

## ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC IN THE CENSUS OF 1991 AND ITS CONNECTIONS

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### Introduction

The ethnic structure is similarly as the religious structure of population one of the most problematic items of the population census in the CSFR. Their declarative character is the reason of this fact. Their values in the Czech Republic as well as in individual counties are conditioned not only with real ethnic and religious development but also with political situation.

On the other hand, the situation in former Yugoslavia as well as in the former U.S.S.R. shows, that ethnic and religious problems can be a catalyzer of serious political and social problems, culminating in regular civil wars. Also in Czechoslovakia are observed ethnically and religiously conditioned problems. But it seems that these problems are connected with serious economic and social unevennesses and with heavy handed centralism. The question is whether the ethnic and religious problems play the primary or the secondary role in the militant and separatist excesses.

In the Czechoslovak 1991 census, each inhabitant was entitled to register arbitrary nationality, it means not only one of some anticipated ones, but

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really whatever. Theoretically, one was allowed to declare his own nationality. The item was independent on objective criteria as e.g. language, country of birth, nationality of parents etc. Similar conditions were held for the religion.

Any comparability with the census of 1980 is impossible. A significant part of population registered nationality which was not noted in 1980. It concerns nationalities Moravian, Silesian, Roman, above all. The question of religion was not inquired during last 40 years.

It is necessary to take into account new political conditions in Czechoslovakia. On the one hand, entire political freedom was declared. On the second, the census was made in the period of political instability. Registration of certain nationality and religion was rather an expression of a political opinion or a protest against former political system many times. It often depended on information, opinion of social environs than on the real status.

Czechoslovak population census is based on the self-registration. It means that a possibility of census-commissioners to influence results is limited to advisory activity before the census.

Administrative counties of the Czech Republic were the basic territorial units for the study of the ethnic and religious structure of population. There are three urban counties (Brno, Ostrava, Plzeň) except for Prague and 72 "rural" counties in the republic. Prague itself was understood as one territorial unit, although it is divided in 10 administrative counties. Altogether, 76 territorial units were taken into account.

### **The Ethnic Structure**

In contrast to the census of 1980 when only the Czech was the domestic nationality in the Czech Republic, there are three nationalities of this character there: the Czech, the Moravian, the Silesian. The rate among

them is the first studied problem. Total ethnic structure in the Czech Republic is as follows:

Czech	8 372 648	81,3 %	Silesian	44 025	0,4 %
Moravian	1 356 267	13,2 %	Romian	33 489	0,3 %
Slovak	308 269	3,0 %	Hungarian	20 143	0,2 %
Polish	58 573	0,6 %	Ukrainian	6 807	0,0 %
German	47 789	0,5 %	other	50 721	0,5 %

From this viewpoint, Bohemia (except for some counties, the territory of which includes a part of historical Moravia) is homogenous. The Czech is the dominant nationality there (figure 1). Moravia (or the country of Moravia-Silesia) is relatively differentiated. The Moravian nationality is dominant in seven South-Moravian counties in the surroundings of Brno (figure 2). All counties in the southern part of Moravia have more than 25 % of Moravians. The rate of this nationality in northern Moravia is expressively less, in Ostrava and its surroundings it is less than 10 %. From the Bohemian counties, more important shares of Moravians are in Svitavy, Jindřichův Hradec and Ústí nad Orlicí. Many inhabitants living on historical Moravian territory delimited after 1948 for these three Bohemian counties registered the Moravian nationality. It shows that the old historical boundary of Moravia is still living.

The Silesian nationality reaches an important rate only in the county of Opava (11 %). In other counties, which are localized particularly in historical Silesia (southern Silesia, of course, because larger part of this historical country is localized in Polish territory) the rate of people registered the Silesian nationality moves between 2 and 3 %, in Ostrava reaches 1,1 %.

