

Summary of Contents

PART ONE: AN INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW

- 1 The Central European and Balkan Regions in Transition 1

PART TWO: TRANSFORMATION IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

- 2 The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe 24
- 3 The Triple Transition and Nation-building 49
- 4 Building Institutional Democracy: Parliamentary and Presidential Systems 84
- 5 The Role of Political Parties: Political Culture and Electoral Behaviour 101

PART THREE: THE REGIONS IN COMPARATIVE TRANSITION

- 6 Re-democratization in East Central Europe 140
- 7 Democratization in the Balkans 171

PART FOUR: CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

- 8 The Future of Democracy in East Central Europe and the Balkans 202

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	x
<i>List of Appendices</i>	xi
<i>List of Chronologies</i>	xii

PART ONE: AN INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW

1 The Central European and Balkan Regions in Transition	1
The concept of Central Europe	1
The features of Central Europe	4
The rediscovery of Central Europe	7
Theorizing global democracy	10
Democratization in comparative perspective	15
A transitions model?	16
Notes and further reading	20
Chronologies	21

PART TWO: TRANSFORMATION IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

2 The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe	24
External dependence and linkage politics	24
International and domestic factors: the Gorbachev doctrines	27
Perspectives for Europeanization	32
Four scenarios for the future	37
Chronologies	45
3 The Triple Transition and Nation-building	49
Interrelationships in a fourfold process	49
Political transition	51
Economic transition	52
Social transition	55
Neo-traditionalism versus national populism	62
National-populism and social-populism	66
The transitional political elites	69
Elite-mass linkages	73
Continuity and change	74
Democracy and nation-building	77
Notes and further reading	81
Appendix: the economic situation in 1996	82

4 Building Institutional Democracy: Parliamentary and Presidential Systems	84
Institutions in transition	84
Constitutional change	86
Parliamentarization	89
Separation of powers	92
Democratic governance	94
Notes and further reading	96
Appendix: constitutional order and electoral systems	97
Chronologies	99
5 The Role of Political Parties: Political Culture and Electoral Behaviour	101
Parties and party systems in democratic transition	101
From movement parties to cartel parties: party organization	103
Towards a relative consolidation	109
Party types: the party formation process	113
Notes and further reading	123
Appendix: the most important political parties	126
PART THREE: THE REGIONS IN COMPARATIVE TRANSITION	
6 Re-democratization in East Central Europe	140
The negotiated transition	141
First free elections and new parliamentary parties	148
Democratic constitutions and representative government	151
Mapping common regional features	160
Notes and further reading	162
Appendix: summary of election results	164
Chronologies	166
7 Democratization in the Balkans	171
The Yugoslav war and the post-Yugoslav states	172
Facade democracies in Bulgaria, Romania and Albania	180
The second round: between old and new	185
Notes and further reading	191
Appendix: summary of election results	192
Chronologies	194

**PART FOUR: CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES
FOR THE FUTURE**

8 The Future of Democracy in East Central Europe and the Balkans	202
Summarizing the key turning points of transition	202
Issues of ethnicity	203
From democratization to modernization	212
Regional cooperation and the prospects for Europeanization	218
<i>Bibliography</i>	226
<i>Index</i>	235

