

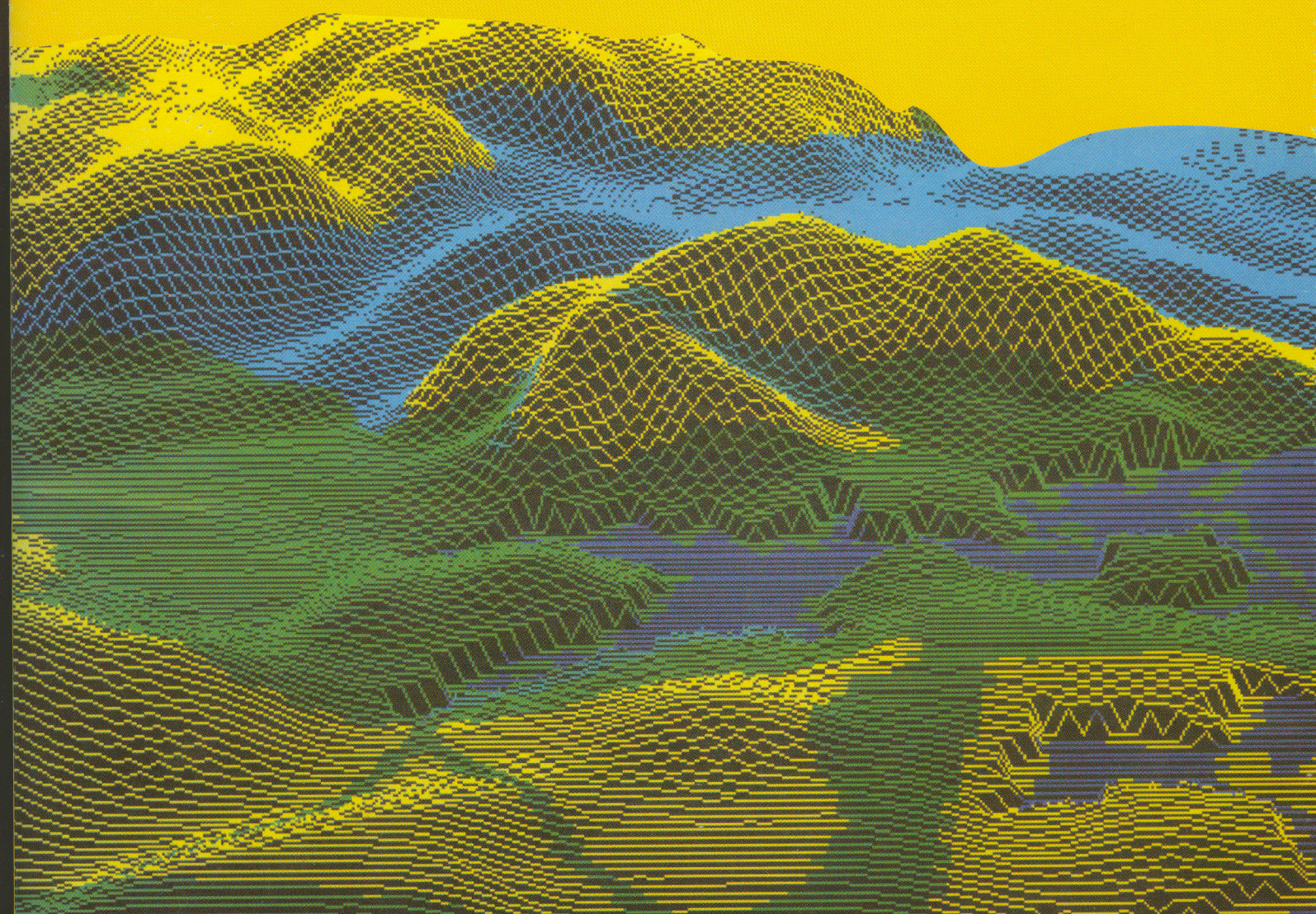
# MORAVIAN GEOGRAPHICAL REPORTS



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# Spatial aspects of the 1994 elections for the National Council of the Slovak Republic

*Peter Mariot*

## 1. Introduction

Irregular elections to the National Council of the Slovak Republic (SR) held in Sept. 30 - Oct. 10, 1994 provided the specialists of various sciences dealing with the results of political preferences of constituency with another and very valuable set of exact data. Contrary to the first elections to the Slovak National Council realized in the socio-economic conditions at the beginning of 1990, the 1994 elections occurred in a completely new interial political situation.

