . . . Another Round 265
 - f. The Final Vote: Part Two (November 1992) 267
 - g. The Aftermath: A Flood of Words 269

Fourth Act 271

- XIV. Constitutions for the Independent Republics 273
 - 1. The Slovak Constitution, September 1992: Montesquieu Bowdlerized? 273
 - a. The Process 273
 - b. “We, the Slovak Nation”—The Institutions 276
 - c. Basic Rights and Freedoms 279
 - d. The Judiciary 280
 - e. The Major Influences—a Postscript 281

2. The Czech Constitution, December 1992: Back to 1920? 282
 - a. The Process 282
 - b. The Issues—Criticism 284
 - i. “We, the Citizens” 284
 - ii. The Legislature: A Senate? The Voting Procedure 285
 - iii. The President and the Government 288
 - iv. The Charter of Basic Human Rights and Freedoms 290
 - v. The Territorial Division 292
 - vi. On Referendum and Constitutional Amendment 293
 - vii. The Lion and the Lamb: A Mismatch Made in Heaven? 294
- A Comparative Parenthesis 296

Epilogue 299

- XV. An Overview: Some Answers and Some Reflections at the End of the Day 301
 1. Sources of Ethnic Conflict and Causes of Separation 301
 - a. The Primary Cause 301
 - b. Subsidiary Factors 302
 - i. Structure and “Heroes” 302
 - ii. The Economic Component 304
 - iii. The Media 307
 - iv. External Influence 308
 2. On Eliminating Differences: A Taxonomy Applied 309
 - a. Neither Genocide nor Mass Population Transfer 309
 - b. Integration/Assimilation/Multicultural Policy? 310
 - c. Self-Determination/Separation 310
 - i. The Successor States in International Law 310
 - ii. On Self-Determination and Referendum 312
 - d. Separation as an Alternative: Geopolitics and Legitimacy 317
 3. On Multiple Transformations 320
 - a. The Priorities 320
 - b. On Free Societies 321
 - i. The Civil Society 322
 - ii. The Political Society 325
 4. “Strategic Elements” of Constitutional Negotiations 326
 - a. The Time Dimension 326
 - b. Issues and Parties 327
 - i. The “Reform” Phase 328

- ii. The "Restructuring" Phase 329
- iii. The "New Form of Coexistence" Phase 331
- 5. Forums and Tactics 332
- 6. The "Intervenor" 334
- 7. The Last Afterthought 340

Annexes 343

Annex I. The International Conference, Bratislava, June 1991 345

- 1. The Allocation of Powers 346
- 2. The Institutional Structure: The Parliament 349
- 3. The President: Back to 1920? 350
- 4. Ethnic Minorities 352
- 5. On Impartial Advice 353

Annex II. Constitutions and the World 355

- 1. The "Opening" Issue 355
- 2. At the Federal Level 356
- 3. Constitutions for Independent Republics 358
 - a. The Czech Constitution 358
 - b. The Slovak Constitution 359
- 4. Concluding Thoughts on the "Opening" 361

Selected Bibliography 365

Index 379

Index

Note: The detailed table of contents at the beginning of the book should lead the reader to any phase or major topic of the negotiation process which forms the core of this study.

