

The Results and Consequences of the 1992 Elections

I. The Spectrum of Political Parties in the 1992 Elections¹

There were 120 political parties and movements in the CSFR at the time of registration for the parliamentary elections of 1992 (April 1992). The main information resource is data from the parties about themselves. For this reason, the information has a selective character, is tendentious and some facts, e.g. the quantity of members, the finance of the electoral campaign and other facts are kept rather secret. The place on the political scale is not given by the place on the spectrum of interests determined by social stratification, which is just being created through privatization, but is often determined by the efforts of a party to set itself off from its opponents in some direction, to align itself at the place on the political scale to which the party (and especially its leaders) aspires. In spite of this it usually does not correspond either to its political program or the tenor of its members. The boards of directors of the parts system in existence in the CSFR have a relatively free zone of activity. This situation can be dangerous for a political democracy still in the process of being created.

With these reservations, we can classify political parties in the CSFR as follows:

1. Parties and movements active across the CSFR (50 parties):
 - 1.1. Right-wing parties and movements (22 parties);
 - 1.2. Parties and movements in the middle (20 parties);
 - 1.3. Left-wing parties and movements (8 parties).

¹⁾ An extract from the study "Der Parteienspiegel in der ČSFR vor den Wahlen," by L. Brokl, Z. Mansfeldová, *Aktuelle Analysen*, 29. Mai 1992. Bundesinstitut für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien, Köln.

Among the parties with activity only within a single republic is a group of parties which has a definite nationalist accent.

In the Czech Republic in the parliamentary elections of 1990 only the Movement for Local Authority - Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS) came close to this viewpoint. In some electoral districts it was even more successful than the winner of the elections of 1990, Civic Forum (OF). This party, however, from the beginning by its Moravian accent stressed region rather than nationality, federalism and civic society rather than a separate national state. This orientation of the party was strengthened in the 1992 elections. The original marginal national articulation of "Moravian nationality" has weakened over the last two years and it almost did not exert itself in the 1992 elections.

This tendency in Slovakia is inverted. The parties with a national orientation grew and the national aspect, in relation to the state-legal arrangement, also became the basic differentiating element on the Czech/Slovak political scene.

2. Political parties and movements active in the Czech Republic (24 parties):
 - 2.1. Nationalist-oriented parties and movements (4 parties);
 - 2.2. Right-wing parties and movements (6 parties);
 - 2.3. Parties and movements in the middle (12 parties);
 - 2.4. Left-wing parties and movements (2 parties).
3. Political parties and movements active in the Slovak Republic (33 parties):
 - 3.1. Nationalist and national parties (10 parties);
 - 3.2. Right-wing parties and movements (8 parties);
 - 3.3. Parties and movements in the middle (8 parties);
 - 3.4. Left-wing parties and movements (7 parties).

Before November 1989, ten of these parties existed and some of them were active before

1948. Many political parties were founded in 1990: 38 of them, registered after the elections of 1990, it is possible to call new parties.

In the parliamentary elections of 1990 there were 22 electoral candidates (parties, movements, alliances). In 1992, 39 political subjects offered candidates, 35 for the Federal Assembly. The rest are parties competing only for the Slovak National Council (the Movement for the Liberation of Slovakia, the Party of Freedom - Party of National Unification, the coalition composed of the Magyar Christian-Democratic Movement Egyuttéles and the Green Party). The first three of them belong among the nationally oriented parties, they did not stand candidates on the basis of their conception of the state-legal arrangement.

There is no party in the Czech republic which offers candidates only for the Czech National Council.

Seven parties that participated in the elections of 1990 did not offer candidates in 1992. They split, were dissolved or formed coalitions. Instead of these electoral coalition-based subjects many individual electoral subjects appeared in the elections of 1992 (Original party: resultant parties):
Civic Forum: Civic Movement, Civic Democratic Alliance, Civic Democratic Party, Club of Engaged Non-party Members, Gypsy Civic Initiative;

Public Against Violence: Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, Christian Democratic Union;

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, The Party of the Democratic Left;

The Christian Democratic Movement: The Christian Democratic Movement, The Slovak Christian Democratic Movement;

The Green Party: The Green Party in Slovakia and The Green Party (offering

candidates only for the Slovak National Council). In the Czech Republic the Green Party is in a coalition named The Liberal Social Union.

Originally independent political parties include the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, the Agrarian Party and the Greens in the Czech Republic (within the Liberal Social Union coalition). Some political subjects stood candidates in electoral coalitions in the elections of 1990 and participated independently in the 1992 elections, while their partners from the coalition did not compete in the earlier elections.