Particular conclusions from above mentioned facts are: A relatively great part of population in Moravia registered the Moravian nationality. But the feature is not of the same intensity in the whole territory of historical Moravia. It is possible to say the same as regard to the historical Silesia. The highest values of the registration Moravian of Silesian

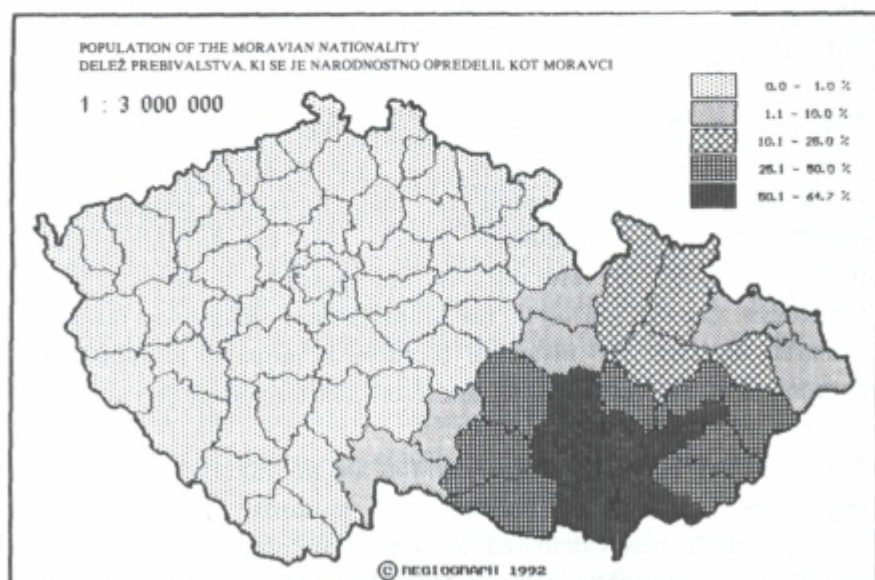
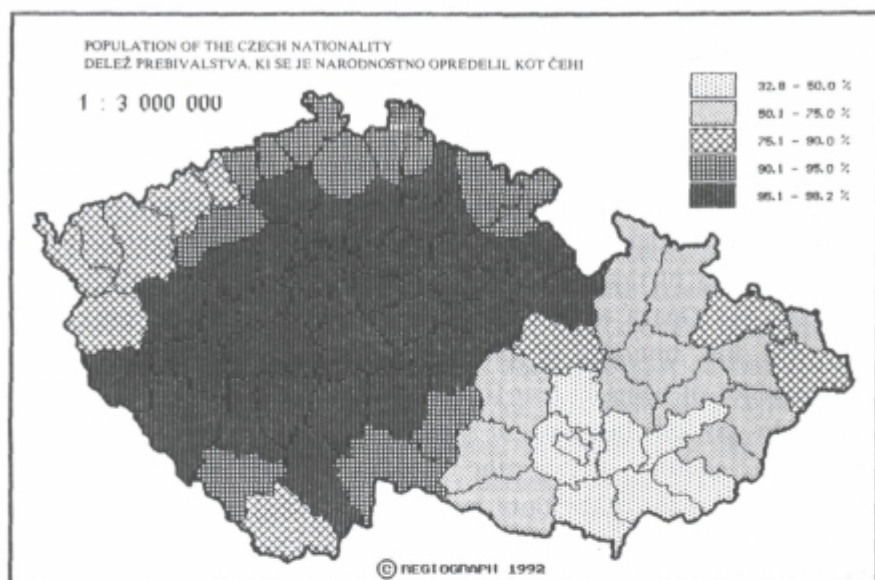
nationality are manifested in the surroundings of the centres of historical countries Moravia and Silesia - Brno and Opava. The hypothesis is: The registration of Moravian and Silesian nationalities in the census of 1991 is connected less with the real national feeling but more it is a response against the centralism.

In this connection, it is interesting that a majority of ethnic Moravians living in Prague registered the Czech nationality. Only 0,7 % of population of Prague registered the Moravian nationality. It seems to demonstrate that the problem is more regional than national.

Extreme centralism is a consequence of former central-planned society. After removing of planning, only the centralism wasn't corrected with any plan remains. Real regional policy is missing till this time. The decisive economic management, international relations inclusive of distribution of exterior support within the frame of economic, scientific and social programmes, management of social activities and (what plays the most important role) information monopoly are concentrated in Prague. In fact, only small and medium entrepreneurial activities were decentralised, but they play not yet any important role in the Czech economy. Former not very effective administrative regions in the extent of about 10 000 sq.km and with 1 - 2 000 000 inhabitants were abolished but the counties in the extent of about 1 000 sq.km and about 100 000 inhabitants are not able efficaciously defend regional interests.