- Arnheim, Rudolf, 22n. 32, 303n. 6
- Articles of Confederation, 48n. 50, 72n. 78
- Association for Self-Governing
Democracy—Society for Moravia and Silesia, 87n. 2, 94n. 40, 119–20n. 58, 124n. 6, 147n. 35, 184n. 32, 258
- Aubert, Jean Francois, 106n. 4, 107n. 9, 108
- Austria, 19n. 21, 37n. 8, 48n. 47, 52, 163, 164n. 36
- Belgium
federal system-prospects, 3, 19n. 21, 20n. 26, 48–49, 72, 94n. 39, 164n. 37, 234n. 37, 315n. 49, 350n. 17, 352n. 25
Flemish nationalism, 20n. 25
- Beneš, Edvard, xvii, 236, 280n. 31
- bilateral Czecho-Slovak treaties, 236n. 51, 241n. 71, 242nn. 74–76, 244n. 88, 245–46nn. 90–93, 95–97, 247n. 98, 248nn. 103–5, 249nn. 108–9, 250n. 110, 252n. 6, 253n. 7, 268n. 85, 332
- Boguszak, Jiří, 15, 40–41n. 23, 48n. 49, 52n. 61, 316n. 53, 349, 350n. 18, 358n. 13
- Bosnia-Herzegovina, 19, 21n. 30, 72, 309n. 26
- breakup, causes of, 30n. 30, 60nn. 21–22, 69n. 67, 129n. 33, 301–4n. 1–9, 307–9nn. 18–27, 321nn. 66–69.
See also economic component of breakup; nationalism-ethnic conflict
- British Commonwealth, 21
- budget, federal, 60n. 22, 76n. 94, 151n. 53, 152nn. 54–55, 153n. 57, 211n. 58, 251n. 2
- Burešová, Dagmar, 14, 51n. 60, 71n. 71, 93n. 35, 111n. 24, 112n. 29, 128–29n. 31, 132n. 44, 134n. 56, 135–36, 156n. 8, 157n. 11, 160n. 24, 161n. 29, 167n. 49, 168–69nn. 53, 55, 170, 171, 175n. 77, 185n. 36, 189–90, 212, 347n. 8, 354
- Čalfa, Marián, 60n. 19, 62, 63n. 32, 66n. 48, 67n. 57, 69n. 65, 84n. 118, 105n. 3, 120n. 61, 124n. 9, 130n. 35, 131n. 38, 133n. 49, 134nn. 53, 58, 135n. 60, 148, 155n. 3, 171, 185n. 37, 208n. 46, 325
- Calhoun, John C., 68–69
- Canada, 3, 19n. 21, 20n. 27, 37n. 8, 11, 50n. 55, 72, 74nn. 81–82, 163, 353n. 29
- Čarnogurský, Ivan, 129n. 33, 130n. 36, 132–33nn. 44, 45, 49, 136n. 67, 137n. 70, 155n. 3, 157–58n. 12, 161n. 26, 166–69, 170, 171–72n. 62
- Čarnogurský, Ján, 14n. 5, 16n. 13, 17n.