Index

- administration, and politics 95
advanced democracies *see* mature democracies
agriculture 58
 modernization of 61
 production 52
Åland Island 208
Albania 8, 12, 25, 67, 81n, 86, 96, 120, 203
 authoritarian regime 185
 constitution rejected (1994) 185
 election results (1992–97) 194
 facade democracy in 185, 186
 first multi-party election (1991) 185
 most important political parties 139
 pseudo-democracy in 224
 Spring uprising (1997) 189, 190
 totalitarian legacy 180, 185, 189–90
 transition, chronology 200–1
 unicameral parliament 97
Albanian Democratic Party (ADP; PDS) 185, 189
Albanian Socialist Party (ASP; PSS) 185, 190
Alexander III 26
Alia, Ramiz 185
alienation from politics 50, 71–2
Alliance of Democratic Forces, Bulgaria 188
Alliance of Free Democrats, Hungary (AFD; SZDSZ) 146, 154, 157–8, 163n
Alliance of Young Democrats, Hungary (Fidesz) 146
Alps-Adria region 209
'anomic' movements 180, 181, 187
Antall, József 71, 154–5, 157
'anti-politics' 12, 67
apathy 12
apparatchiks, former 159–60
April Pact (1989), Poland 142, 148, 152
arms race 26
articulation, levels of political 14, 73–4, 187
associations 87
Austria 5, 7, 10, 12, 112, 207, 211
authoritarian regimes 9, 36, 41, 184
 soft 60, 63
'authoritarian renewal' 34, 38–40, 50, 51, 62, 68–9, 161, 203, 204
autonomous regions, within Serbia 172
balance of payments 53, 54 Table 3.4
Balcerowicz, Leszek 143–4, 162n
Balkans 2, 3
 authoritarian traditions 187
 charismatic leaders in 103
 chronology 21–2
 civil war in 19
 conservation of post-communist parties 105
 democratization 171–201
 chronology 22–3
 features 190–1
 summary 190–1
 economic refugees from 61
 economic situation (1996) 61, 82–3
 election results (1992–96) 192–4
 elite continuity in 77
 elite-mass linkages 73–4
 facade democracies in the 20, 180–5
 future of democracy in 202–25
 integration in the EU 46
 most important political parties 135–9
 national-populism in 67, 68, 103, 120
 parliaments as 'submissive' 93
 parties compared with ECE 121–2
 pre-transition crisis 18
 presidential systems 84, 88, 96, 109
 region defined 5–6
 revolutions 30–1
 role of the army in 41
 transformation in 24–139
 transition, chronologies 194–201
 use of term here 7
 weaker constitutional governments 92
 zero-level democracy 14
Baltic countries 5–6
Baltic states, massacres (1990) 30
'bantustanization' 43
Basque 208
Batt, Judy 103
Belgium 211
 constitution 206, 207
Belgrade demonstration (1996) 189
'Belgrade Spring' (1991) 178
Bell, John 180
Belorus 69
Belvedere ministries, Poland 152
Benelux states 10
Benes Decree, Czechoslovakia 163n
Berisha, Sali 185, 189, 190
Berlin Wall, fall of (1989) 145, 146, 147
Berov, Luben 182
bicameralism, balanced 207
Bielecki, Jan 153
Big Power Triangle 87, 92, 152, 213
bigger parties 113, 114 Table 5.5; 116
bills, preparation of 89, 94
bipolar model of democracy versus authoritarianism 9, 11
black economy 56, 61
Bohemia 69
Bonime-Blanc, Andrea 97n
borders
 changing in CE 5
 cultural and political 3
 defining 3
 transparency of 209
Boross, Péter 155, 157
Bosnia 173, 174, 186
Bosnia-Herzegovina 172, 174
 first multi-party election (1990) 178
 independence 178–9
 transition, chronology 197
Bosnian Muslims 178
Bosnian Serbs 178–9
Bosnians 173
bourgeoisie, state-dependent 61
Brezhnev doctrine (1968) 27
 denunciation by Gorbachev 28–30
Broz, Josip *see* Tito
Brubaker, Roger 78
Bucharest student protest (1990) 183
Budge, Jan 1–2
budget deficits 60
buffer zones 39–40, 43
Bugajski, Janusz 82n 120
Bulgaria 12, 30, 67, 73–4, 84, 85, 88, 103, 146, 174
 constitution (1991) 181
 economic and political
 breakdown (1996–97) 182–3
 economic refugees from 61
 election results (1991–97) 193
 ethnic tensions 180–1
 facade democracy in 180–3, 186
 first free election (1990) 181
 'hot summer' (1990) 190
 most important political parties 137
 negotiated transition 180–1
 palace coup (1989) 180
 roundtable negotiations (1990) 180, 181
 second round of democratization 178, 188, 203
 semi-democracy in 224
 transition 18, 76–7
 chronology 197–9
 unicameral legislation 92, 98, 181