This feature evokes comprehensibly a negative reaction in individual regions. Probably, the Slovak problem was very pointed with the response against centralism. Similar danger seems to be imminent in the case of Moravia. It is not yet acute, but the Slovak problem started to a certain extent similarly. Incapability of "Prague" to comprehend and accept regional specialities and requirements led to the desintegration of Czechoslovakia and could lead to a desintegration of the Czech Republic.

In this connection, Brno - similarly as Bratislava - is looking for its own international relations to reach an independent admission to western



information, market and sources. Vienna is the nearest big town for Brno and Bratislava, while Prague is oriented for Germany. A new geopolitical relations reminding former Astro-Hungary could be topical in this space.

The matter is not so similar, of course. It is showed through the inequality of the registration of the Moravian nationality in the territory of Moravia. It could be connected with the feeling of centralism again. High intensity of the registration is probably a consequence of ambitions of Brno and Opava to be capitals of revoked countries on the one hand and the low intensity of this feature in more distanced counties a consequence of being in fear from new centralism of these centres on the other. In my opinion, one of possible solutions is to revoke historical Moravian country within the Czech Republic with the capitol in Olomouc. This town, the third largest in Moravia in central position and with traditional cultural function (an old university, the church center of Moravia) has able to be unic center of Moravia. Industrial center Ostrava, commercial center Brno and cultural center Olomouc could form a triad of relatively equivalent centers with efficient distribution of functions.

There is another explanation of the registration of the Moravian nationality (Bičan-Řehák 1992). A comeback of an old historical tradition after the downfall of the communist system could be manifested. It is particularly correct but the differences between individual parts of Moravia is not possible to explain with this hypothesis. On the top of it, the Moravian nationality was never before declared. In fact, the historical tradition is probably accounted for an expression of concrete regional interests - similarly as in Slovakia.

The Moravian and Silesian nationalities are no minorities. To reveal real minorities is why an indicator of national unhomogeneity was constructed. It was calculated as a part of inhabitants who registered another nationality than a Czech, Moravian or Silesian one (see figure 3).

It shows that the most stabil region from the viewpoint of the nationality is southern and eastern Moravia and eastern and southern Bohemia

except to the frontier counties. It is interesting that this the very homogenous region has been afflicted with the Bohemian/Moravian differentiation.

The regions with the biggest part of not domestic population are largely concentrated in north-western Bohemian borderland, particularly also in northern and south-western Bohemian and northern Moravian borderland, it means on the German, particularly Polish frontiers. But only a small part of the non-domestic population are German. More than 1 % German live in 12 Bohemian counties only. The part of German population in these counties usually reaches less than 3 % with the only exception of Sokolov (6 % German). at the same time, the quotient of non domestic nationalities fluctuates between 10 and 20 % in mentioned counties (19 % in the county of Sokolov). It is connected with the most sensible artificial encroachment upon the Czechoslovak population after the World War II - the transfer of German population.

The transfer of the German population is politically one of the results of the war. Its political evaluation must be observed from the viewpoint of the time of the end of forties. Let us discuss its demographic consequences. The Czech population was not able to displace the transferred inhabitants. People of other nationalities came in the regions. Arose non-homogenous, non-stable population which does not originate from the said region. Its relation to the land, to the settlements, to each other was different from former domestic population. A special very problematic quality of the social environment was caused by this feature. On the other hand, the come back of former German population is no solution, on the contrary, expected unevenesses with the Czech population could lead to new conflicts.

Two not domestic nationalities were studied in detail. The Slovak nationality as the most numerous of them was the first. The biggest concentration of Slovak population is possible to observe in western Bohemia, in counties Sokolov 10 %, Tachov 10 %, Cheb 9 %, Česky Krumlov 9 % etc. Among counties with more than 5 % Slovaks are these

which were settled again after the transfer of the German population. The counties on the Moravian/ Slovak borderland have less than 4,5 % of Slovak population. It is important in connection with expected delimitation of Slovakia and possible territorial demands. From the viewpoint of nationalities is the boundary unambiguous.