- Čarnogurský, Ján (*continued*)
 15, 66n. 51, 67nn. 53, 55, 93–94,
 96, 105–6, 113n. 34, 114, 117n. 46,
 120n. 61, 123n. 3, 124n. 9, 125,
 127n. 21, 130n. 36, 131n. 38, 134n.
 56, 136n. 66, 138n. 74, 143n. 16,
 172n. 63, 173n. 66, 179n. 7, 180nn.
 12–13, 184, 187n. 43, 204n. 31,
 209n. 49, 259n. 34, 275n. 8, 315n.
 49, 325–26n. 81, 345, 348n. 12,
 354n. 30
- Carr, E. H., 6n. 16, 310n. 29
- “catastrophic scenario,” 69n. 64, 123n.
 4, 250n. 11
- central bank, 77n. 97, 257–58
- Charter '77, xviii, 13n. 2, 14, 356
- Charter of Fundamental Rights and
 Freedoms, 61n. 29, 98n. 55, 105,
 353n. 28, 356n. 4, 357n. 7. *See also*
 constitutions, Czech Republic, Bill
 of Rights; constitutions, Slovak Re-
 public, Bill of Rights
- Christian Democratic Movement (CDM),
 87n. 2, 93–94n. 37, 105n. 2, 109n.
 19, 114n. 39, 115, 117n. 47, 126n.
 15, 127n. 21, 130n. 36, 155n. 1,
 173n. 65, 178, 184, 204n. 31, 209nn.
 49, 51, 213n. 63, 231n. 19, 234n. 37,
 240n. 67, 262nn. 46–48, 270n. 90,
 275n. 8, 276n. 10, 325
- Christian Democratic Union–Czech Peo-
 ple's Party (CDU–CPP), 87n. 2,
 114n. 37, 120n. 63, 124n. 6, 145,
 181n. 20, 184n. 32, 208n. 44, 219n.
 97, 231n. 23, 286n. 56
- Čič, Milan, 38n. 15, 60nn. 19, 21, 63n.
 34, 95n. 45, 202n. 26, 204n. 33,
 230n. 18, 234n. 36, 254n. 12, 266n.
 67, 274, 276nn. 11–13, 280n. 32,
 360n. 20, 361n. 23
- Civic Democratic Alliance (CDA), 91nn.
 17–18, 114n. 37, 124n. 6, 128, 137n.
 70, 146n. 33, 149, 181nn. 17, 20,
 182n. 23, 183, 184n. 32, 208n. 44,
 217n. 83, 219n. 97, 234n. 42, 266n.
 67, 286n. 56, 291n. 86
- Civic Democratic Party (CDP), 90n. 13,
 91n. 17, 113–14, 115, 137n. 70,
 143n. 15, 145, 146n. 32, 148, 149,
 181n. 20, 182n. 23, 183n. 31, 184n.
 32, 208n. 44, 212n. 61, 216n. 76,
 218n. 91, 232n. 28, 234n. 40, 237n.
 52, 269n. 89, 288n. 68, 290n. 85,
 295n. 111, 306n. 15
- Civic Forum (CF), 13n. 3, 33n. 41, 42n.
 27, 44n. 35, 59–60n. 17, 61n. 29,
 69, 83n. 117, 87n. 2, 89nn. 7–10,
 90nn. 11–12, 101n. 64, 120, 128,
 132, 347n. 8
- Civic Movement (CM), 90n. 14, 112–
 14, 127nn. 22–23, 143n. 14, 150n.
 48, 155–56n. 4, 160, 181n. 20,
 182n. 23, 185n. 36, 187n. 41, 258n.
 29, 286n. 56, 291n. 88, 326
- civil society, 29n. 27, 45–46nn. 39–45,
 322–24nn. 70–80
- Coexistence, 145n. 29, 181n. 20, 185n.
 34, 209n. 49, 275n. 8, 280n. 31
- Commission of Experts for the Prepara-
 tion of the new Federal Constitu-
 tion, 51, 52nn. 61, 63, 53, 144n. 24,
 175n. 78, 349n. 15, 357n. 8
- Communist Party of Bohemia and Mor-
 avia, 27nn. 18–19, 32nn. 35–36,
 39n. 17, 87n. 2, 91, 94, 124n. 6,
 128, 145, 183, 184n. 32, 220n. 101,
 231n. 20, 234n. 37, 270n. 90, 351n.
 19
- Constitutional court
 Czech Republic, 289n. 78, 358n. 12
 federal, 70n. 68, 78–81, 98n. 55,
 356n. 5
 Slovak Republic, 274, 279n. 26
- Conference on Security and Cooperation
 in Europe (CSCE), 318, 353
- constitutions
 Czechoslovakia
 1920, 26n. 14, 32n. 35, 37n. 9, 41n.
 25, 59n. 12, 278n. 19, 281, 284n.
 50, 285n. 54, 288nn. 68, 70, 289n.
 70, 290n. 81, 295
 1948, 27n. 17, 41–42n. 26

