the worst off (down with Mexico and Turkey and even behind Hungary and Poland) with regard to the chances of being admitted to a university and the average number of years of university education completed.

As Možný points out, the legacy of the Czechs' brutal normalisation regime of the 1970s and 1980s weighs heavy on the country's system of higher education. The communist-era emphasis on technical and agricultural education has remained even as students prefer a Western-style liberal-arts education. Paradoxically, though the government has been reluctant to devote resources to education (it remains the only OECD country where teachers have wages below the national average), Czech students continue to perform extremely well in international comparisons.

If education is an area of stagnation, then criminality is by far the most negative trend. While the twenty years before 1989 saw approximately 100,000 crimes reported annually, by 1993 the number had jumped to 400,000, while the percentage of cases solved dropped from 77% to 44%. Moreover, deterrence does not seem to be working. Like most of the countries of Eastern Europe, the Czech Republic imprisons two to three times more of its citizens than a typical Western European country. (Možný misleadingly reports that the number of prisoners rose by 180% between 1990 and 1999, while neglecting to mention that the country's jails were virtually emptied by a general amnesty in 1990. According to his own graph there are fewer prisoners today than in 1987.)

Česká společnost provides a useful picture of what has happened in the Czech Republic since 1989, as well as interesting comparisons with the rest of the world. Možný has a talent for interesting and revealing factoids. (His biography tells us that he has worked as a radio commentator.) The range of subjects is broad, though there are some areas where Možný could have captured additional turning points in Czech lifestyles. Changes in consumption (e.g. shopping and eating habits) and travel - for many the most important benefits - would attest to the 'revolutionary' impact of 1989.

The book's style makes it an appealing companion for the general public, journalists, and even to students looking for research topics. Scholars, however, will probably miss a deeper analysis of the problems covered. One particularly wants to know how Možný would explain Czech 'exceptionalism': why Czechs managed to avoid some of the more fatal consequences of transition. Was it its lower unemployment rate that made life better for Czechs than for its neighbours, or was some other factor at work?

As for Czech society itself, the book provides eloquent testimony to the ground that has been covered in the last ten years. If we judge a society by the degree to which people are both free to make their own choices and have a wide set of options to choose from, Czech society today is incomparably better than it was in 1989. And it is so, even if these choices are to have fewer babies, marry less, or commit more crimes. On this score Czechs have voted with their feet. From being a land of emigration the Czech Republic has become a land of immigration. For the first time in living memory, more Czechs - not just foreigners - are choosing to return to the country than leave.

Andrew Roberts

Peter Skalník (ed.): ***The Transition to Democracy. The Czech Republic and South Africa Compared***
Praha, Set Out 1999, 92 p.

Between the Czech Republic and South Africa there exist vast differences - in geography, history, population, industrialisation, the system of government, the economy and the development of civil rights. Therefore, the idea of a comparison of the Czech Republic and South Africa would appear to be a courageous undertaking. The authors of the book - Peter Skalník, Jan K. Coetzee, Otakar Hulec, Vishnu Padayachee and Luboš Kropáček - agree that it is perhaps an unusual exercise to make a number of fairly detailed comparisons between the Czech Republic and South Africa. However, they find this unusual comparison attractive to many people these days.

Luboš Kropáček highlights the similarities of both societies. South Africa and Czechoslovakia both experienced non-democratic regimes in the past 51 years. In both countries, the large majority of people were deprived of freedom and human rights by an oppressive system of government established in 1948. Both regimes followed the paths of false ideologies – apartheid and communism. Both regimes were subject to interference from the influence of the Soviet Union. The communist regime in Czechoslovakia was sustained by the Soviet Union, and in South Africa, communist sympathisers mixed with black resistance movements, while the ANC was a former instrument of Russian expansionism there. Gorbachev's *perestroika* brought about the disintegration of these regimes and the triumph of liberal democracy. In both countries the change has come about by peaceful means and both nations have decided to look to the West, but the process of transformation has been specific in each case.

Jan K. Coetzee outlines the events of the beginning of democratisation in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and, of course, South Africa. He mentions the many changes influenced by democratisation – economic, political and social changes, and changes in the perceptions of people. Readers outside South Africa will find interesting how blacks advanced within the state thanks to new labour laws and training programmes. Also informative are the sections dealing with the role of mass action and trade unions, political parties and electoral results, state intervention in the economy, and criminality in the era of South African democratisation.