The overall enthusiasm of the first elections in summer of 1990 manifested in pleasant sensations of the majority of the population of Slovakia evoked by the hope that a more democratic, economically better ruled or more human system than the one that was so ostentatiously abandoned by the then common decisive forces of the Czech and Slovak political scene would be established. In the autumn of 1994, the population of Slovakia was divided under several political signs adopting often antagonistic attitudes.

A relatively large part of the population responded to this fact politic apathy. In comparison to the elections of 1990, in the autumn of 1994 the largest number of voters were registered but participation at the elections was lowest (Table 1.) was thus confirmed. The decreasing interest of the population to participate at the elections with a stable spatial macrostructure. The lowest interest in the elections was in all three cases found in Bratislava, where negative divergences from the national average grew from the initial 1.78 (1990) to 7.25 (1992) and/or to 9.93 % (1994). However, differences between the participation of population in extra-Bratislavian electoral districts are growing as well (0.15, 2.11 % and/or 3.44 %).

Table 1 Comparison of the participation in elections in 1990, 1992, 1994

Year	Total voters (registered)	Participation for the SR (%)	Regions			
			Bratislava (%)	West (%)	Centre (%)	East (%)
1990	3 622 650	93.25	91.47	93.48	93.39	93.33
1992	3 770 073	81.76	74.51	82.81	83.31	81.20
1994	3 876 555	75.65	65.72	76.49	78.41	74.97

Out of 17 parties, movements, and coalitions participating in the 1994 elections, the following seven subjects made their way to the Parliament, passing over the limit of 5 %.

- coalition Movement for Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Agrarian Party of Slovakia (RSS) - leader Vladimír Mečiar,
- coalition Common Choice (SV) formed by the Left Democratic Party (SDL), Social Democratic Party of Slovakia (SDSS) Party of the Greens in Slovakia (SZS), Movement of farmers of the Slovak Republic (HP SR) - leader Peter Weiss,

- Hungarian Coalition (MK) consisting of the movement Coexistence (ESWS), Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH), Hungarian Civic Party (MOS) - leader Béla Bugár, Miklós Duray,
- Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) - leader Ján Čarnogurský,
- Democratic Union of Slovakia (DÚ) - leader Jozef Moravčík,
- Association of the Workers of Slovakia (ZRS) - leader Ján Lupták,
- Slovak National Party - leader Ján Slota.

*Note: After the elections, a coalition of HZDS, ZRS and SNS was created.*

Complete results of the elections are presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Results of the elections to the National Council of the SR realized on Sept. 30 and Oct. 10 of 1994

	No.	Obtained absolute	votes %
Movement for the prospering Czecho-Slovakia (HZPČS)	1	30 292	1.05
Social Democracy (SD)	2	7 121	0.24
Association of the Workers of Slovakia (ZRS)	3	211 321	7.34
Hungarian Coalition (MK) MKDH, ESWS, MOS	4	292 936	10.18
Coalition Common Choice (SV) SDL, SDSS, SZS, HP, SR	5	299 496	10.41
Democratic Union of Slovakia (DÚ)	6	246 444	8.57
Party against Corruption (SPK)	7	37 929	1.31
Association for the Republic - Republicans (ZPR-REP)	8	1 410	0.04
Democratic Party (DS)	9	98 555	3.42
New Slovakia (NS)	11	38 369	1.33
Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS)	12	78 419	2.72
Romany Civic Initiative in the SR (OISR)	13	19 542	0.77
Slovak National Party (SNS)	14	155 359	5.40
Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	15	289 987	10.08
Coalition Movement for Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Agrarian Party of Slovakia (RSS)	16	1 005 488	34.96
Christian Social Union of Slovakia (KSÚ)	17	59 217	2.05
Real Socio-Democratic Party of the Slovaks (RSDSS)	18	3 573	0.13
Total		2 875 458	100.00

The elections to the National Council of the SR in the autumn 1994 confirmed that the results of the parliamentary elections realized in Slovakia in the years 1990, 1992 and 1994 can be expressed by a relatively simple model of the system of electoral preference of political subjects. From system contains this view the point of stability, two fixed elements (a triumphant political subject + political subject representing the interests of the Hungarian minority) and 3-4 unstable elements (political subjects lacking the prefer-



ence of the triumphant subject but capable of obtaining more than 5 % of total votes). We suppose that this relatively simple scheme of the model of political preferences subjects at the parliamentary elections in Slovakia is more interesting for the politologists. Geographical research concentrated upon its territorial aspects.

## 2. A Model of electoral preferences

In our contribution we realized the analyses on the level of districts of the Slovak Republic. For each of the three studies elections to the Slovak Parliament we considered the political subjects that obtained the number of votes sufficient to pass the limit of 5 % valid votes.