- 1960, 23n. 1, 27n. 18, 32nn. 35–36, 37n. 10, 42, 43n. 30, 93n. 32, 98n. 54, 160n. 25, 287n. 63, 330n. 86
 1968, 23n. 2, 27n. 19, 32nn. 35–36, 37n. 10, 42, 43n. 30, 71n. 71, 73n. 79, 75n. 86, 77n. 99, 79n. 106, 81, 93n. 32, 98n. 54, 159n. 22, 160n. 25, 261n. 44, 273n. 1, 287n. 63, 330n. 86
- Czech Republic
 1992, 228, 258n. 27, 282–90nn. 35–81, 293–94nn. 96–109, 358–59nn. 13–15, 361n. 24. *See also* referendum
 Bill of Rights, 290–92nn. 82–95, 358nn. 11–12
- Slovak Republic
 1992, 228nn. 5, 7, 273–79nn. 2–24, 280–81n. 32–33, 360nn. 18–24
 Bill of Rights, 279–80nn. 25–30, 359–60nn. 16–17
- Croatia, 21n. 30, 72, 347n. 8
- Cutler, Lloyd, 44n. 34, 48, 49n. 53, 108n. 14, 348n. 11, 350, 352n. 25
- Cyprus, 19n. 23, 316n. 51
- Czechoslovak Academy of Science/
 Institute of State and Law, 125n. 13, 270n. 92
- Dahrendorf, Ralf, 35n. 2, 37n. 13, 321–22n. 7
- Davenport, Marsha, 121
- Declaration of Sovereignty (Slovakia), 180n. 12, 200, 209n. 48
- Dehousse, Renaud, 18n. 18
- Demeš, Pavol, 81–82n. 113, 161n. 29
- Dienstbier, Jiří, 81n. 112, 83n. 116, 90n. 14, 127n. 23, 130n. 36, 178n. 5, 185n. 37
- division of federal property, 231n. 21, 249, 250n. 111, 253–57nn. 8–26, 312n. 35, 332
- Dlouhý, Vladimír, 68n. 59, 69n. 65, 156, 166, 166n. 47, 220n. 101, 238n. 57
- draft of federal constitution, 37n. 11, 42n. 27, 44n. 35
- Dubček, Alexander, 51n. 60, 58n. 7, 71n. 73, 93n. 36, 105n. 1, 124n. 6, 127n. 21, 130n. 36, 137–38n. 72, 140n. 7, 148, 175nn. 75, 78, 176, 179n. 10, 184, 210n. 53, 219n. 97, 249, 336
- economic component of the breakup, 93, 99, 199, 304, 305–7nn. 10–17
- economy-Czechoslovakia-economic reform, 47, 61, 66, 89, 90–91, 96, 99–101, 177–78, 203–4, 206n. 36, 223n. 109
- elections (in chronological order)
 federal
 1990, 61n. 28, 87n. 2, 177n. 1
 1992, 61n. 28, 177nn. 1–2, 183–87, 197
 Czech Republic (1992), 61n. 28, 177nn. 1–2, 183–87, 197
 Slovak Republic (1992), 61n. 28, 177nn. 1–2, 183–87, 197
 Slovak Republic (1994), 281
 Czech Republic (1996), 185n. 37
- electoral laws, 143, 144n. 21, 150–51nn. 50–52, 182n. 22, 187
- emergency power bill-proposal, 108n. 15, 142, 336, 352n. 25
- emigre groups, influence of, 26n. 13, 308n. 21
- Errera, Roger, 13n. 1, 106–7nn. 7, 10, 108n. 15, 351–52nn. 23–24
- ethnic cleansing (in Czechoslovakia), 24n. 7, 309n. 27
- European Community/European Union, 21n. 31, 43, 48n. 48, 77n. 99, 80, 113n. 33, 128n. 29, 149, 158n. 15, 160, 190, 206n. 38, 223n. 109, 233n. 33, 242n. 79, 245n. 91, 251n. 2, 261n. 43, 291n. 88, 308nn. 20, 23, 309, 310n. 31, 318, 325, 326n. 81, 355nn. 1–2, 356n. 3, 358n. 9
- Maastricht Treaty, 77n. 99, 230n. 17, 246n. 95, 331, 345, 346nn. 6–7, 348n. 13, 349n. 14
- “extinction law,” 211, 212n. 62, 219n.