It is a question if all ethnic Slovaks registered Slovak nationality in the census. It involves mixed matrimonies. Respect to the high similarity of both languages - Czech and Slovak - people, who follow their husband or wife in the other republic usually go over on the domestic language because of the communication with children. In this connection it is interesting, that only 2 % of inhabitants of Prague registered the Slovak nationality.

Romian population is one of the most problematic social groups in the Czech Republic. This ethnic group was officially not conceded for nationality in the past. In the census of 1980 it was not inquired but recorded by the census-commissars according to their personal visual impression.

The territorial differentiation of the Romian population is similar as in the case of the Slovak nationality. It is conditioned by the same moving impulses - setting the territory after the transfer of German and by the fact that a majority of Romian people came from the east, particularly from or through Slovakia. At the same time, it is necessary to state that the results of the census do not reflect the real situation in this matter. Relatively significant part of ethnically Romian population did not register this nationality particularly in an anxiety to dissociate from negative features connected with this group in common consciousness, particularly in an inertia from the past period. They registered not only the Czech nationality, but often the Slovak or the Hungarian ones.

Also other non domestic nationalities are concentrated in the same region along the German boundary from 1938. The Polish nationality is the only exception. 75 % of Polish live in two counties along the Polish



boundary: Karvina and Frydek Mistek. In this territory the Polish language is sanctioned for official besides of the Czech and Slovak ones.

### The Religious Structure

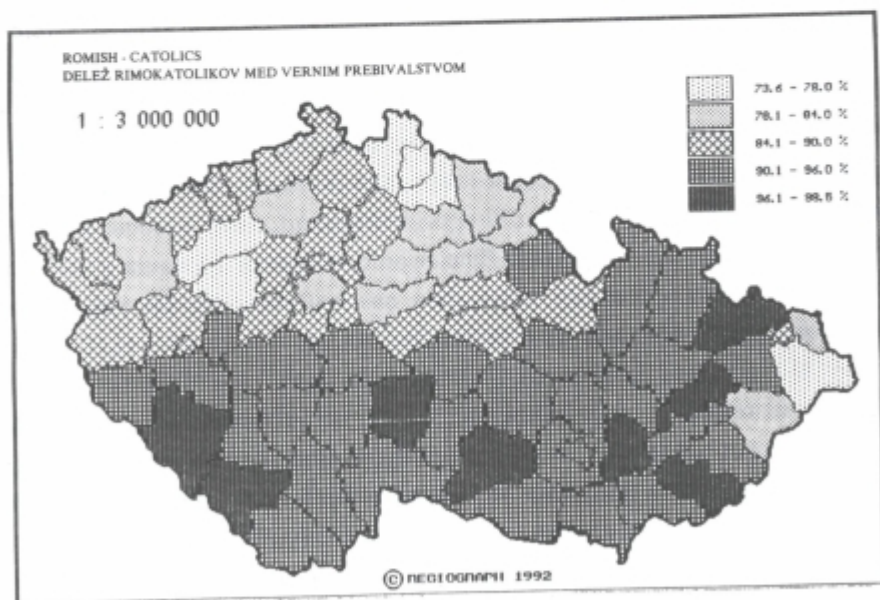
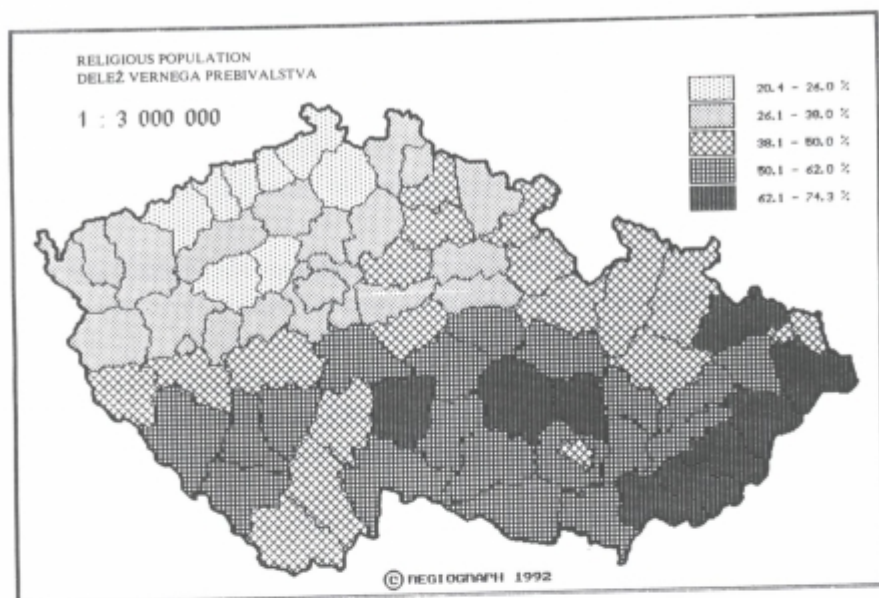
To declare religious conviction was enabled for the first time since 1930. Total numbers from this field are followed:

