

## **THE GEOPOLITICAL RE-ARRANGEMENT AND THE DISMANTLE OF MODERN FEDERATION STATES**

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***ABSTRACT:** DURING THE LAST DECADES, ON THE BACKGROUND OF SOME HUGE GEO-POLITICAL RE-ARRANGEMENTS, THERE TOOK PLACE SOME CONTRADICTIONARY PHENOMENON; SUCH DISMANTLE OF SOME FEDERATIVE STATES (SOVIET RUSSIA, YUGOSLAVIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA) AND THE REUNIFICATION OF SOME OTHER STATES (GERMANY), AS A FEDERATION. ON SHORT, WE WILL DISCUSS THOSE CASES THAT ARE SIGNIFICANT FOR THE KOSOVO AND CRIMEA ISSUES.*

***KEYWORDS:** FEDERATIVE STATE, SOVIET RUSSIA EGYPT-SYRIA FEDERATION CHEKHOSLOVAKIA*

### **THE DISMEMBERMENT OF SOVIET RUSSIA**

In 1991, Soviet Russia dismantles, after the coup d'état organised by the Russian conservators against the Prime Minister Mihail Gorbaciov, the power being taken by Boris Elțin. After 70 years of existence, (1922-1991) and having a variable number of republics (about 15 at the time of dismantling), the federation was led by Russia, with only one political party. The 1977 Constitution consecrates The Soviet Union as a Federal State, formed by 15 republics, with a federal lead. It functioned between 1922-1991 was formed by republics that were inter-connected by resources, energy, technology, labour force, education and culture.[1] The Federation's collapse brought radical changes.

In 1992, many ex-Soviet Republics[2] signed The Treaty to establish a state federal structure, The Independent States' Community. By signing the Viskuli Agreement[3], The Soviet Federation ceased to exist legally. On 21st of December 1991, at Alma-Ata, the leaders of 11 sovereign states signed The Protocol of The Establishment of The Community of Independent States as a continuation of the agreement from 8th of December 1991. The Alma-Ata Declaration is ratified by the member states parliaments.

Being a part of this community involves no obligations, each state can express its interest in regard to one issue; each state can decide its involvement into the cooperation inside the Community, respecting its rules and procedures.

The 1992 Federal Constitution is structured on chapters: the fundamentals of the constitutional system;[4] the human and civil rights and liberties;[5] the State's federal structure;[6] the presidential institution;[7] the Federal Parliament;[8] The Russian Federal

Govern;[9] the judicial authorities;[10] the local governing structures;[11] the amending and revision of the constitution.[12]

Some ICS member states have certain problems in their bilaterral relations: Ukraine (disagreement concerning the Black Sea and especially Sevastopol); Turkmenistan (gas reserves that provide some independence from Russia); Azerbaijan (oil reserves that provide some independence from Russia); Moldavia (the separatist zone in Transnistria supported by Russia); Armenia (surrounded by Muslim countries – Azerbaijan, Iran and Turcia).[13]

In 1997, Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaidjan and Moldavia establish GUAM as an organisation trying to prevent Russian influence in the former Republics. In 1999 the Uzbekistan becomes a part of the organisation, but retreats in 2005

The integration degree into The ICS varies from one country to another; each state has its own currency.

On 12th of December 1993 The Russian Federation adopts its Constitution that becomes effective starting 25th of December 1993. The Federation's President is the chief of state and ensures cooperation between the statal structures.[14] The Constitution mentions that ICS is the follower of the Soviet Union and it specifies the equality principle and the right to self-determination.[15] The independence and the borders of the member states are validated, as well as theirsovereignty. Ininitially, there was established a Council of the chiefs of states, followed later on by one of the foreign ministers.[16]

The falling apart of The USSR had a strong impact upon the population in the forer republics. The strongest impact was for the about 25 million people that were abroad at the moment of the dismantling of the USSR. This caused a migration comparable to those during the Great War, the Russians returning back to their mother country and being confronted with the lack of living spaces and the lack of working places. On the other hand, there were strongly affected theproduction facilities where these immigrants used to work.[17]

The fall of the economy, the collapse of the sanitary and social assistance systems affected the naality in the member states.[18]

On 10th of October 2000, Russia, Bielorussia, Kazakhstan, Kîrgîstan Tadjikistan and Uzbekistanul (2005) establish The Euro-Asian Economical Community, with Armenia, Moldavia and Ukraine as monitors.