II. Parties that received over of the 5 % vote necessary for representation

ODS-KDS: Civic Democratic Party - Christian Democratic Party (alliance);
LB: Left Bloc (an alliance between the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and the Democratic Left of the CSFR);
ČSSD: Czechoslovak Social Democracy;
SPR-RSC: Coalition for the Republic - Republican Party of Czechoslovakia;
KDU-ČSL: Christian and Democratic Union - Czechoslovak Peoples' Party;
LSU: Liberal Social Union (an alliance of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Agrarian Party and the Green Party);
ODA: Civic Democratic Alliance;
HSD-SMS: The Movement for Local Authority - Society for Moravia and Silesia;
HZDS: The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia;
SDL: The Party of the Democratic Left;
KDH: The Christian Democratic Movement;
SNS: The Slovak National Party;
MKDH-ESWS-MLS (M-E-M): an alliance of Magyar parties, composed of The Magyar Christian Democratic Movement, Coexistence and The Magyar Peoples' Party.

III. The Results of the 1992 Elections

In the Federal Assembly

In the Czech Republic

	Assembly of Nations %	Assembly of Nations mandate	Assembly of People %	Assembly of People mandate
ODS-KDS	33.43	37	33.9	48
LB	14.48	15	14.27	19
ČSSD	6.8	6	7.67	10
SPR-RSC	6.37	6	6.48	8
KDU-ČSL	6.08	6	5.98	7
LSU	6.06	5	5.84	7

In the Slovak Republic

	Assembly of Nations %	Assembly of Nations mandate	Assembly of People %	Assembly of People mandate
HZDS	33.85	33	33.53	24
SDĽ	14.04	13	14.44	10
SNS	9.35	8	9.39	6
KDH	8.81	9	8.96	6
M-E-M	7.39	7	7.37	5
SDSS	6.09	5	-	-

In the Republic Parliaments

In the Czech Republic

To the Czech National Council

	%	mandate
ODS-KDS	29.73	76
LB	14.05	35
ČSSD	6.53	16
LSU	6.52	16
KDU-ČSL	6.28	15
SPR-RSC	5.98	14
ODA	5.93	14
HSD-SMS	5.87	14

In the Slovak Republic

To the Slovak National Council

	%	mandate
HZDS	37.26	74
SDĽ	14.70	29
KDH	8.88	18
SNS	7.93	15
M-E-M	7.42	14

IV. The Consequences of the 1992 elections

In the Czech Republic 6,485,739 citizens (85.2 %) voted, in the Slovak Republic 3,088,426 citizens (84.2 %). There were no surprises in the elections, with the exception of the gains of ODS and HZDS, which are explicable by the sudden inclination of undecided voters towards the expected winners of elections (on April 7th, these

represented 31 % in the Czech Republic and 12 % in the Slovak Republic).

The middle part of the political scale, represented by the Civic Movement, has disappeared. All subjects without a relatively strong organizational structure fell in the elections, including the governing Civic Movement.

The elections confirmed the hypothesis that, in spite of the resistance of citizens to political discipline (partisanship), only a

classical model of the political scene, especially in the Czech Republic,² can be successful in understanding the present situation. The elections also confirmed the hypothesis about repetition in the development of the historical system of political discipline since the 19th century: large civic movements (Civic Forum and Public Against Violence) acted similar to the first political parties of the 19th century in the 1990 elections, which were able to stand candidates who alone have no chance of successful competition. Civic Forum and Public Against Violence became, however, government parties in 1990 without the necessary features of political partisanship. These movements were not able to function in the present conditions like modern movements in some Western countries, and today are worse off for misconceiving and failing to respect these differences. Particular political subjects since the elections of 1990 have liberated themselves from these large movements and have constructed partial hierarchical organizational structures of their own. They regrouped their power in the parliament, as representatives (deputies) joined the differentiating parties (e.g. the non-parliamentary social democratic party) with regard to the parties on whose behalf they were elected as representatives. They also created many new clubs. By this process, parties entered the assembly which did not overcome the 5 % clause, as well as new parties created by splits that at the time of the 1990 elections did not yet exist. The political system in creation developed in a rapid abridged evolution spanning two years that, because of proportional representation, found itself suffering from the classical phenomenon of the inter-war democracies: a

state of parties and the consequent crisis of democracy.