Otakar Hulec writes about the cruel authoritarian past in the two countries. In South Africa, racial segregation, a violent army and police force, and political rivals on both sides – the apartheid regime and the national movements – inflicting gross human rights violations, formed a part of the country's modern history. Interracial co-operation and the attempt to apply human rights led to more peaceful development, and in 1994 the first non-racial parliamentary elections in South Africa took place. They were won by the African National Congress, headed by Nelson Mandela, who became president in 1995. The new South Africa decided to come to terms with the cruel past without violence and consequently created the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (the head of the TRC was Archbishop Desmond Tutu). Every South African, regardless of colour, could appear before the TRC, and many crimes and wrongdoings – political murders, long-term imprisonment and the pursuit of political opponents – were to be clarified.

In the Czech Republic, the breakdown of the totalitarian (in fact, post-totalitarian) regime occurred in November 1989. The process of democratisation started immediately, but the new society has not fully reckoned with the totalitarian past. Political rehabilitation and the restitution of property represented only part of the compensation necessary for coping with the past. People expected that those who served the communist regime and committed humanitarian crimes against political prisoners would be sentenced (though not imprisoned) and that communist officials would apologise for the regime's violation of human rights and its own laws. The Office for Documenting and Investigating the Crimes of Communism was established and affiliated to the Ministry of the Interior with the purpose of investigating these crimes.

In Czechoslovakia the communist regime had nationalised almost all economic activities, from the big industries and banks down to small enterprises, and created an economic system known as state socialism. Therefore, transformation was understood not only as a change of the whole political system, but also as a change of the economic system. While the movers in political change restored the principles of democracy and established a parliamentary system of government, the movers in the economic transformation initiated the restitution of property, the rapid privatisation of state enterprises, and trade liberalisation. In South Africa, the regime was not fully democratic, but the economy was more or less market oriented. Vishnu Padayachee describes the South African economy be-

tween 1948 and 1970 as more regulated and after 1970 as less regulated. Nevertheless, we can see one similar feature in the economic policy debate after 1990 in both countries - the emergence of opposing views. In the 1990s there were tensions between the defenders of the supply-side and the demand-side reforms within the African National Congress, along with contradictory economic visions of NEM (minimal state) and MERG/ISP (expanding public sector) in South Africa. In the Czech Republic, there arose two conceptions of economic reform and policy, too. The first conception - the liberal attempt - originated at the level of the federal Czechoslovak government and was drafted by right-wing economists, led by the Minister of Finance at that time, Václav Klaus. The second conception - the social democratic attempt - originated at the level of the national Czech government and was drafted by left-wing economists (Komárek, Zeman, Matějka).

While economic topics are featured quite extensively in the book, political topics would have merited more space. South Africa and the Czech Republic have, for example, a more or less comparable system of government at the present time. Luboš Kropáček notes that both countries are characterised by multi-party parliamentarism. More precisely, both countries have a parliamentary system of government and an electoral system that favours multi-partyism. In South Africa and the Czech Republic there are two-chamber parliaments. The lower chambers (the Chamber of Deputies in the Czech Republic and the National Assembly in South Africa) are elected through a system of proportional representation, which favours multipartyism in both countries. The South African upper chamber - the National Council of Provinces - is a representative body of provinces and is elected by the provincial parliaments. The Czech upper chamber - the Senate - is an anomaly. It does not represent any regions, provinces or states and is elected through an absolute majority system with an inversely proportional effect. In both countries there is a parliamentary system of government, the executive is not fully disconnected from the legislative, and the president is elected by parliament. Moreover, in South Africa, the president is the head of state and the head of the national executive (and he has the power of a prime minister, as well).

Even though Peter Skalník has promised a comparison of the Czech Republic and South Africa with special emphasis on political culture during the 1990s, both the description of the political system and the description of the political culture are missing. Readers will not find any section systematically dedicated to the political values, attitudes and preferences (i.e. political culture) of South African and Czech citizens (i.e. political nations). While 'political culture' is a clearly defined term in the social sciences, during the 1990s the term was often used in the Czech Republic incorrectly as a synonym for the human behaviour of politicians. Skalník demonstrates an inclination towards the incorrect definition and pays no attention to the political values, attitudes and preferences of the people.