In 2002, The Treaty for Collective Security is signed, establishing a forum for military cooperation.

### **THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EGYPT-SYRIA FEDERATION**

In 1920 The Arab Syrian Kingdom is established, under the lead of Faisal, of the Hashemit family, King of Iraq later on. [19]

In April 1946, due to the pressure from the Syrian Nationalists groups, the French give back Syria to a republican govern formed in the time of the French governing.

On 17th of April 1946, Syria declares its independence. Starting 1949, there are a few military strokes[20] and political manouvres of several military groups in order to promote the Arab nationalism and socialism.

On 22-23 July1952, o group of former officers led by col. Gamal Abdel Nasser de-thrones King Farouk, who was criticised for his weak military performance during the war with Israel, in 1948. On 19th of June 1953, after a short episode of civilian lead, the 1923 Constitution is abolished, and Egypt proclaims itself a republic. Nasser becomes an

emblematic leader for the entire Arab world.[21] Nasser and his movement „Free Officers” win legitimacy as liberators after 2500 years of foreign rule.[22]

Nasser develops a nationalist policy and foreign relations for a pan-Arab socialism, in favour to the USSR. He is against the Western sponsorship of „The Bagdad Pact.”[23]

In 1954, the political instability and the parallelism of the Syrian and Egyptian policies on the background of Nasser's appeal in the Suez crisis cause the junction of Syria and Egypt into The United Arab Republic.[24]

In September 1955, The USA stopped sales towards Egypt[25], because of its neutrality towards Moscow and Nasser starts buying weapons from Chechoslovakia.

In 1956, The USA and The World Bank withdraw their offers for financial help for the building of the Asuan Dam, so Nasser nationalises The Suez Channel. [26] The crisis is increased by the growing tensions with the Israel[27], due to the guerilla attacks taking place from Gaza to Egypt[28], in October and the invasion of Egypt by the French, British and Israeli troops. After defeating Egypt, they withdraw quickly, due to the international pressure. The Suez War[29] accelerates Nasser's ascension as an Egyptian and Arab hero.

On 1st of February 1958, Syria and Egypt are united, forming The UAR, and all political parties, in both countries, stop their activities. On 5th of February 1958, Nasser becomes president. This formula, of a federation, was to prevent the possibility of a communist revolution and because people were waiting for an Arab union. This put an end to the communist ascension in Syria and was a strong political and military alliance between the two countries, even the communists wanted a closer bond to The USSR. At the beginning of the negotiations, Nasser is cautious regarding this union, due to the differences between the economical systems and the inherent difficulties caused by the junction. Yet, Nasser and the president Sirie Shukri al-Kuwatli signed the treaty followed by a referendum in both countries, which established a Constitution for the Federation, with the capital in Cairo. Citizenship-both Egyptian and Syrian-is abolished and colours are adopted. This raises some attempts from the pan-Arab elements from Yemen and Iraq. The initial enthusiasm decreases quickly because of the power inequities and the social and economic measures unpopular in Syria. Even if the Syrians gave the vice-president, this had limited powers. The Egyptian political leaders left less space for the Syrian factor in managing the Federation. Syrian personalities are transferred to Cairo, being thus separated by the power source. The Egyptian officials are sent to Syria, taking over the state affairs and security issues. Nasser breaks up some Syrian political parties, restricting thus the degree of Syrian autonomy inside the federation and restrains the Syrian media, as well. Socialist Egyptian policies prevented Syrians from entering the Egyptian market and the agricultural reform also limited Syrians.[30]

Between 1958 and 1961, Egypt, Syria and Yemen formed a Confederation called The United Arab States.