The position of a victorious political subject was occupied by the Public Against Violence in 1990 (VPN - 29.3 % valid votes). Another stable element of the model of the electoral preference in Slovakia was the coalition of Coexistence (ESWS - 8.6 %). The group of unstable elements was represented by the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH - 19.2 %), the Slovak National Party (SNS - 13.9 %) and the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS - 13.3 %). The remaining subjects left outside the Parliament obtained a total of 15.7 % votes. Regarding a relatively low profit of the victorious party, VPN had to share its majority with other political subjects in all districts of the SR. It was mostly KDH that obtained a relative majority in three districts of the SR (Dolný Kubín, Stará Ľubovňa, and Humenné). The same success was achieved by SNS in the districts of Považská Bystrica, Žilina and Žiar nad Hronom. However, the absolute majority was obtained only by ESWS in the districts of Dunajská Streda and Komárno.

In spite of the comparably high share votes obtained in the 1990 elections by KDH, the next elections held in two years, time showed that it lacked a firm basis. On the other side, the two stable elements of our model confirmed their special position. Position of the leading political subjects passed to the Movement for Democratic Slovakia (37.3 %) choosing the voters a partner for it that ensured an absolute majority in the Party of the Democratic Left (14.7 %), and a secondary partner in the Christian Democratic Movement (8.9 %). While the Slovak National Party (7.9 %) has almost disappeared from the political scene, the Hungarian coalition (7.4 %) confirmed the stability of the regional picture of its preferences in the southern boundary part of the SR. An increased dispersion of the constituency documents the fact that a total of 23.8 % of votes was consumed by the parties that did not pass the limit of 5 % of votes.

Acceptability of the model of the electoral preferences of the population of the SR is confirmed also by the results of the elections to the National Council of the SR, realized in autumn 1994. The function of stable elements of the model was preserved by the same political subject as in 1992. HZDS has unequivocally proved its position of a leading political force (34.9 votes) capable of obtaining an absolute majority in some regions of the SR (except the two districts ruled by the MK) and participating at the formation of relative majority in whole Slovakia. The partners of HZDS from among the unstable elements of the model were replaced and their number has been increased by new subjects (Democratic Union, Association of the workers of Slovakia).

## 3. Territorial aspects of the results of the 1994 elections

A spatial picture of the HZDS preference (Fig. 1) is characterized by a relatively strong representation of voters from this Movement over the whole territory of Slovakia. The core of its support is in the western part of Central Slovakia (districts of Čadca, Žilina, Považská Bystrica, Prievidza, Topoľčany and Žiar nad Hronom), where the Movement won an absolute majority of votes in the both parliamentary elections. Also in the districts surrounding this core area, there is a relatively strong interest in HZDS contributing to the expansion of the area of the main supporting region. In the elections 1994 another core of preference of HZDS originated in the northeastern tip of the SR (districts of Svidník, Vranov nad Topľou, Michalovce, Humenné). It was here where the HZDS obtained the votes of voters who preferred SDL or KDH in the previous elections.

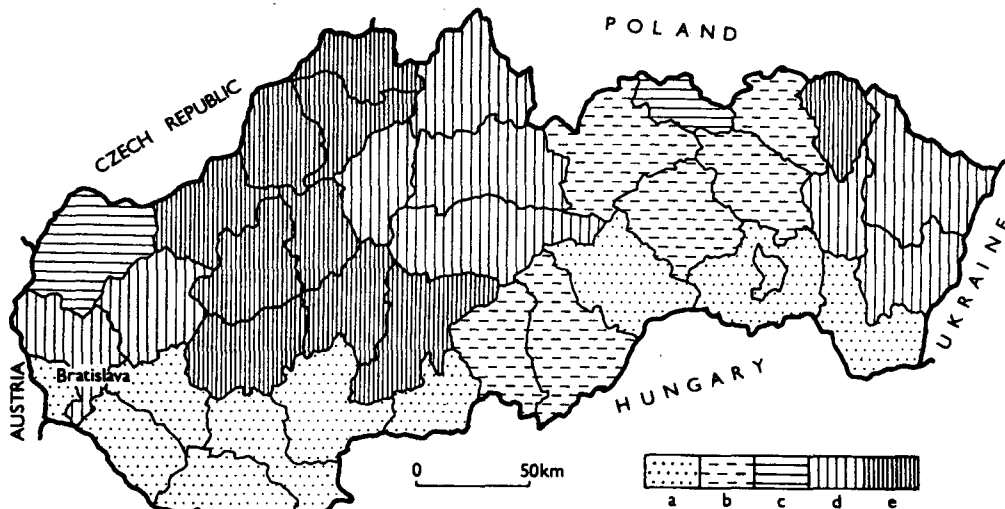


Fig. 1 Preference given to the Movement for Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) of national average of 34.96 % votes, the Movement for Democratic Slovakia achieved following percentages of votes in individual districts of Slovak Republic: a - up to 74.9 %, b - 75.0 to 94.9 %, c - 95.0 to 104.9 %, d - 105.0 to 124.9 %, e - 125% and more.