declaring any religion	4 540 259	44,1 %
unattached	4 087 625	39,7 %
not declaring	1 670 847	16,2 %
Roman-Catholic	4 038 720	39,2 %
Moravians	191 001	1,9 %
Hussites	172 614	1,7 %
Silesian-Evangelic	48 969	0,5 %
Orthodox	19 369	0,2 %
other	69 586	0,7 %

Regional differentiation of religious population is in the figure 4. Widely, southern part of the Czech Republic is more religious than the northern one. It could be found more than 60 % of religious population in counties of the Moravian/Slovak borderland and in some parts of Bohemian-Moravian Highland. The whole southern Moravia except of the city of Brno declared more than one half of religious population. Moravia is more religious than Bohemia.

The least religious population can be found in north-western Bohemia. The level of religiosity is in generally connected with the level of urbanization, which is higher in northern than in southern part of the Czech Republic. In addition, special social environment, characterized with a less level of social check-up, contributes to the fact.

The Roman-Catholic Church is the strongest in the Czech Republic not only from the point of the number of believers but as the best organized



Church covered the whole territory and having the strongest political influence. From it follows sometimes formal approach of some people to the Church. They registered Roman-Catholic Church in the census, because it is a common postulate in their social group.

Other Churches play less important role in the scale of the whole republic. But there exist ten counties with 20 - 27 % of congregation of other churches. Such counties are concentrated in northern Bohemia (Liberec-Jablonec-Semily-Trutnov-Nachod), to the west from Prague (Louny, Rakovnik) and in north-eastern Moravia (Frydek - Mistek, Karvina). Religious minorities are often more convicted in their profession.

Relatively great amount of people, who did not declare any confession not even the atheistic opinion, was recorded. A majority of them probably considers the atheism to be connected with the communist system but it has hardly any definite religious experience.

### **Social Environment and National and Religious Question**

Both national and religious structure of population influence and are influenced by the social environment. Usually, a worse quality of social environment is connected with national unhomogeneity and less level of religiosity. The worsening of the quality of the social environment is indicated with arising of social pathologies, crimes, negative demographic phenomena as divorces, abortions etc.

The mechanism of this feature could be explained as follows: Lower homogeneity of the structure of nationalities is usually a consequence of more intensive moving of population. A significant part of immigrants can be socially less stabil. In regions with more intensive moving of population, the social check-up reduces, the quality of the social environment is on the decline. The religiosity and Church manifest themselves a structure of ethnic organization of the society, rise the level

of social check-up and improve the qualitative level of social environment.

The connection stands to reason when one observes the regional differentiation of social environment. The regions with the most intensively moving of inhabitants are big towns and coal mining basin regions (north-western Bohemia and Ostrava course) unhomogeneous from the viewpoint of the structure of nationalities and less religious. On the other hand, regions with the most stabil social environment (country-side, especially Bohemian-Moravian borderland, eastern Moravia, eastern Bohemia) are the most homogenous and most religious.

It is also necessary to take into account the new political situation in Europe and in the world. The opening of frontiers and relatively free moving of people can evoke the problem of immigrants. At present times, there are about 4000 Vietnamese and some hundred of members of other foreign nationalities in the Czech Republic. But a billow of immigrants is expected in connection with political and social problems in eastern and south eastern Europe and the Near East. Czechoslovakia would probably be only a transfer station for many of them but nevertheless, their presence in our country would temporarily modify both national and religious structure of the Czech Republic.