In February 1958, when the two states formed The United Arab Republic, the Lebanese Government congratulated The president Gamal Abdel Nasser, a thing that causes the situation in Lebanon to degenerate. There are terrorist activities, the demonstrations in favour of Nasser become sometimes violent. The Muslim demonstrators were asking for Lebanon to be united with The United Arab Republic.[31]

On 12th of May there was an armed insurrection in Beirut; it was soon clear that people, weapons and ammo had been smuggled in Beirut in advance, from Syria. During the same day, the Lebanese frontiers are attacked by armed groups' coming from Syria, killing

five Christian border guards. The insurrection extended in the Muslim and Druse districts.[32] The Lebanese Army was able to face the insurrection, but Gen. Fu'ād Shihāb didn't want an intervention, for he considered that The Army was not supposed to support a certain govern, but to protect the state against foreign interventions. He only intervened to prevent the insurrection from spreading.

Shortly after the beginning of the insurrection, Lebanon denounces The UAR at The Security Council as instigator and supporter of the insurrection; at the end of June, The UN sent military observers to monitor the situation.

On 14th of July, after the coup d'etat against The Iraqi Hashemite family by the Egyptians, the Lebanese President Chamoun, who had already asked for an American military intervention, sent a second message, demanding an American intervention within 48 hours, or else the regime, was to be destroyed. On the afternoon of July the 15th, American war and transport vessels of the VIth Flote arrive near Beirut.

The arriving of American troops in Lebanon did not end the insurrection, but stopped a possible intervention from outside the country; and during the following weeks, due to the fact that the Lebanese Muslims had no contacts with the Arab world, the insurrection lost its Pan-Arab character, turning into an internal movement.[33]

On September 28 1961 there was a new military coup d'etat, in Syria, followed by Syria's retreat from the Federation and the independence proclamation, under the name of The Arab republic of Syria.

The socialist politics of Nasser would also dissolve The United Arab states.

Iraq also gives up its union intentions.

On March 8 1963 there is a new coup d'etat, bringing in power in Syria The Revolutionary Leading National Council.

On April 17 1963 an agreement is signed in Cairo for a referendum regarding the union between Egypt, Syria and Iraq, but there also appear misunderstandings between the parties, endangering the initiative.

In November 1963 The Iraqi political regime is removed and the plans for unity are forgotten. On February 23 1966, a group of officers take a successful coup d'palace, take the president Hafiz prisoner, dissolve the Cabinet and The Revolutionary National Council, and install The Baas civilian govern, presenting the events as a "rectification" of Baas Party's principles.

In 1964 the Egypt-Syria union is officially dissolved, although it hadn't been in function since 1961; it was no success, though many Syrian and Arab leaders were in favour of the Pan-Arab ideals, and for the creation of only one state.

At the end of the 80s, these ideals disappear from the political platforms.[34]

Egypt continued to be known as The United Arab Republic until 1971.

### **CHEKHOSLOVAKIA'S DISMEMBERMENT**

Czechoslovakia was a federal state in existence between 1918 and December the 31st 1992, and had different names - The Check Republic (April 1945), The Socialist Check Republic (1960), The Check and Slovak (23rd of April 1990).[35]

In 1919, by The Peace Treaty from Saint-Germain-en-Laye the Republic receives independence and borders. During the IWW, Slovakia proclaims independent, becoming a satellite of Germany, and Checkia is occupied by The Nazi Troops and renamed The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.[36]

On 4th of April 1945 the first free Czech Government is proclaimed.

În 1968, following the Soviet-Czech treaties, the Moscow protocol is signed for the indefinite settlement ('provisory') of the Russian troops that were to really leave the territory only in 1991.[37]

On 1st of January 1969 the republic becomes a federation of two states: The Socialist Republic of Czechia and The Socialist Republic of Slovakia, according to the Constitution from 1968; the Capital City is Bratislava; the Parliament has two chambers, on a 5 years mandate; the president is elected by the parliament and he names the prime-minister and the ministers. Each Republic has a Council and an Assembly. The Federal Government is in charge of defence, foreign affairs and certain economical responsibilities.[38]

On 17th of November 1989, in Prague, The Communist Youth Movement organised a demonstration to commemorate those killed by the Nazis during the IIWW- a manifestation brutally stopped by the police, who arrested some participants. There are anti-governmental meetings.[39]