Also for the coalition Common Choice the main source of votes was one party - SDL. But the 1994 elections were a minor success for this subject, as in comparison to 1992, it lost 4 % of the voters. The most important reason of this loss is a substantial drop of the support of SDL at the districts of the Eastern Slovakian electoral area (from 21.45 % to 12.62 %). This drop was represented for instance in the district of Svidník by 19 % and by 15.5 % and 11.7 % in Humenné and Michalovce districts respectively. However, not even this fact has changed the principal features of the spatial picture of the preference of SDL in Slovakia.

The core region of this support (Fig. 2) remains the Eastern Slovakian constituency though differences in the intensity of equalled this support equalled the remaining territory of Slovakia. The most stable part of this region appears to be the district of Rožňava (its northern part) where SDL regularly obtains the position of the strongest party. New feature of the spatial picture of preference of SDL in Slovakia after 1994 is an increase in relative significance of the westernmost districts (Larger Bratislava, Senica, Trnava, Trenčín) and the largest cities of the SR (Bratislava, Košice) in formation of new areas of relative preference of SDL. Meanwhile, the district of Senica is the only district of Slovakia where SDL experienced in 1992-1994 an increase of votes (by 0.7 %).

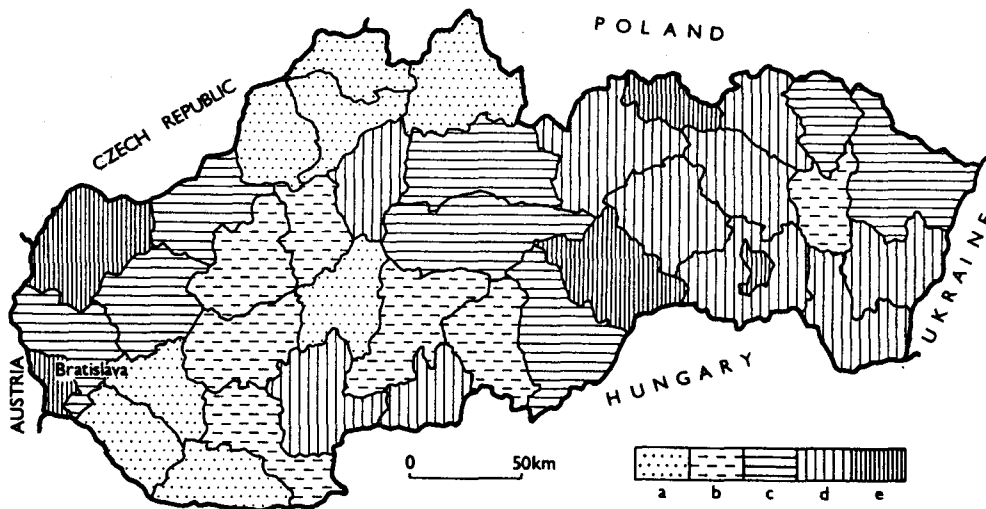


Fig. 2 Preference given to the coalition Common Choice (SV). Of the total Slovak average (10.41 %) the SV obtained following shares in individual districts of the SR: a - up to 74.9 %, b - 75.0 to 94.9 %, c - 95.0 to 104.9 %, d - 105.0 to 124.9 %, e - 125 % and more.

The Hungarian coalition (MK) proved again in the 1994 elections that it can unify all inhabitants of Hungarian nationality with the right to vote regardless of their social rank, education, age, size of the commune the voter lives in, etc. It is confirmed also by the comparison of the data on percentage of the inhabitants of Hungarian nationality (including the ones not entitled to vote) in southern districts of the SR - Table 3.