- “extinction law” (*continued*)
 94, 229nn. 8–11, 230, 231n. 21,
 232n. 29, 244–45n. 90, 259–61nn.
 31–45, 265nn. 60, 62–63, 266n.
 70, 267nn. 73–74, 78–79, 268nn.
 80–85, 270n. 92
- Federal Assembly, 14, 33–34n. 42,
 49nn. 51–53, 61n. 25, 66–67n. 52,
 69n. 66, 73, 76–78, 82, 87n. 2,
 94n. 40, 108nn. 14–15, 112, 118,
 127, 136, 137, 143n. 19, 174n. 74,
 210n. 54, 215n. 70, 227n. 2, 230nn.
 14–18, 232n. 25, 234n. 36, 255n.
 18, 257n. 24, 265nn. 62–63
- accomplishments, 44n. 36, 71nn. 74–
 76, 97–99, 144, 147n. 38, 174n.
 74, 176nn. 79–80, 190, 219n. 96,
 228n. 4, 240n. 69, 294n. 104
- composition and voting, 49nn. 51–53,
 97n. 2, 148n. 40, 185n. 35, 349n.
 15
- federalism generally, 18–21, 40nn. 20–
 22, 44, 47–49, 74–75, 106–7,
 131n. 38
- ratification of constitution, 134n. 54,
 135n. 59, 136n. 64, 137n. 68, 141–
 42n. 11, 145n. 32, 148n. 39, 150n.
 48–49, 156nn. 5–6, 157nn. 10–11,
 158n. 16, 159nn. 19–21, 160, 174n.
 70
- federations, 2n. 3, 3, 19–21, 36–38, 52,
 72, 74, 163–64, 276n. 13, 315nn.
 49–50
- Fogaš, L’ubomír, 161n. 29, 166n. 42,
 170n. 57, 171–72, 179n. 11, 228n. 7,
 274n. 3, 276nn. 12–13, 279nn. 22,
 24–25, 347n. 9, 360n. 20, 361n. 23
- foreign affairs power
 in federation, 48n. 47, 63n. 33, 64n.
 40, 66n. 50, 75n. 87, 78n. 102, 81–
 82, 116
- international subjectivity, 2n. 3, 63nn.
 33–36, 64n. 40, 78nn. 102–4, 94n.
 39, 112n. 30, 116, 125n. 11, 133n.
 45, 156n. 9, 163n. 34, 190, 200n.
 13, 201n. 18, 202n. 27, 203–8,
 207n. 39, 214n. 68, 221n. 104,
 222n. 107, 233n. 34, 266n. 71,
 269n. 86
- in the “state treaty” proposal, 132n.
 44, 161nn. 16–19, 162nn. 30–31
- Ftáčnik, Milan, 159n. 17, 165n. 39, 167,
 171, 172n. 62, 174n. 70, 235n. 43
- Freud, Sigmund, 31n. 33
- Gabčíkovo, 247n. 102
- Gál, Fedor, 70, 84n. 119, 91n. 19, 92n.
 21, 93n. 30, 95n. 45, 184
- Gellner, Ernest, 4n. 9, 322n. 72, 339n.
 100
- Germany, 2n. 3, 19n. 21, 21n. 29, 37n.
 8, 40–41, 47n. 46, 48n. 47, 52, 72,
 74n. 81, 163
- Gestalt theory, 22n. 32
- Gonzales, Felipe, 95n. 42
- Great Moravian Realm, 121
- Havel, Václav, xviii, 1n. 2, 2, 10, 28n.
 21, 30n. 28, 33n. 38, 35n. 3, 37n.
 11, 42n. 28, 43n. 32, 44–46, 53,
 57nn. 2, 4, 60, 62n. 30, 63n. 36,
 64–65n. 42, 69n. 67, 70n. 69, 82–
 83n. 115, 88–89, 93n. 36, 98n. 54,
 108n. 13, 109n. 17, 110nn. 20–21,
 111n. 26, 114n. 40, 116n. 43, 120n.
 62, 124n. 7, 127n. 25, 130, 131,
 133nn. 48–49, 139nn. 1–2, 140–
 41, 175nn. 77–78, 181nn. 18–19,
 187, 190, 192, 197–98nn. 5, 8,
 200nn. 12, 15, 202n. 23, 204, 206–
 7, 208, 210, 214n. 66, 220, 222–
 25, 227, 229n. 11, 232n. 27, 235,
 237, 242–43, 248n. 106, 258n. 27,
 266n. 68, 270n. 90, 284, 287n. 62,
 288–89, 290n. 81, 294, 295–96,
 321n. 68, 322n. 73, 326–27, 330,
 334–40, 349, 351n. 19, 356
- history (Czechoslovakia), 15, 16–17,
 25–28, 30–32, 302n. 2
- Howard, Dick A. E., 13n. 1, 41n. 23,
 49n. 53, 346n. 4

- Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, 275n. 8
- Hungarian Civic Party, 172n. 63
- Hungarian Democratic Party, 181n. 20, 209n. 49
- Hungarian Independent Initiative, 94n. 40, 130n. 36, 181n. 20, 209n. 49
- "hyphen war," 57–60
- international consultation group, 13n. 1, 36–37nn. 4–13, 40–41n. 23, 105–8 composition, 13n. 1
 conference in Bratislava, 17n. 15, 40–41n. 23, 106, 121, 345–54nn. 1–31, 357–58n. 8–9
- International Court of Justice, 312–13
- Jičínský, Zdeněk, 14, 15n. 7, 27n. 19, 50n. 54, 57n. 4, 59n. 16, 61n. 29, 62n. 31, 90, 130n. 35, 140n. 7, 144nn. 22, 25, 148, 149, 174n. 74, 181n. 20, 190, 210n. 53, 230, 240n. 67, 255n. 18, 257n. 25, 262–63, 266n. 71, 270n. 93, 273n. 2, 291n. 89, 294n. 108, 347, 360n. 22
- Kalvoda, Jan, 68n. 62, 91n. 18, 97n. 47, 124, 129n. 33, 133–34, 137, 156nn. 4–5, 158n. 12, 159n. 23, 165n. 39, 167, 168, 170, 171, 174n. 69, 181, 208n. 44, 216n. 75, 217n. 83, 220n. 100, 234n. 42, 259n. 31, 266n. 67, 282, 283n. 39, 286n. 56
- Klaus, Václav, 60n. 20, 68, 69n. 65, 89n. 8, 90n. 15, 96n. 47, 101, 110n. 23, 113n. 34, 114n. 37, 143n. 15, 151–53, 156, 181n. 17, 186n. 39, 187, 190, 197–201, 203, 204, 206nn. 35, 38, 208n. 44, 210–11, 213–16, 218–25, 228, 229–32, 234n. 39, 235–42, 244, 246–48, 258, 263–64, 266–69, 282, 286n. 56, 287n. 62, 288–90, 293–96, 306n. 15, 314, 332–34, 337–38
- Klaus-Mečiar negotiations (summer/fall 1992)
- (Brno I) 197–99; (Prague I) 199–200; (Prague II) 202nn. 25–26, 203n. 29; (Bratislava) 203–6; (Brno II) 218n. 89–219n. 96; (Jihlava) 238n. 57, 239n. 63
- the political agreement, 205n. 34, 206n. 37
- new political agreement, 210, 211–12nn. 55–59
- Klepáč, Ján, 130n. 36, 173
- Klímová, Rita, 1n. 2, 15
- Klokočka, Vladimír, 109, 151n. 51, 285n. 53, 292n. 90, 337n. 97
- Kňažko, Milan, 81n. 112, 92–93, 112n. 31, 149, 187, 197, 199n. 11, 200–202, 211n. 55, 216n. 81, 236n. 48, 242n. 77, 254n. 11, 337n. 98
- Kočárník, Ivan, 166n. 45, 204n. 33, 238n. 57, 266
- Komárek, Valtr, 90n. 15, 140n. 5
- Konrad, György, 28n. 23
- lawyers, 37n. 13, 132n. 44, 191–92
- Lebanon, 19n. 23, 316n. 51
- Liberal Club, 89nn. 8–9, 90n. 14
- Lincoln, Abraham, 42n. 29, 192
- Locke, John, 8, 46n. 40
- Maastricht Treaty. *See* European Community/European Union
- Madison, James, 36nn. 5–6, 42n. 29
- Marshall, Chief Justice, 72n. 78, 74–75n. 83
- Marx, Karl, 5n. 14
- Masaryk, Jan, 23n. 3, 121
- Masaryk, Tomáš Garrigue, 15n. 6, 30n. 28, 47, 59, 188, 290n. 81, 295, 310n. 28, 317, 354n. 31
- Matica Slovenska, 65, 125n. 11
- Mečiar, Vladimír, 41, 61n. 23, 62n. 30, 63nn. 33–35, 65n. 44, 66n. 50, 67–71, 74, 81, 84n. 119, 91–96, 105, 112n. 31, 123n. 3, 130–31n. 37, 136, 147n. 36, 149, 155n. 3, 172n. 63, 175, 178–79, 180n. 16, 181n. 21, 190, 198–203, 206, 209n. 41,