„The Velvet Revolution” is the end of the communism in Czechoslovakia which turns to democracy and establishes a government of national union. In Prague, massive popular demonstrations cause the resignation of the communist government.[40]

In December, a new, neo-communist party, led by Václav Havel is established. The communist society is re-organised in a way to favour private initiative investments. The attitude of political parties in favour of secessionist movements that affect the bases of the Federation. The Czech political parties thought they would be in advantage without the less-developed Slovakia.[41]

On 20th of April 1990, the state gets a new name: The Federal Republic of Czechia and Slovakia. There were many economical, political and social reforms, privatisations and the turning from the centralised economy to a market oriented economy.

In June 1991, the last Russian troops left the country.

On 1st of July 1991, the paper about the dismantling of The Warsaw Pact is signed. On 5-6 June 1992 there are elections, showing different options from one people to another.[42] In Slovakia, people wish the raise of the competences of the two republics within the federation; in Czechia, voters want a strong federation; the representatives of the two republics have difficulties in establishing a government and a parliament for the federation; Václav Havel is proposed as president by the Czechs and rejected by the Slovaks.[43]

On 26th of August 1992, the Slovakian secessionist movement officially demands for the dismantling of the 74 years old federation and the independence of the two republics; the federal government is dismissed and a new Constitution is established.[44]

On 25th of November 1992, The Federal Assembly dissolves the federation, starting the 31st of December 1992.[45]

On 16th of December 1992, The Czech Parliament declares the independence of the Czech state, led by Václav Havel.[46] The citizens didn't have during the 90's- the feeling this was a new geo-political reality.

On 1st of January 1993, „The Velvet Divorce” ended a peaceful political process and concluded the appearance of two republics: The Czech Republic led by Václav Havel and The Slovakian republic led by Vladimír Mečiar. Citizens living in one country and working in another were granted double citizenship.[47]

## REFERENCES

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- [2]. The 11 founder members of The ICS are: Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Belarus, Kazahstan, Kârgâzstan, Republica Moldova, Rusia, Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan, Ucraina and Uzbekistan. In December 1993 Georgia joined them, under controversed circumstances, following a civil war in which Russian troops interferred to support The Shevardnadze Govern. Despite August 2008, with a new Russian involvement in Georgia, to support the separatist regimes, The Georgian Parliament voted unanimously Georgia's retreat from The ICS, on August the 14th, 2008. Three of the Baltic States didn't take part: Estonia, Letonia and Lituania. The Viskuli Agreement (Belovezhskaya Puscha). See <http://www.itar-tass.com/en/c39/266542.html>
- [3]. 8 8th of December 1991.
- [4]. It is necessary to present this constitutional act. Article 10 State power in the Russian Federation shall be exercised on the basis of its division into legislative, executive and judicial authority. Bodies of legislative, executive and judicial authority shall be independent. *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*.
- [5]. Article 17 (1). In the Russian Federation human and civil rights and freedoms shall be recognized and guaranteed according to the universally recognized principles and norms of international law and this Constitution. *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*.
- [6]. Article 65 (1). The Russian Federation shall be composed of the following constituent entities of the Russian Federation: (...) (2). Admission into the Russian Federation and creation of a new constituent entity shall take place in accordance with the procedure established by federal constitutional law. *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*.
- [7]. Article 80 (1). The President of the Russian Federation shall be the Head of State. (2). The President of the Russian Federation shall be the guarantor of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and of human and civil rights and freedoms. In accordance with the procedure established by the Constitution of the Russian Federation, he (she) shall adopt measures to protect the sovereignty of the Russian Federation, its independence and State integrity, and shall ensure the coordinated functioning and interaction of State government bodies. *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*.
- [8]. Article 94 The Federal Assembly — parliament of the Russian Federation shall be the representative and legislative body of the Russian Federation. *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*.
- [9]. Article 110 (1). Executive power in the Russian Federation shall be exercised by the Government of the Russian Federation. *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*.
- [10]. Article 118 (1). Justice in the Russian Federation shall be administered only by court. *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*.
- [11]. Article 130 (1). Local self-government in the Russian Federation shall provide for the independent resolution by the population of issues of local importance, and the possession, use and management of municipal property. *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*.
- [12]. Chapter 1. The basis of the constitutional system. Art.1 The Russian Federation — Russia is a democratic federative law-governed state with a republican form of government. *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*.
- [13]. Vezi, Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr., "What Went Wrong in Russia?: The Feudalization of the State," *Journal of Democracy* (April 1999), p. 47–53. Vezi și, Mike Edwards: "Russia — Playing by new rules" *National Geographic Magazine*, March 1993, p.16.
- [14]. Article 11 (1). State power in the Russian Federation shall be exercised by the President of the Russian Federation, the Federal Assembly (the Council of Federation and the State Duma), the Government of the Russian Federation, and the courts of the Russian Federation. *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*.
- [15]. Article 137 Section two - Concluding and interim provisions 1. The Constitution of the Russian Federation shall come into force from the moment of its official publication according to the results of the national referendum. The day of the national referendum, December 12, 1993, shall be considered the day of adopting the Constitution of the Russian Federation. At the same time the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Federation — Russia adopted on April 12, 1978