The problem of racial, national and religious conflicts could be topical. Certain not very expressive manifestations of this feature begin to crop up in connection with the Romanian question. But increased social differences in relations with expected flow of immigrants could become acute this problem. There is no experience with its solution in our country.

## **Conclusions**

The Czech Republic is relatively homogenous from the point of view of the national and religious structure. Nevertheless, a set of serious social

and political problems is hidden on this field. It seems that these political and social problems are essential and the national as well as religious question serve as a catalyzer for their gradation. But from experience of other eastern european countries follows that national and religious problems can manifest themselves also autonomously. If these problems exceed certain limit, it is not possible to solve them with simple removing or original stimuli.

Let us consider this conclusion to be a warning against an underestimating of the national and religious question within the frame of the social development. To be concrete: It is necessary to prepare a solution of regional problems inclusive of the Moravian question. It is very suitable to study the immigration problem very responsibly. It would be useful to elaborate special principles of regional policy for regions with instabil social environment, etc.

In my opinion, there is no danger of the Balkan way in Czechoslovakia in the sense of the most militant features. But there is possible to expect serious social and political problems in connection with the national and religious questions if mentioned problems are not effectively solved. Lower interest in foreign investments will be the minimum consequence of it.

An emancipational process of nationalities and religions can be expected. Next development depends on understanding it by leading political powers. In such case the emancipational process would be in a harmony with democratic political way, with joining in the European Community and with a civil character of the state. The rights and interests of national and religious groups as well as of regions would be respected.

Any trespassing of the national and religious question for satisfying personal political ambitions would lead to an escalation of problems till the exceeding of any control.

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ETNIČNA STRUKTURA V ČEŠKI REPUBLIKI PO POPI-  
SU PREBIVALSTVA LETA 1991

## POVZETEK

V članku obravnavamo etnično strukturo in versko pripadnost prebivalstva v Češki republiki. Rezultati popisa prebivalstva leta 1991 služijo kot izhodišče analize. Zajetje etnične in verske pripadnosti je bilo ob popisu le deklarativno. Zaradi tega je primerljivost s popisom iz leta 1980 dokaj otežena. Precejšen del prebivalstva se je opredelil za nacionalnosti, ki niso bile zajete v popisu leta 1980 (Moravci, Šlezijci, Romi). Popisi zadnjih štirideset let niso registrirali verske pripadnosti.

Zdi se, da je izjasnjevanje posameznikov o lastnem nacionalnem in verskem statusu pogosto izraz politične klime. Neredko je tudi v korelaciji s socialnim okoljem, zaradi česar rezultate popisa ne moremo jemati kot preslikavo dejanskega stanja. Na osnovi omenjenega menimo, da je potrebno ob navajanju popisnih rezultatov obravnavati tudi politične razmere v območjih, kjer prihaja do odstopanj od vse-splošne slike.

Čehi so dominanten narod na Češkem (Bohemia). Na Moravskem je nacionalna struktura bolj pestra. Moravci prevladujejo med etničnimi skupinami v sedmih južno-moravskih občinah in v okolici Brna, na severnem Moravskem pa so zastopani v manjšem obsegu, saj je njihov delež, denimo v Ostravi in okolici, manj kot deset odstoten. Narodna skupnost Šlezijcev dosega pomebne deleže le na območju občine Opava.

Opažamo, da se je večji del prebivalstva Moravske izjasnil za pripadnike moravskega naroda. Ta fenomen ni zastopan z enako intenzivnostjo na celotnem histo-

ričnem ozemlju Moravske. Enako lahko trdimo tudi za območje nekdanje Šlezije. Največje deleže Moravcev ali Šlezijcev srečujemo v okolici historičnih centrov omenjenih dežel - denimo okrog Brna in Opave.