- Mečiar, Vladimír (*continued*)
 210, 213–16, 218–25, 228–30,
 235–45, 247n. 100, 259n. 33, 263n.
 50, 266–67, 269n. 88, 275n. 9,
 278–79, 281–82, 315n. 49, 324,
 332–34, 336, 338
- media, newspapers, 3n. 4, 92nn. 24–25,
 307–9
- Mikloško, František, 14n. 5, 51n. 60, 59,
 70, 125n. 13, 130n. 35, 131–33,
 134n. 55, 159n. 23, 166n. 41, 167n.
 49, 168–69, 170, 171, 175nn. 75,
 78, 184, 212, 274n. 5, 275n. 8
- minorities, 24n. 7, 25nn. 8–10, 30n. 29,
 309n. 27, 315, 317, 319n. 63
- Moravčík, Jozef, 84n. 120, 95n. 45,
 105n. 3, 158n. 13, 159n. 23, 161,
 167, 168n. 52, 171, 179, 204n. 33,
 221n. 105, 237n. 53, 254n. 11
- Moravia-Silesia, status, 26, 94, 119n. 57,
 120nn. 58–63, 131n. 37, 147n. 35,
 293nn. 96, 98–101, 294n. 109
- Murdoch, Iris, 32n. 34
- Nagy, László, 172n. 63
- nationalism/ethnic conflict, 2, 4–7, 285n.
 52, 301n. 1, 302n. 2, 309–10nn.
 25–32, 319n. 63, 331
- NATO, 318
- negotiations (generally), 7–10, 118–19,
 169–70, 215n. 73, 218n. 90, 220n.
 103, 222, 326nn. 80–81, 327nn.
 83–84, 328n. 85–330n. 1, 337–41
- Party of Democratic Left (PDL), 94,
 115, 126n. 15, 128n. 29, 130n. 36,
 143n. 17, 147, 159n. 17, 170n. 57,
 172n. 63, 174n. 70, 179n. 11, 184,
 262n. 48, 267n. 72, 276n. 10, 326,
 347n. 9
- Payne, Jiří, 159n. 18, 165n. 42, 171,
 174n. 69, 358n. 13
- Pit'ha, Petr, 24n. 6, 30n. 28, 97n. 48,
 301n. 1, 316–17n. 55
- Pithart, Petr, 60n. 19, 61nn. 23, 27, 62n.
 30, 63nn. 33–35, 66n. 50, 68n. 59,
 69n. 64, 83n. 117, 90n. 14, 93n. 34,
 97, 111n. 24, 117n. 46, 120, 133–
 34, 135–36nn. 64–65, 137n. 69,
 151n. 53, 153n. 57, 156n. 6, 160,
 170n. 58, 185n. 37, 186–87n. 41,
 309n. 27, 315n. 49
- Plank, Karol, 14, 52, 109, 111, 112, 119,
 275n. 6, 345n. 1, 348n. 11, 349,
 352n. 22
- political conditions
 before 1989, 27–28, 32–33
 after 1989 (“negotiated revolution”),
 1n. 2, 13n. 3, 34n. 42, 39, 42, 46n.
 45. *See also* civil society
- Popper, Karl, 45. *See also* civil society
- population (Czechoslovakia), 24n. 7,
 25n. 8, 242n. 77
- power-sharing (devolution), 20–21, 61n.
 27, 62–64, 68nn. 61–62, 70n. 70,
 72–73, 82, 105, 113n. 32, 165nn.
 38–39, 240n. 69, 241n. 70, 331,
 345, 346–48nn. 2–13
 negotiations for, 62–66, 68–72,
 115nn. 41–42, 117n. 49, 165nn.
 38–39, 166–67nn. 41–49, 169n.
 53, 329–31
- Prague Spring, xvii, 13, 27n. 19, 124
- prohibition of majorization, 49nn. 52–
 53, 50n. 54, 97n. 51, 107n. 11, 143,
 146n. 33, 149n. 42, 174n. 71, 181n.
 17, 287n. 63, 349n. 16
- Prokeš, Jozef, 112n. 30, 127n. 20, 172,
 217n. 83, 220n. 101, 259n. 34,
 353n. 29
- Public Against Violence (PAV), 13–14,
 33n. 41, 62n. 30, 69, 70n. 70, 84n.
 118, 87n. 2, 89n. 7, 91–93, 95, 96,
 109n. 19, 112n. 38, 114, 117n. 48,
 124n. 6, 126n. 15, 127n. 19, 128n.
 27, 130nn. 35–36, 143n. 14, 145n.
 29, 178, 184, 258n. 28, 325
- Raiffa, Howard, 322–41, 8, 326, 332,
 334. *See also* negotiations
- referendum, 42nn. 27–29, 44nn. 36–37,