- with all amendments and additions shall cease to have effect. *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*. See also Daniel Treisman, "Blaming Russia First," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2000.
- [16]. Vezi, Paul J. Saunders, "Why "Globalization" Didn't Rescue Russia", *The Council on Foreign Relations*, 1993.
- [17]. See The Jamestown Foundation, *The Russia Federation*, and Jamestown.org.
- [18]. See Dean Peter Krogh, *Post-Soviet Russia and Its Neighbors*, Foreign Affairs Digital Archives.
- [19]. He was leading Syria of only a few months when the Maysalun battle occurred. The French troops conquer Syria and one year later The Nations' League establishes a French mandate for Syria. After France's conquer by Germany, Syria is under the control of the Vichy Govern, until the British and the French occupy Syria, in July 1941. See Batatu, Hanna. 1999. *Syria's Peasantry, the Descendants of Its Lesser Rural Notables, and Their Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p.16.
- [20]. Starting with the one organised by the colonel Adib Shishakli who came in power in 1951. See Paul Dănuț Duță, Eugen Bădălan și Ioan Pâlșoiu, *Operațiile Națiunilor Unite în Orientul Mijlociu*, Colecția Politică și Apărare Națională nr.6, Centrul Tehnic Editorial al Armatei, ale de Apărare, București, 2005, pp. 34-35.
- [21]. In *Philosophy of the Revolution*, which he wrote in 1954, Nasser told of "heroic and glorious roles which never found heroes to perform them" and outlined his aspiration to be the leader of the 55 million Arabs, then of the 224 million Africans, then of the 420 million followers of Islam. Vezi, Jankowski, James P. 2002. *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, p. 21.
- [22]. Their motivation was based on numerous sefferings and was after the elimination of great land owners, the British control, the improveing of the people's situation, especially of the peasants. The Egyptian Foreign Policy in the first four years with Nasser was a constant attempt to obtain consistent assistance from The USA and The West. This help was delayed because The USA had an interest in The British affairs with The Suez Channel, and the peace between Egypt and Israel. The chill relation with the Americans was another reason for Egypt to nationalise the channel. Vezi, Arthur Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt: The Formation of a Nation-State*, Westview Press, 2004. p.67 and the following;
- [23]. Without further notice, the Turkish Prime-Minister, Adnan Menderes arrived in Bagdad and signed the agreement with Irakul with the support from the Occident. Pakistan and Iran take part at this. The UK becomes full member of the agreement while The USA doesn't join in order not to create an antagonical situation with The Saudi Arabia. Egypt and Israel. *Ibid.*, p.58.
- [24]. See Paul Dănuț Duță, Eugen Bădălan și Ioan Pâlșoiu, *op.cit*, pp.61-64.
- [25]. In the context of occidental misunderstanding, the Egyptian leaders start thinking to the possibility that the alliance with the occident might not be the best for them, on the long term. *Ibid.* p.56. In September 1954, Egypt informs The USA that it is no longer interested in receiving military help due to the conditions imposed by the American Govern. See Arthur Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt: The Formation of a Nation-State*, Westview Press, 2004, p.117 and the following. See also Paul Dănuț Duță, Eugen Bădălan and Ioan Pâlșoiu, *op.cit*, pp.78.
- [26]. The taking over of the Chanal was supposed to happen in 1968, but Nasser, thinking along, decided to nationalise it in advance. See also Paul Dănuț Duță, Eugen Bădălan și Ioan Pâlșoiu, *op.cit*, pp.84 și urm.
- [27]. In March 1954, an Israeli councillor from The Embassy in Washington contacts his Egyptian counter-part suggesting a cooperation between Israel and Egypt, regardless the American policy in the region. Negotiations follow on Gaza, but to no avail. In the winter of 1954, the Egyptian-Israelian got deteriorated. See Jankowski, James P., *mentioned above* p.57.
- [28]. The Israelian raid in the night of February the 28th 1955 causes the death of 39 soldiers. *Ibid.* p.59.
- [29]. „The Tri-party Aggression” in Egyptian. See also Arthur Goldschmidt, *mentioned above*, p.123.
- [30]. See Paul Dănuț Duță, Eugen Bădălan și Ioan Pâlșoiu, *Ibid.* p.124.
- [31]. See Arthur Goldschmidt, *as above* p.125.
- [32]. See Paul Dănuț Duță, Eugen Bădălan și Ioan Pâlșoiu, *Ibid.* p.186 .
- [33]. *Ibid.*, p. 204 and the next.
- [34]. See Peretz, Don. 1994. *The Middle East Today*. 6th ed. Westport, CT: Praeger, p.54.
- [35]. See <http://www.slovakia.org/history.htm>