- Bulgarian Agricultural National Union (BANU; BZNS) 181
- Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP; BKP) 181
- Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP; BSP) 181, 182, 188
- Bulgarians, in Macedonia 179
- Bush, George 30
- Bush–Gorbachev summit, Malta (1989) 30, 145
- business, politics and 112
- business interest associations 59, 119
- Calfa, Marián 147
- 'capitulation policy', Soviet leadership's 30
- caretaker governments 145
- Carnogursky, Jan 150, 160
- Carpathian Euro-region 209
- Carpenter, Michael 67, 159–60
- 'cartel parties' 12, 101, 109
- Catholic Church 203
- in Poland 154, 163n
- caudillo* 41
- Ceausescu, Nicolae 146, 180, 183
- CEFTA (Central European Free Trade Area) 175, 219–20
- Central Europe (CE)
- concept of 1–3
- Easternization of 38
- Europeanization of 24–48
- features of 4–7
- geographical definition 3
- identity 4–5
- rediscovery of 7–10
- as semi-periphery of WE 40
- uses of term 2, 6, 7
- Western character of 37–8
- and Western Europe 220
- Central European Initiative 219
- centralization, French model 206, 211
- change, and continuity 74–7
- Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, Czecho-Slovakia 152
- Christian Democratic Movement (CDM; KDH), Slovakia 149, 150, 160
- Christian Democratic National Peasant Party, Romania (CDNPP; PNT-cd) 184
- Christian Democratic Peoples Party, Hungary (CDPP) 146, 154
- Christian Democratic Union (CDU; KDU), Czech Republic 149, 158
- Christian-National Union, Poland (CNU; ZChN) 144, 153
- Christianity
- Eastern 4
- Western 4, 63, 65
- Christmas Revolution (1989), Romania 146, 180, 190
- Cimoszewicz, Włodzimierz 156
- Ciorbea, Victor 187
- Citizens Centre Alliance, Poland (CCA; POC) 144
- citizenship 44–5, 77, 217
- Civic Democratic Alliance (CDA; ODA) 150, 158
- Civic Democratic Party, Czech Republic (CDP; ODS) 124n, 150, 158, 162, 164n
- Civic Forum, Czechoslovakia (CF; OF) 147, 148, 149, 150
- Civic Movement (CM; OH) 150
- civil service 95
- civil society 17, 55, 77, 87, 212, 215, 222
- in power 147–8
- civil society associations 45, 104, 108, 187, 214–16
- civil wars 122, 172–9, 189
- clientura system 12, 52, 54, 64, 112
- closed hegemonies 10, 11
- CMEA 218
- coalition governments 108, 206–7
- Cold War 2, 5, 6, 25, 33–4, 140, 222
- collective identities 80–1
- Collier, David 20, 21n
- Comisso, Ellen 39–40, 217
- command economy 52, 53, 172
- Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) 31
- communications, global 25
- communism 65, 68, 79, 203
- comparative 8
- and nationalism 19, 203
- pre- 38–40
- Communist Parties, in ECE 28, 155–6
- Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (CPBM; KSCM) 149, 155, 158
- Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS; KSS) 149, 155
- comparative democratization, theory of 8–9, 14
- comparative politics 2, 8–10, 16
- 'comparative revolution' 9, 16
- competition
- and cooperation 220–1
- and participation as primary democratic values 210–11
- competitive oligarchies 10, 11, 63
- competitiveness 10–11, 13
- 'concurrent majority' principle 208
- confederation of Soviet Union republics 31
- conflict of interest, laws on 112
- congressing 106, 108
- consensual democracies 11, 13, 206, 208, 214–15
- consensus democracy 79, 80, 206
- criteria for 206–8
- conservatism, traditional 29, 61–2, 74–5, 102–3, 203
- 'conservatives' 63, 86
- consociational democracy 120, 210, 211
- consolidation 10, 15, 17, 92, 211, 217, 224, 225
- of party systems 112, 124n
- period 222
- towards a relative 109–12
- Constantinescu, Emil 184, 187
- constitution-making, chronology of 99–100
- constitutional change 86–9
- Constitutional Courts 13, 93, 96
- constitutional order 97–8
- 'constitutional revolution' 142
- constitutionalism
- cult of 64
- Western type 151
- constitutions 17, 88, 191
- amendments to 208
- democratic, ECE 151–60
- written 208
- contextual problems *see* structural problems
- continuity, and change 74–7
- cooperation, and competition 220–1
- corporatism 12, 217
- corporative democracy 210, 211
- corruption 12, 183–4, 189, 190–1
- Cotta, Maurizio 18, 88
- Council of Europe 80, 164n, 204
- condemns Milosevic regime 178
- Croatia full member of (1996) 176
- inclusion of CE and EE in 44, 46
- credibility gap 25, 79, 107
- crime 60, 61
- crisis management 31–2, 50, 53, 173, 208
- economic 96
- failure of EU 36
- US global 39
- Croatia 13, 68, 86, 88, 110, 141, 172, 209
- bicameral parliament 92, 98, 176
- Constitution (1990) 176
- election results (1992–96) 192
- facade democracy 176
- first multi-party election (1990) 175
- full member of Council of Europe (1996) 176
- independence 173, 174, 175–6
- most important political parties 133–4
- semi-democracy in 224
- transition, chronology 195
- Croatian Democratic Community (CDC; HDZ) 175–6
- Croatian League of Communists (CLC; SKH) 175
- Croatian Party of Rights (CPR; HSP) 176
- Croatian Peasant Party (CPP; HSS) 176
- 'Croatian Spring' (1971) 175
- Croats 172, 173
- Bosnian 176
- cultural capital 112, 125n
- cultural or tribal wars 91, 105, 108
- culturalization process 92, 111
- currencies, destabilization 219
- Cyprus 35
- Czech exceptionalism 158–9
- Czech National Council 149
- election results (1992–96) 165
- Czech Republic 30, 56, 72, 218, 220
- bicameral parliament 92, 98
- committees of public administration 95
- constitution (1992) 152
- EU membership negotiations for 223
- invited to join NATO (1997) 44
- liberal democracy in 224
- most important political parties 129–30
- political stabilization 162
- reform of left 158–9
- Spring (1997) crisis 219