Table 3 Comparison of the share of MK votes and the share of the inhabitants of Hungarian nationality in southern districts of the SR

District	Share of the votes given to MK in 1994	Share of the inhabitants of Hungarian nationality (1991)
Bratislava-Province	6.29	7.24
Dunajská Streda	83.20	87.16
Galanta	42.09	42.80
Nitra	6.08	6.76
Komárno	71.05	72.16
Nové Zámky	39.89	41.53
Levice	29.59	31.62
Veľký Krtíš	28.97	60.64
Lučenec	18.96	23.77
Rimavská Sobota	40.97	46.08
Rožňava	23.04	23.04
Košice-Province	16.83	16.83
Trebišov	34.41	34.41

Thanks to high electoral discipline of the voters of Hungarian nationality, MK obtained the best result in the 1994 election (10.18 % of votes). Although only 2.76 % more voters voted MK than in 1992 (and 1.52 % more than in 1990), nevertheless at the regional core of the preference of this coalition (Fig. 3) the share of MK votes in 1992-1994 grew more

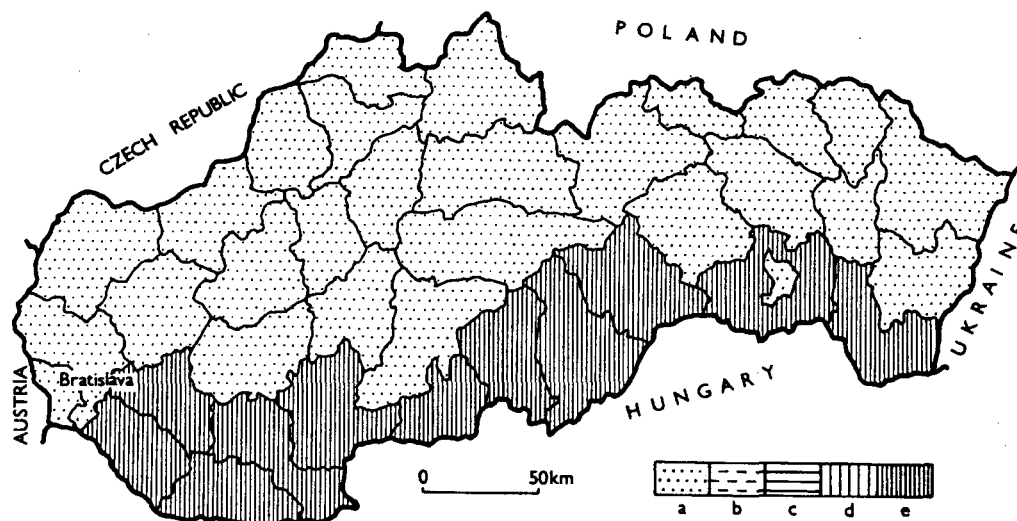


Fig. 3 Preference given to the Hungarian Coalition (MK). Of the total Slovak average (10.18 %) the MK obtained following shares in individual districts of the SR: a - up to 74.9 %, b - 75.0 to 94.9 %, c - 95.0 to 104.9%, d - 105.0 to 124.9 %, e - 125 % and more.

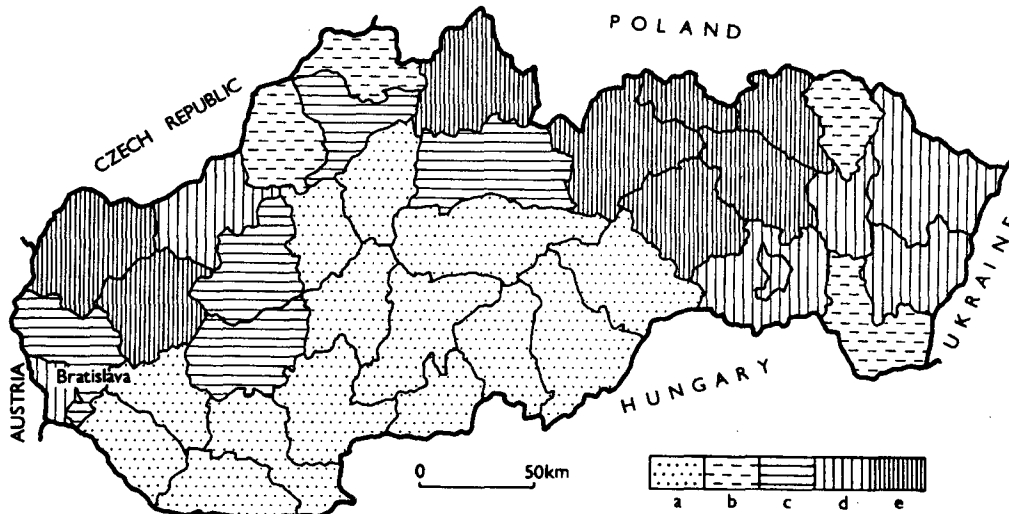


Fig. 4 Preference given to the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH). Of the total Slovak average (10.08 %) the KDH obtained following shares in individual districts of the SR: a - up to 74.9 %, b - 75.0 to 94.9 %, c - 95.0 to 104.9 %, d - 105.0 to 124.9 %, e - 125 % and more.

significantly (in the districts of Dunajská Streda by 25.4 %, Komárno by 16.8 %, Galanta by 12.0 %).