- [36]. See <http://www.slovakia.org/history.htm>
- [37]. See Dr. Sean Gabb, *The Slovak Question: A Candid View June 9, 1992*, <http://www.slovakia.org/history-czechoslovakia.htm>
- [38]. According to the opinion poll most of the citizens were against separation; despite their disagreements, nothing announced the separation after the breaking of communism; not to mention that the citizens had the same language, unlike the Belgian situation. See Arblaster, Paul. *A History of the Low Countries*. Palgrave Essential Histories (Hardcover Ed.). Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005, p.63.
- [39]. the biggest being in Letna, 750000 participants. See Arblaster, Paul, *Ibid.*, p.67.
- [40]. large popular demonstrations. See Arblaster, Paul, *op.cit.*, p.68.
- [41]. See <http://www.hrad.cz/en/czech-republic/index.shtml>
- [42]. 20 years ago, after the elections in June 1992, there was an article in the Respekt magazine: "Two civilisations", with the sub-title : "Alone on the European path or together on the Balcanic one ". It is of course useful, especially for younger lerners, to mention the refference to the people grabbing the federation to the Balkans, was indicating the Slovakiens. See Martin M. Šimečka, *The History of Czechoslovakia*, 2012, p.11.
- [43]. Se <http://www.hrad.cz/en/president-of-the-cr/former-presidents/vaclav-klaus/curriculum-vitae.shtml>
- [44]. See <http://www.hrad.cz/en/czech-republic/constitution-of-the-cr.shtml>
- [45]. In Slovakia, the confrontation between the partisans and the adversaries of the establishment of an independent state was not forgotten. In Chekia, any politician was against breaking the federation- and the establishment of a Chek state- without fearing that they might lose votes. See Martin M. Šimečka, *as above*, p.12 și urm.
- [46]. Many Slovakiens feared that nationalism was similar to Balkanisation. People came little by little to forget regretting the division of the federation and to consider this a great relief. The Slovakian Prime-Minister Robert Fico, asked by a journalist how would he had voted 20 years ago if there were a referendum declared that "Seen from the outside, the two countries resemble in every respect." See Martin M. Šimečka, *as above*, p. 34.
- [47]. See Dr. Sean Gabb, *The Slovak Question: A Candid View June 9, 1992*, <http://www.slovakia.org/history-czechoslovakia.htm>