

**Appendix 1: Votes cast for adopting Law on National Memory for and for Overturning  
Presidential Veto**

	For		Against		Abstained		Not present		Total	
	original bill	veto overturn	original bill	veto overturn	original bill	veto overturn	original bill	veto overturn	original bill	veto overturn
SDE	2	0	1	8	4	5	11	4	18	17
SOP	4	3	0	1	0	4	4	0	8	8
HZDS	21	13	0	0	3	6	20	19	44	38
PSNS		6		0		0		2		8
SMK	12	15	0	0	0	0	3	0	15	15
SDK	19	20	0	0	1	2	5	3	25	25
KDH	9	8	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	9
<b>Independent</b>	15	17	0	1	2	6	14	6	31	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>150</b>

**Sources:** SLOVAK PARLIAMENT (*NÁRODNÁ RADA SLOVENSKEJ REPUBLIKY*),  
*Session No. 63* 19. 8. 2002, 22:51:16, *Voting No. 57*; and *Session No. 61*, 10. 7. 2002,  
11:34:25, *Voting No.556*.

**Notes:** PSNS was a pre-electoral coalition created between Sessions 61 and 63 out of deputies from HZDS, SDE and an independent.

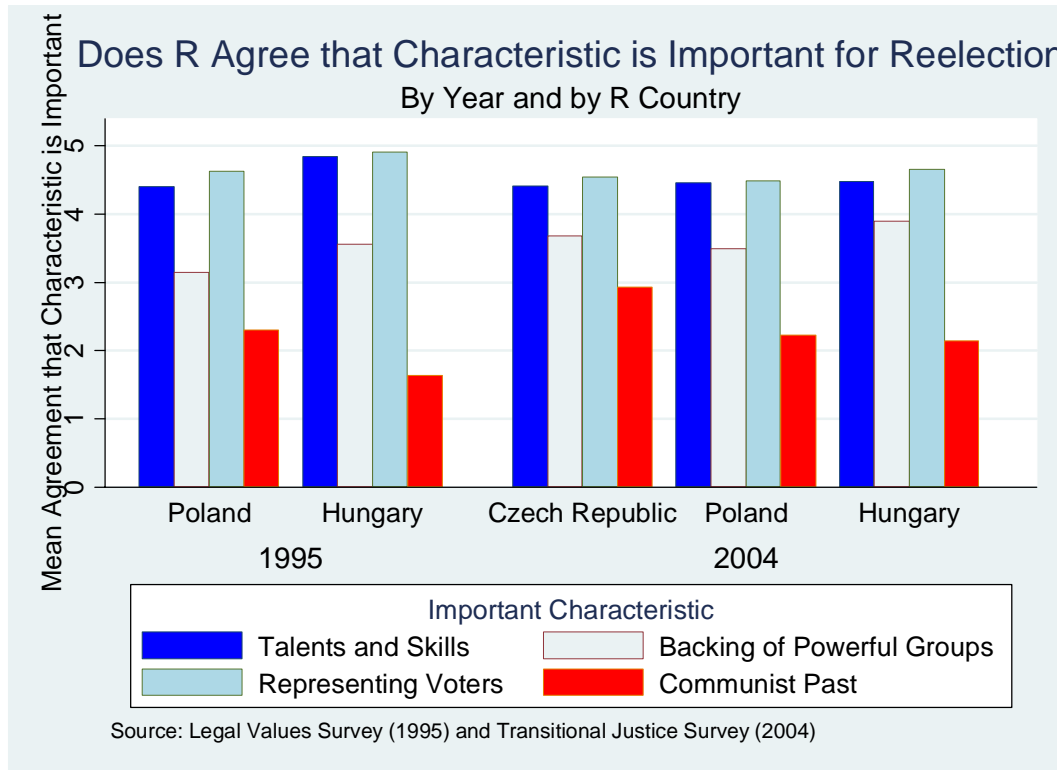
**Appendix 2:** Answers of MPs and their constituents to “More should be done to punish people who were responsible for the injustices of the communist regime”  
(Scale from 1 to 5 where 1 represents “completely agree” and 5 “completely disagree”)