In the elections of 1992 an extreme right-wing party, the SPR-RSC, from the Czech Republic that, by its eccentricity, was deemed untrustworthy for a long time, also gained entrance to the parliament. The left has also gained. In the Czech Republic the right wing won convincingly (ODS, whose chairman is the minister of finance V. Klaus), while in the Slovak Republic, on the contrary, HZDS, whose chairman V. Mečiar was pressed to resign the post of premier of the Slovak government by the Slovak National Council in 1991, won a resounding victory. HZDS is considered to be left-wing but identifies itself as lying on the left part of the middle on the political scale. They demand the repeal of some of the most recent laws and the overhaul of the economic reform. They strive for "a common state of two sovereign republics with mutually independent juridical subjectivity". Many HZDS voters think, due to the terminology, that they voted for a common state of Czech and Slovaks. The HZDS is the last of the large movements on the political scene in the CSFR, comprising many internal factions and it is possible to expect its decomposition into smaller parts. The Party of the Democratic Left, the former communist party, clinging to the ideas of social democracy and to a possible convergence with that party, achieved second place in the Slovak Republic. Standing to the left of the Party of the Democratic Left are two communist parties without any significance. The third-place party in the Slovak Republic is the Slovak National Party, which is extremely and romantically nationalistic. In their program they call for an independent national state.

²⁾ The HZDS, led by V. Mečiar, originally created by the split in the VPN, acts, to a certain extent, like the two political movements of two years ago, and its change as it begins acting in its new role as the governing party of Slovakia is anticipated, assuming the possible problems, isolation and the resultant creation of an external enemy.

For all practical purposes a traditional right wing is missing in the Slovak Republic. The KDH - The Christian Democratic Party - is the closest to being right-wing on the Slovak political scene, but due to their social program they are often considered left-wing, and the Democratic Party, which is in coalition with ODS did not overcome the 5 % clause.

The winning right-wing citizen-Christian alliance requires ten additional votes in the Assembly of the People of the Federal Assembly to gain a sufficient majority. In the Czech part of the Assembly of Nations they have a sufficient majority, but the Slovak parties rule in the Slovak part of the Assembly of Nations. If the value of votes is one in the Assembly of Nations, then due to the principle of parity and the ban on the majority of one nation, the value of each Czech vote is 0.5 to the value of the Slovak vote. This fact, in spite of its principal importance for the functioning of political democracy or for the fate of the common state, never became a matter of considerable political battle or emotion. If the Slovak representation can block the parliament in its part of the Assembly of Nations, the Czech right-wing representation (ODS-KDS with KDU-ČSL) has the same possibility in its part of the Assembly of Nations. In the presidium of the parliament, which can govern in the case the representation is not functioning, the left wing will have a weak majority, which is a significant stimulus for the Czech right-wing representation to consider splitting the state (which they refused to consider before the elections) in

order to maintain the pace of the economic and political transformation of the Czech lands.

The division of the CSFR could lead to the disappearance of the European arrangement created by the Versailles system, the bond of which Czechoslovakia was usually considered, and this system was also the guarantor of the new state, having the consequence of the revision of the borders of many Central and East European countries. In 1866, Chancellor Bismarck thought about the danger of these changes in Central Europe in the following way: "He who rules Bohemian, rules Europe. Hence, Europe cannot allow any other nation to rule there than the Czech, because this nation will not try to rule over others. The border of Bohemia is the guarantor of European security, and he who crosses it leads Europe to disaster". This consideration can seem, from the point of view of the West, anachronistic. Eastern and Central Europe, however, thanks to a half-century of totalitarianism both leftist and rightist, is not too far from the thinking contained in this view from the nineteenth century.

Lubomír Brokl

Declared Occupational Mobility and the Change in the Role of Achievement Principles in Four Nations of East-Central Europe

In October 1991 the sociological survey "*The Dismantling of the Social Safety Net and Its Political Consequences*" was carried out in three formerly communist countries of Europe: Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.¹ The principal purpose of the survey was to assess the effect of the gradual dismantling of various forms of the social

safety net typical for state socialism on the political attitudes and behavior of different groups of the population in the three countries (four nations).

In addition to political attitudes and behavior, the questionnaire contained indications of some other aspects of social transformation, including the subjective evaluation of changes in the respondents' occupational status during the post-communist transformation² and the

¹⁾ The survey was coordinated and financed by the Institute of East West Security Studies, New York. Four national analytical files were created: Czech lands (1187), Slovakia (817), Hungary (1500) and Poland (1491), as well as a merged multinational data file containing 4995 cases.

²⁾ We asked: "Now, think for a moment of the time two or three years ago when the major political change started in our society. Since then, have you experienced any important change in your occupation, your job or in your position in the company? We are not asking you about any kind of change, but only about a change that markedly influenced your career and life situation." If the