- 70n. 68, 113n. 35, 126n. 18, 127nn. 19–26, 128, 134n. 52, 137–38nn. 72–73, 142n. 12, 144n. 22, 150n. 45, 180n. 15, 199n. 10, 201n. 21, 207nn. 39, 41, 213–14nn. 63–67, 219n. 94, 231nn. 21, 23, 232nn. 27–28, 243n. 82, 251n. 2, 261nn. 42, 44, 262nn. 46, 48, 263n. 53, 264n. 55, 265n. 61, 266nn. 68–69, 268n. 89, 270n. 92, 275n. 8, 279n. 24, 293, 294nn. 102–3, 313nn. 41–43, 314nn. 44–45, 331, 338, 352n. 23
- religious attitudes, 26, 29nn. 24–27
- Republican Party (Association for Republic–Republican Party of Czechoslovakia), 91, 184n. 32, 227n. 2, 248n. 106, 258, 264n. 58
- ressentiment, 7n. 18, 302
- Rocard, Michel, 95n. 42
- Roma (Gypsies), 24–25n. 8, 236, 319
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 8, 22
- Russia, 5n. 11, 72, 318
- Rychetský, Pavel, 13nn. 2–3, 13, 39, 51, 61n. 29, 63, 66n. 48, 89n. 7, 90n. 11, 99n. 56, 100n. 62, 101, 105, 116nn. 43–44, 117n. 49, 119n. 56, 124n. 9, 130n. 36, 148, 159, 167n. 48, 168n. 52, 171, 185nn. 36–37
- Schwartz, Herman, xviii, 13n. 1, 49n. 53, 79n. 108, 98n. 55, 107n. 11, 108n. 14, 346nn. 2–3, 353
- Schwarzenberg, Karel, 16n. 10
- secession, 2, 21n. 28, 42–44, 311nn. 33–34, 312nn. 35–36, 317nn. 59–60, 318nn. 61–62, 320n. 64
- self-determination, 2, 43n. 30, 45, 73n. 79, 209n. 48, 261n. 44, 310n. 32, 312n. 37, 313nn. 38–43, 314–17nn. 46–58
- Šimečka, Milan, 28n. 20, 30n. 30
- Sládek, Miroslav, 91, 227n. 2, 231n. 20, 264n. 58
- Slovak National Party (SNP), 65, 67n. 53, 87n. 2, 94, 112n. 30, 115, 116n. 44, 117n. 45, 125n. 11, 126n. 15, 127n. 20, 128n. 27, 130n. 35, 131n. 40, 146–47n. 34, 172n. 63, 178, 185n. 34, 208n. 45, 353n. 29
- Slovak State (1939–45), 26n. 15, 58n. 11, 59, 179n. 10, 182n. 24, 185n. 34, 249, 308
- Smith, Adam, 7, 304, 306
- Smith, Anthony D., 4nn. 8, 10, 5n. 14
- “state treaty” proposal, 74, 105–8, 109n. 16, 110–13, 137n. 71, 155n. 1, 163nn. 32–33, 170n. 58
- in Bratislava, 121, 128–31
- in Častá, 136n. 67–137n. 71
- in Hrádeček, 133–35
- negotiation on, 114–38n. 75
- in Kroměříž, 114–18
- in Milovy, 156–61, 165–69, 172n. 64
- in Štířín, 132–33nn. 42–47
- Sweden–Norway Union, 192, 314n. 45, 316n. 54
- Switzerland, 21n. 29, 36–37n. 8, 48n. 47, 72, 74n. 82, 163
- Tarleton, Charles D., 18–19nn. 18–20
- Tigríd, Pavel, 127n. 24, 140n. 7, 150n. 46
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 42n. 29
- Tribe, Laurence, 13n. 1, 24n. 7, 106n. 6, 108n. 15
- Trudeau, Pierre, 13. *See also* international consultation group
- UN Charter, 43n. 32, 249n. 109
- United States, 19n. 21, 21n. 29, 37n. 8, 38nn. 14–15, 39n. 19, 41n. 24, 52, 72n. 78, 74–75nn. 81–85
- U.S. Constitution, interpretation, 17, 38, 39n. 19, 72–74, 255n. 18, 163
- World Slovak Congress, 124n. 8
- Žák, Václav, 43n. 31, 51n. 60, 59–60n. 17, 62n. 30, 63nn. 33–34, 64n. 40, 69n. 64, 82n. 114, 95n. 45, 119n.

Žák, Václav (*continued*)

55, 133n. 46, 137n. 70, 149, 166n.

43, 171, 174n. 69, 286n. 56, 291n.

88, 336n. 96

Železný, Vladimír, 101n. 64

Zemko, Milan, 173

Zieleniec, Josef, 113n. 35, 199n. 11,

204n. 33, 211n. 55, 212n. 62, 238n.

57, 254n. 11