In 1994 the Christian-Democratic Movement (KDH) joined political subjects that obtained higher share of votes (by 1.2 %) compared to 1992. Meanwhile, the core areas of this support were gaining their definite form and it stabilized in three regions (Fig. 4). An area with the most intensive support is the district of Dolný Kubín, that -- as the only one of the districts belonging to substantially broader area in the northwestern Slovakia --- preserved the priority preferences of KDH in all three ballots. However, the intensity of the support in 1994 reached only 50 % of votes given to this Movement in 1990.

Although the Democratic Union (DU) - another political subject that entered the National Council of the SR in 1994 -- originated only in the course of the 1994, after 8 deputies left the political club of HZDS, in the course of their relations with HZDS degenerated to such degree electoral campaign that the DU became the most distinct adversary of the HZDS. The same process took place also among the sympathizing votes on both sides and consequently the preference regions of DU are almost identical with

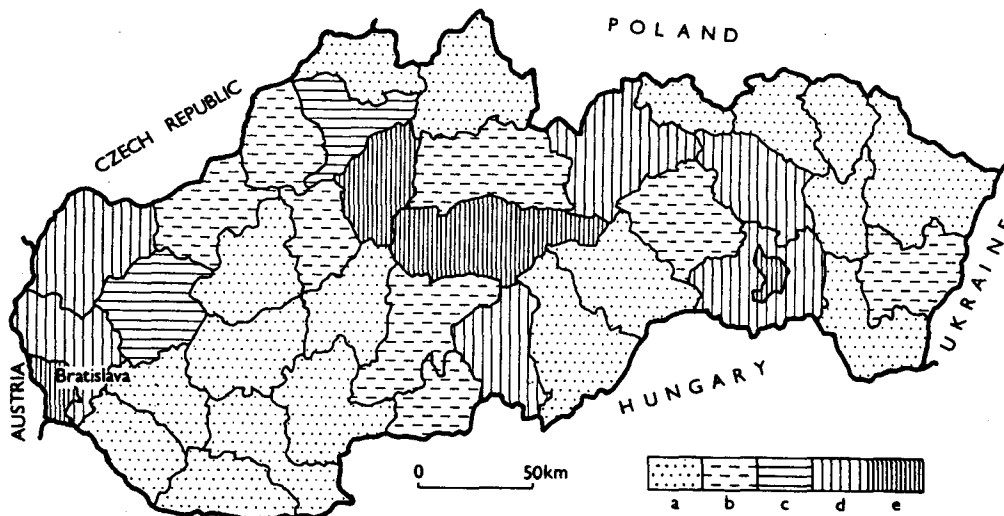


Fig. 5 Preference given to the Democratic Union of Slovakia (DU). Of the total Slovak average (8.57 %) the DU obtained following shares in individual districts of the SR: a - up to 74.9 %, b - 75.0 to 94.9 %, c - 95.0 to 104.9 %, d - 105.0 to 124.9 %, e - 125 % and more.