<b>Czech Republic</b>	<b>sample</b>	<b>obs</b>	<b>mean</b>	<b>se</b>
<b>ODS</b>	MPs	27	1.851852	.6015175
	Public	165	1.848485	1.192487
<b>KDP</b>	MPs	13	1.384615	.5063697
	Public	11	2	1.095445
<b>KCSM</b>	MPs	4	2	.8164966
	Public	13	3.615385	1.192928
<b>CSSD</b>	MPs	7	1.857143	.3779645
	Public	34	2.882353	1.249599
<b>Liberal and Social Union</b>	MPs	4	2	.8164966
	Public	9	2.444444	1.236033
<b>KDU</b>	MPs	4	1.75	.5
	Public	15	2.133333	1.125463
<b>ODA</b>	MPs	5	1.8	.4472136
	Public	46	1.847826	1.34936
<b>Movement for self-governing democracy</b>	MPs	3	1.666667	.5773503
	Public	20	2.45	1.050063
<b>Assembly for the Republic</b>	MPs	5	1	0
	Public	21	2.333333	1.197219
<b>OF</b>	MPs	1	4	
	Public	15	3.066667	2.016598
<b>mean MP</b>	1.75548			
<b>mean Public</b>	2.238348			
<b>Slovakia</b>				
<b>HZDS</b>	Public	45	3.022222	1.802636
<b>SDL</b>	Public	38	2.842105	1.103467
<b>SNS</b>	Public	33	2.909091	1.82626
<b>KDH</b>	Public	27	2.555556	1.625123
<b>SMK</b>	Public	18	2	.9074852
<b>Slovak Green Party</b>	Public	46	2.413043	1.001689
<b>Conservative Democratic Party</b>	Public	9	2.111111	1.054093
<b>Alliance of Democrats in Slovak Republic</b>	Public	6	2	1.095445
<b>Slovak Social Democratic Left Party</b>	Public	27	2.62963	1.043225
<b>DU</b>	Public	9	2.111111	1.166667
<b>mean Public</b>	<b>2.459387</b>			

<b>Hungary</b>	sample	obs	mean	se
<b>FiDeSz</b>	MPs	6	2.333333	.8164966
	Public	105	2.742857	1.59945
<b>SzDS</b>	MPs	14	2.785714	.8925824
	Public	42	2.833333	1.575989
<b>MDF</b>	MPs	6	2.5	1.048809
	Public	33	2.121212	1.96465
<b>Smallholders</b>	MPs	7	1.285714	.48795
	Public	28	2.392857	1.749906
<b>HSP</b>	MPs	32	2.90625	.9954534
	Public	100	2.83	1.449869
<b>KDMP</b>	MPs	6	1.833333	1.32916
	Public	58	2.448276	1.708312
<b>mean MP</b>	<b>2.27</b>			
<b>mean Public</b>	<b>2.56</b>			
<b>Ukraine</b>				
<b>Communist Party of Ukraine</b>	MPs	22	3.863636	1.457181
	Public	52	3.153846	1.419536
<b>Socialist Party of Ukraine</b>	MPs	20	3.6	1.602629
	Public	17	3.117647	1.536325
<b>Rukh</b>	MPs	6	1.666667	.5163978
	Public	52	2.403846	1.445203
<b>Green Party of Ukraine</b>	MPs	5	2.8	1.48324
	Public	62	3.064516	1.32900
<b>Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party</b>	MPs	2	2.5	2.12132
	Public	8	2.375	1.685018
<b>Congress of National Democratic Forces</b>	MPs	3	1.666667	1.154701
	Public	5	2.6	1.51657
<b>mean MPs</b>	<b>2.682828</b>			
<b>mean Public</b>	<b>2.785809</b>			
<b>Russia</b>				
<b>Communist Party of Russian Feder.</b>	MPs	13	3.153846	1.068188
	Public	80	3.475	1.2010023
<b>Liberal Democratic Party</b>	MPs	13	3.076923	1.037749
	Public	120	2.666667	1.1474
<b>Russia's Choice</b>	MPs	9	2.888889	1.054093
	Public	138	2.710145	1.215489
<b>Party of Russia's Unity and Consent</b>	MPs	3	3.666667	.5773503
	Public	67	2.716418	1.40136367
<b>Yavlinsky Block</b>	MPs	5	3.4	1.341641
	Public	90	2.822222	1.277091
<b>mean MPs</b>	<b>3.237265</b>			
<b>mean Public</b>	<b>2.87809</b>			