Hipoteza, ki izhaja iz tega, je naslednja: izjasnjevanje za moravsko ali šlezijsko nacionalnost je v popisu leta 1991 le delno izraz dejanskega stanja oziroma realne pripadnost prebivalcev omenjenih območij tema dvema narodoma. Izraža predvsem odpor do dolgoletnega državnega centralizma, ki je posledica družbe poprejšnjega centralističnega planiranja. Odsotnost resne regionalne politike je še danes glavni problem teh območij. Izključno manjšim in srednje velikim gospodarskim institucijam je dovoljena neke vrste avtonomija - decentralizacija. Žal zaradi svoje omejene gospodarske moči nimajo pomembnejšega vpliva na domicilne regije niti na Češkem, kaj šele na Moravskem. Poprejšnje administrativne regije ( 8 ) je oblast ukinila, manjše občine pa niso bile sposobne učinkovito braniti regionalnih interesov.

Omenjene razmere so pogojevale negativne reakcije v nekaterih območjih. Problem je pridobil nacionalne dimenzije na Slovaškem, kjer je historično pogojeno vprašanje, na Moravskem in ponekod na Češkem pa je to dejstvo vzbudilo regionalistične aspiracije. Na Moravskem je del prebivalstva občutil ta problem tudi kot problem naroda. Neenotnost pri izjasnjevanju za moravsko in šlezijsko nacionalnost na Moravskem oziroma v češkoslovaškem delu Šlezije si lahko razlagamo z nasprotovanjem državnemu centralizmu. Najvišje deleže pripadnikov nečeške narodnosti srečujemo v Brnu in Opavi, kar je, po vsem sodeč posledica ambicij obeh območij, da bi jih priznali kot središči narodov in regije. Po drugi plati pa beleži popis relativno nižje deleže omenjenih narodov na periferiji historičnega območja in to prav zaradi bojzani teh regij pred (novim) centralizmom.

Zdi se, da procesa rehabilitacije historičnih okrajev ne bo moč zaustaviti. Brno, podobno kot Bratislava, teži k lastnemu mednarodnemu priznanju, navezuje stike z drugimi narodi in želi imeti neodvisen dostop do zahodnih informacij, trgov in virov. Dunaj je posebno cenjen partner, posebno še, ker se Praga usmerja v nemške dežele. Nova geopolitična stvarnost se navezuje na staro Avstro-Ogrsko delitev.

Anticentralistična opcija predvideva na Moravskem oživitve stare, historične Moravsko-Šlezijske pokrajine, s središčem v Olomoucu. To mesto, tretje največje na Moravskem, ima središčno lego v pokrajini, obenem pa je zaradi kulturne tradicije izredno primerno za opravljanje te, eventualno na novo dodeljene funkcije. Industrijski gigant Ostrava, trgovsko središče Brno in kulturni center Olomouc bi

v tej regiji tvorili trikotnik, ki bi po funkciji in pomenu konkuriral drugim mestom oziroma regijam v sosedstvu.

Kakorkoli že, Moravci in Šlezijci niso nacionalne manjšine. Na tej predpostavki smo gradili indikatorje nacionalne nehomogenosti. Izpostavili smo pripadnike etničnih skupin, ki se niso popisali oziroma izjasnili za eno od treh, Čehe, Moravce ali Šlezijce. Ugotovili smo, da so v tem pogledu najbolj stabilne, enotne regije na južnem in vzhodnem Moravskem ter na južnem in vzhodnem Češkem, z izjemo obmejnih območij. Pokrajine z največjim deležem državno nekonstitutivne narodnosti srečujemo v severo-zahodnih obmejnih predelih Češke, posebno ob meji z Zvezno republiko Nemčijo in Republiko Poljsko.

Toda le relativno majhen del prebivalstva izjavlja, da so Nemci. Izjema je le občina Sokolov, kjer je 6% nemškega prebivalstva. Vendar je delež ne-državotvornega prebivalstva povsod tod vseeno nekje med 10 in 20%, kar je posledica selitve nemškega prebivalstva po II. svetovni vojni. Čehi niso mogli v popolnosti zapolniti izpraznjenega prostora, zato so obmejna območja v večji meri poselili pripadniki drugih narodnih skupin. Posledica vsega tega je vidna v današnji strukturi prebivalstva tega območja, ki je v celoti nehomogeno, nestabilno in nima korenin v tej regiji. Zaradi tega lahko to območje okarakteriziramo po socialni plati kot najbolj problematično na območju naše republike.