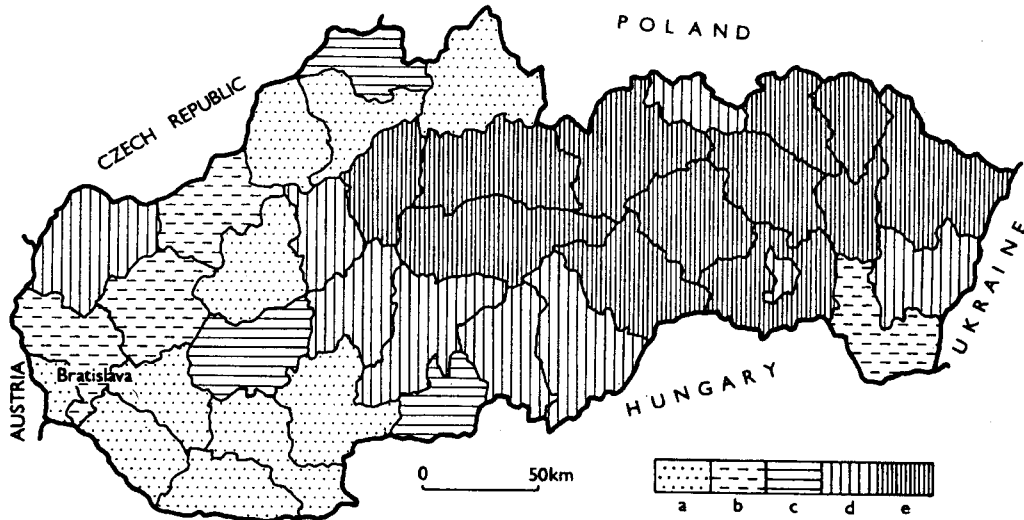


Fig. 6 Preference given to the Association of the workers of Slovakia (ZRS). Of the total Slovak average (7.34%) the ZRS obtained the following shares in individual districts of the SR: a - up to 74.9 %, b - 75.0 to 94.9 %, c - 95.0 to 104.9 %, d - 105.0 to 124.9 %, e - 125 % and more.

the regions of the lowest support to HZDS and vice versa. This is also confirmed by comparing Figs. 2 and 5.

Similar to the DU, also the Association of the Workers of Slovakia (ZRS) was constituted only before the 1994 elections and represented an alternative to the older SDL. Their first appearance on the Slovak political scene revealed that they are a party building on support of the voters of the eastern part of the SR (Fig. 6). In this region it played almost the same role as the SDL, or in some district it even won over its leftest rival (Spišská Nová ves, Svidník, Vranov n. T., Humenné). The ZRS reached success in the traditional centers of support to SDL, and was considerably less successful in the western Slovakia. The great majority of its votes were given to it, naturally, by workers and vocationally trained individuals.

If we denote the ZRS a party finding support in the eastern part of the SR, then the Slovak National Party (SNS) can be, using the same criterion, characterized as the one supported by the voters in the western part of Slovakia (Fig. 7). It surpassed the limit necessary for the entry to the National Council of the SR only by 11 586 votes, especially because of an increased support given to it by inhabitants of Bratislava (13.7 % of the

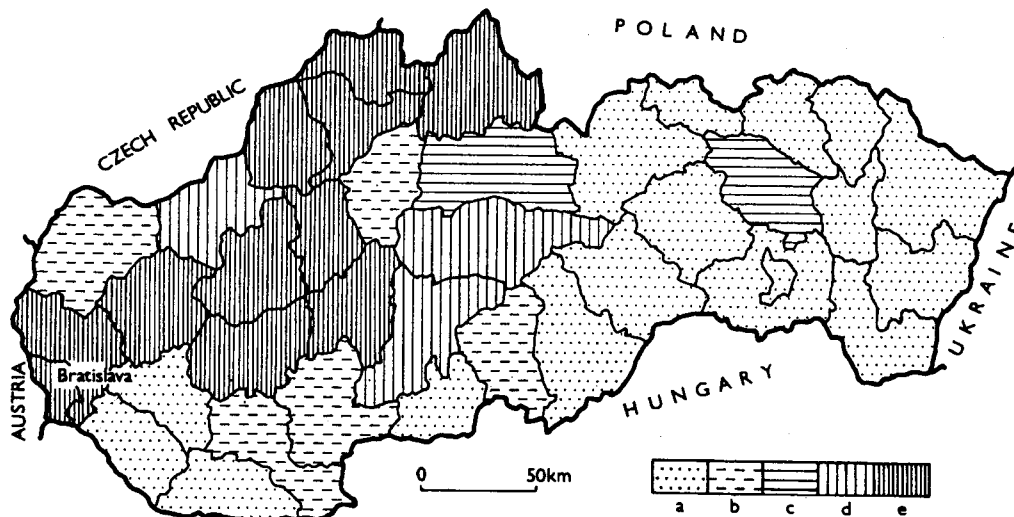


Fig. 7 Preference given to the Slovak National Party (SNS). Of the total Slovak average (5.40 %) the SNS obtained following shares in individual districts of the SR: a - up to 74.9 %, b - 75.0 to 94.9 %, c - 95.0 to 104.9 %, d - 105.0 to 124.9 %, e - 125 % and more.