### Appendix 3: Saliency of Transitional Justice Issues among electorates in Central Europe

**Note:** Agreement is measure on a 5-point scale, where 1 is not important at all and 5 is extremely important





**Appendix 4: The Federal Czecho-slovak Lustration law by Target, Targeted activity, and sanction type**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Targets (parameter x)</b>	<b>Targeted Activity (parameter y)</b>	<b>Sanction (parameter z)</b>
<b>Hungary</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• members of national assembly</li> <li>• members of the regional and county-level party presidiums (if party supported by central budget)</li> <li>• judges and prosecutors</li> <li>• president of the state</li> <li>• members of the cabinet &amp; state secretaries</li> <li>• president and vice presidents of State Audit Office, National Bank, the Office of Economic Competition, the Bank of Issue Board and the Hungarian Public Television and Radio</li> <li>• head manager of the Hungarian News Agency</li> <li>• editors, reader-editors, columnists main staff of newspapers with nationwide circulation, region or county wide and locally who have direct or indirect influence on public opinion;</li> <li>• editors of internet news agencies registered in Hungary by the competent authority and with at least nationwide accessibility, and their assistants who have direct or indirect influence on public opinion.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• informers and officers of the III/III division of the secret police</li> <li>• communist official who prior to the transition had received briefs from the secret police</li> </ul>	Revealing the fact of collaboration to voters
<b>Poland:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• elected governmental in national and local elections (MPs, senators, President, cabinet members)</li> <li>• members of the core executive (Members of the Central Bank, Central Controllers Office)</li> <li>• officials of the central judicial system (justices of supreme court, state prosecutor)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• officers and informers of the secret police</li> <li>• police units that were subject to the command of the secret police</li> <li>• faculty and administrators of the Police Academy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• mandatory declarations revealing extent of collaboration with secret police;</li> <li>• in event of false declaration (as proven by</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• top officials state health and social welfare systems</li> <li>• chief editors of the public media</li> <li>• administrators and faculty of public and private universities (deans, presidents)</li> <li>• high school headmasters</li> <li>• managerial personnel of the national postal service</li> <li>• CEOs of companies where the state is shareholder of over 50% of the stock</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• members of the boarder guard patrol</li> <li>• officers working for military intelligence and counterintelligence</li> <li>• employees of the communist Agency for Religious Beliefs</li> <li>• employees of the Censorship Office</li> </ul>	<p>lustration agency) ban from running and holding public office for period of 10 years</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• in event of truthful declaration, content of declaration revealed to electorate</li> </ul>
<b>Czech and Slovak Republics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• bodies of state administration (in Czech Republic, Slovak Republic and the Czech - Slovak federal State) and members of core executives (Council offices, government departments, cabinet)</li> <li>• Members of the Czechoslovak Army (colonel and higher)</li> <li>• Employees of the federal Security Information Services, police forces (in managerial positions)</li> <li>• President's Office, Federal parliament</li> <li>• Constitutional court justices in both the federal state an in state members of the federation (judges, prosecutors, investigators, arbiters, notaries)</li> <li>• Presidium of the Czech, Slovak and federal Academies of science, elected academic officials to posts approved by academic senate.</li> <li>• Czech, Slovak and federal state radio and television (editors in chief)</li> <li>• Managers of companies, state funds, foreign trade ventures if state is majority shareholder</li> <li>• Railway station and post offices managers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• secret police officers and informers (agents, residents, ideological collaborators, owners of apartments lent to secret police or used as conspiracy hubs)</li> <li>• conscious collaborators of secret police</li> <li>• Communist party secretaries at district level and above, members of central committees of Czech Slovak and federal communist parties, members of executive bureaus</li> <li>• officers of Peoples' Militia</li> <li>• members of "Troykas" and action committees of National Front (vetting bodies after 1968 and 1948)</li> <li>• Students of training secret service training college at the USSR Ministry of Interior</li> </ul>	<p>permanent ban from office</p>