The 'hegemony' of a political party is another term that may confuse readers. Skalník writes that during the first years of existence of the new Czech Republic, the 'hegemony' of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) of Prime Minister Klaus seemed unchallenged, but in fact, ODS never acted as hegemonic party. According to Jerzy Wiatr a hegemonic party is the term applied to a non-democratic system of government, in which other parties exist but party competition is not allowed. A hegemonic party plays the lead in the political system, and other parties act as satellites and do not challenge its position. The position of ODS in the party system of the Czech Republic corresponded to the position of a predominant party (Sartori) for six years, and for that period it was the strongest party in the party system and the strongest member of the government coalition, but it never attempted to suppress party competition in the country nor did it embrace this idea. It acted as a party with a majority role and was permanently challenged, not only by the opposition parties, but also by the other two members of the government coalition - ODA and KDU-ČSL. The blackmail potential of these two parties has

been described many times in political science literature in the Czech Republic.

Another important term that may confuse readers is 'civil society'. Skalník writes that for ODS, civil society smacked of direct democracy and populism. In the Czech Republic, after 1989 a big debate was initiated over the term 'civil society'. ODS (Klaus and his supporters) have taken the liberal view of civil society. Liberals locate many associations in a civil society (interest groups, churches, trade unions, political parties, trade companies) and perceive them as equal, while corporativists, social liberals and certain influential intellectuals, have a narrower scope of the associations within it (they exclude trade companies and even political parties) and perceive some of them as privileged in governmental relations (and especially privileged over political parties). While liberals, according to the Czech constitution, agree that the "political system is based on the free and voluntary creation and free competition of political parties ..." (article no. 5), their opponents label this stance as a rejection of civil society. Those who defend the corporativist approach to civil society maintain that the election results should be corrected (by the president) and that the influence of the parties in the public sphere should be minimised (by 'independent' organisations and intellectuals). Peter Skalník probably shares the non-liberal view of civil society. In this respect readers will find interesting the short reference to civil society in Coetzee's article. He writes that governmental, state, semistate and parastal organisations (i.e. privileged organisations of corporativist civil society) represent a substantial source of growing apathy in society.

In the editorial chapter we find the incorrect usage of the above-mentioned terms and many simplifications of complex problems. In short, I think it is dubious to simply describe, for example, pre-war Czechoslovakia as 'one of the exemplary democracies', privatisation as a 'Marxist experiment', the division of the Czechoslovak federacy as the arrogant decision of the victorious parties in the Czech and Slovak parts of the republic and the result of ignoring calls for a referendum, the position of Slovakia in access to the EU as a motive for Klaus' politics, and citizenship laws containing the condition of criminal probity as the cause behind Czech xenophobia. The comparison of virtually similar processes in two different countries is indeed a challenging but difficult task, and the prerequisite for doing so is broader knowledge of the compared societies and more analytical access. This book, though it presents a great deal of interesting information, has not completely satisfied this task.

Klára Vlachová

Georg Vobruba: ***Integration + Erweiterung. Europa in Globalisierungsdilemma***
Wien, Passagen Verlag 2000, 195 p.

Georg Vobruba, currently Professor and Dean of the Social Science Faculty of the University of Leipzig, is well known through his writings about the labour market and social policy. For many years he has been concentrating on European integration issues viewed from a comprehensive socio-political perspective. In a series of books, he has presented insightful observations and often also revelatory optics, featured mostly in terms of dialectics, dilemmas and conflicts. This is also the prevailing vocabulary of the book reviewed here, which is devoted to the 'dilemma of globalisation'.

The main thesis of the study is that it is because of globalisation that the European welfare state - which is a precondition of the successful development of Europe - is falling into trouble. More concretely, a 'viscious circle' is produced when increasing social-political problems lead to higher labour costs, which aggravate competition abilities and, consequently, bring about even more unemployment (p. 97). However, not only social policy based on employment status, but also universal systems are vulnerable, albeit somewhat less. In any case, the European welfare state is being seriously challenged by the globalisation process.

The book is divided into two grand sections. The first is about the self-accomplishment