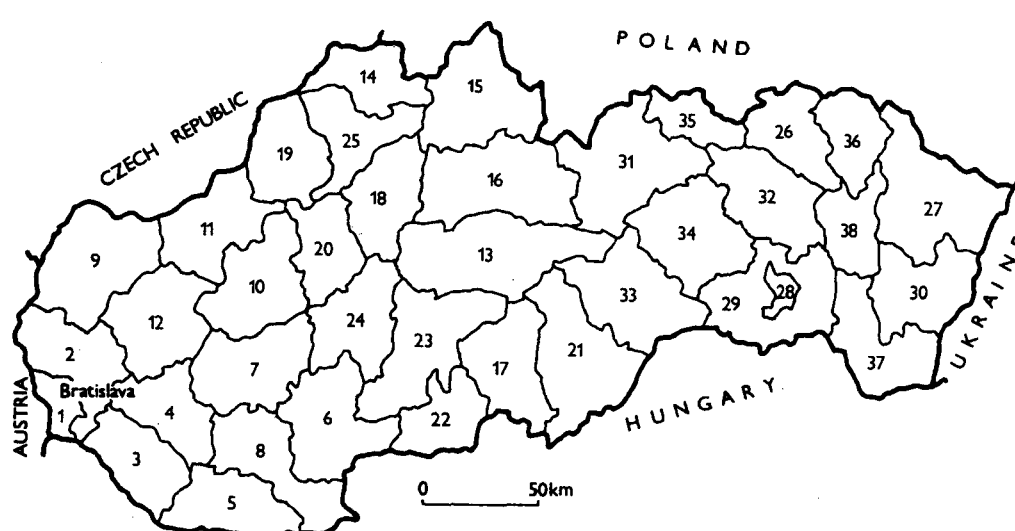


Fig. 8 Districts of the Slovak Republic in 1994. 1 - Bratislava, 2 - Bratislava Province, 3 - Dunajská Streda, 4 - Galanta, 5 - Komárno, 6 - Levice, 7 - Nitra, 8 - Nové Zámky, 9 - Senica, 10 - Topoľčany, 11 - Trenčín, 12 - Trnava, 13 - Banská Bystrica, 14 - Čadca, 15 - Dolný Kubín, 16 - Liptovský Mikuláš, 17 - Lučenec, 18 - Martin, 19 - Považská Bystrica, 20 - Prievidza, 21 - Rimavská Sobota, 22 - Veľký Krtíš, 23 - Zvolen, 24 - Žiar nad Hronom, 25 - Žilina, 26 - Bardejov, 27 - Humenné, 28 - Košice Town, 29 - Košice Province, 30 - Michalovce, 31 - Poprad, 32 - Prešov, 33 - Rožňava, 34 - Spišská Nová Ves, 35 - Stará Ľubovňa, 36 - Svidník, 37 - Trebišov, 38 - Vranov nad Topľou.

total number of votes) -- within which the SNS occupied the best position in the 5th Bratislava district (10 %) and the votes in the districts of central part of the Váh Basin and Nitra region. On the other side, the SNS did not penetrate to the eastern Slovakia where it obtained only 1.5 - 1.7 % votes in some districts.

## Conclusion

The analysis confirmed that the regional features of preference of individual politic subjects -- candidates to the National Council of the Slovak Republic are determined by various factors. They include particularly the nationality structure of the populations (votes of MK), its social composition (voters of SV and ZRS) and religiousness (votes of KDĽ), political orientation represented by the grade of trust in the leaders of individual parties (voters of HZDS, DÚ). Effects of these factors on the individual political subjects are variable and their stability in time is also varying. The criterion of nationality may be considered as most stable here and a less stable criterion is the one of political orientation that can change within several days and offers itself to manipulation.

Further geographical research of electoral behaviour of Slovak population may reveal other features of the regional picture of the preference of political subjects standing for to enter the National Council of the SR. It is for instance the question of stability of electoral preference in various regions, the question of similarity of electoral preference, etc. We started to process the mentioned problems using the 1990, 1992 and 1994 electoral results and they will be the subject of one of the coming papers.

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# **THE FIRST MORAVIAN GEOGRAPHICAL CONFERENCE CONGEO 95 GEOGRAPHY AND URBAN ENVIRONMENT held in Brno, 4-8 September 1995**

*Vítězslav NOVÁČEK, Antonín VAISHAR*

The 1st Moravian Geographical Conference CONGEO 95 was held in the south-Moravian metropolis of Brno at the beginning of September 1995, whose main organizer was the Brno Branch Office of Institute of Geonics, CR Academy of Sciences and co-organizers were departments of geography from the Masaryk University in Brno and University of Ostrava. Scope of the Conference was expressed in the name "GEOGRAPHY and URBAN ENVIRONMENT" and the following groups of problems were put in the center of attention:

- natural environment in urban agglomerations,
- social environment and dwelling environment,
- basic conditions and consequences of economic transformation,
- cartography, GIS and remote sensing for urbanized environment, etc.

By organizing the Conference, the Brno Branch Office of Institute of Geonics, CR Academy of Sciences formed a good basis for organization of regular international CONGEO conferences in two years intervals. Each conference will have a technical topic defined in advance that will be sufficiently wide to make it possible to present contributions