Za območja z večjim številom ne-državotvornih narodnosti je značilno še tole: Slovaki poseljujejo zahodna obmejna območja (5 - 10% prebivalstva), in ne slovaško-moravsko mejno območje. Iz narodnostnega gledišča je ta meja povsem jasna. Romska nacionalnost spada med najbolj problematične etnične skupine v Češki republici. Teritorialno je razporejeno na območju skupaj s slovaškim prebivalstvom. Poleg njih poseljujejo območja ob zahodni nemški meji iz leta 1938 še številne druge narodnostne skupine. Poljaki so izjema; 75% jih namreč živi v dveh občinah ob poljsko-češki meji.

Glede verske pripadnosti ugotavljamo, da je, sodeč po popisu, južni del Češke republike bolj veren kot severni. Na Moravskem se je večji delež prebivalstva opredelil za vernega, na Češkem je bilo tega manj. Najmanj verna območja so območja severo-zahodne Češke. To ugotovitev si razlagamo s stopnjo urbanizacije. Verska pripadnost je v tesni soodvisnosti z življenjem v skupnosti, ki je obenem eden od dejavnikov, ki oblikuje višjo raven oziroma pogojuje zdravo socialno okolje.

Rimo-katoliška verska skupnost je najmočnejša religija v Češki republici - ne le zaradi množice vernikov, temveč tudi zaradi ustrezne organiziranosti, saj teritori-



alno pokriva celotno republiko. Druge verske skupnosti - kot so moravski, husitski in šlezijski evangeličani ter pravoslavci in drugi, imajo relativno omejeno vlogo. Vseeno so v 10 občinah republike registrirali med 20 - 27 % pripadnikov teh verskih skupnosti. Precejšen del prebivalstva se versko ni opredelil.

Narodnostna in verska pripadnost prebivalstva oblikuje socialno okolje, oziroma je to po drugi plati posledično rezultat socialnega okolja. Ponavadi je tako, da sta v soodvisnosti slabše socialno okolje in nacionalna nehomogenost ter nižja stopnja vernosti. Relativna populacijska nehomogenost je ponavadi posledica bolj intenzivne migracije prebivalstva. Precejšen delež migrantov je socialno manj stabilen. V območjih, kjer je bila v preteklosti mobilnost prebivalstva večja, se je stopnja socialnega reda - preverjanja (check-up) zmanjšala. Po drugi plati pa religija zvišuje stopnjo socialne odvisnosti.

Upoštevati je treba tudi nove politične razmere v Evropi. Odpiranje meja pogojuje migracijske pojave in probleme povezane z njimi. Trenutno je v Češki republiki okrog 4000 Vietnamcev in nekaj tujcev z državljanstvi drugih držav. Lahko pa pričakujemo, da se bo delež imigrantov povečal v povezavi s političnimi in socialnimi problemi, ki pretresajo vzhodni in jugovzhodni del Evrope in Bližnji vzhod. Češkoslovaška bo po vsej verjetnosti postala le tranzitna postaja narodnosti na poti proti zahodu, toda tudi nekajetna prisotnost migrirajočih bo vplivala na nacionalno in versko strukturo, kot tudi na socialno okolje v republiki.

Češka republika je z vidika nacionalne sestave in verske pripadnosti relativno homogena. Kljub temu se pod na videz varnim površjem skrivajo skupki resnih socialnih in političnih problemov. Vprašanja etnične in verske pripadnosti so večkrat le katalizator političnih problemov in redkeje lastno bistvo. Toda izkušnje iz drugih vzhodnoevropskih držav kažejo, da se lahko nacionalni in verski problemi manifestirajo tudi samostojno in avtonomno.

Zdi se, da ni nevarnosti, da bi se balkanska militantna pot manifestirala na območju Češkoslovaške. Toda resno je potrebno pristopiti k reševanju regionalnih problemov, tudi moravskega vprašanja in problemov povezanih z nacionalnimi in verskimi manjšinami. Na tem področju lahko pričakujemo številne emocionalne izlive, na katere bodo morali biti politiki pripravljeni oziroma bodo morali zanje pokazati dovolj razumevanja.