- Czechoslovak Communist Party (CCP; KSC) 147, 149, 155
- Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSDP; CSSD) 118, 150, 155, 158
- Czechoslovakia 29, 38, 72, 85, 104, 123
- deep-frozen Stalinism 141
- ethnic cleansing in 163n
- Federal Parliament 149
- first free elections (1990) 149–50
- isolationism with technological decay 25
- negotiated transition 146–8
- proportional electoral system 149–50
- revolution (1968) 5, 26, 30
- roundtable negotiations (1989) 99, 147
- transition, chronology of 168–70
- ‘Velvet Revolution’ 30, 141, 146–7
- see also Czech Republic; Slovakia
- Dahl, Robert 10–11
- Dawisha, Karen 25
- Dayton Peace Accord (1995) 173, 174, 177, 179
- debt 32, 40
- decentralization 207–8
- decision-making process 214
- ‘decommunization’ 53, 85, 153, 202
- ‘Deep-freeze (the Eternal East)’ 38–40, 79
- deficit
- cultural 51, 89–90, 215
- institutional 51, 59–60, 89–90, 215
- party organizational 105, 108
- delegative democracies 12
- democracies
- ‘breakdown’ of (1960s and early 1970s) 15
- kinds of third-wave 224
- levels of development 14
- democracy 1
- classification of definitions of 20
- forms, degrees and directions of 9
- minimalist-maximalist continuum 20
- narrow meaning of 205
- and nation-building 77–81
- social preconditions for 214–17
- theorizing global 10–15
- types of and modes of transition 210–12
- Westminster model 205–6
- Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR; RMDSZ) 183, 187
- Democratic Convention of Romania (DCR; CDR) 184, 187
- Democratic Left, Bulgaria 188
- Democratic Left Alliance, Poland (DLA; SLD) 156
- democratic life, adaptation to 75–7
- Democratic Movement for Slovakia 123
- Democratic National Salvation Front (DNSF; FSND) 184
- Democratic Party of Serbia 178
- democratic polity 77, 78
- democratic standards, internationalization of 80–1
- democratic states, number in 1990 15
- democratic traditions 140–1
- invention of 215
- lack of in Balkans 171, 186–7
- democratic transition see transition
- Democratic Union, Poland (DU; UD) 144, 150, 154
- Democratic Union of Slovakia (DUS; DUS) 150, 160
- democratization 9, 212, 216
- in the Balkans 5, 171–201
- chronology 22–3
- summary 190–1
- in comparative perspective 15–16
- in ECE 140–70, 161
- chronology 22–3
- first wave 15
- fourth wave 225
- and marketization 33–7
- and regional cooperation 78–81
- regional specificities in 18–19
- ‘reverse waves’ 15, 19, 224
- Rustow’s stages of 16–17
- second round of 186, 190–1, 203
- second wave 13, 15, 33
- in Southern Europe, chronology 22–3
- third wave 14, 15, 18, 33, 35, 61, 79, 224
- through defeat 33, 35
- to modernization 203, 212–18
- waves as function of the world system 33
- see also comparative democratization, theory of; re-democratization
- demonstration effect
- of ECE on Balkans 187
- of Hungarian negotiated transition 145, 146, 147, 218
- of Poland’s negotiated transition 142–3, 147, 218
- of Western economy 25
- Demos (Democratic Opposition of Slovenia) 174, 175
- dependence
- external 24–7
- new kind of state 61
- ‘path dependent development’ 33–4
- Diamond, Larry 224, 225
- dictatorships, populist 12
- Dienstbier, Jiri 150
- Dimitrov, Filip 182
- Dimitrov, Georgi 181
- disillusionment
- of ECE 7–8, 68–9
- in Poland 144
- in politics 215
- of the West 39
- distorted democracies 10
- diversity, recognition of 2, 80–1
- Djordjic, Zoran 178, 189
- Djordjevic, Dimitrije 78
- Dogan, Mattei 207
- domestic factors, in Europeanization 9, 27–32
- domino effect 30, 32, 218
- Draskovic, Vuk 177, 178
- Drnovsek, Janez 175
- dual society, state and market 58
- Dubcek, Alexander 147
- ‘early freezing’ hypothesis 103, 110–12, 113, 115, 122, 123
- East, Roger 141, 148
- East Central Europe (ECE)
- chronology 21–2
- defined 6–7
- democratizations, chronology 22–3
- disillusionment with politics 7–8, 68–9
- economic situation (1996) 34, 61, 82–3, 212
- elite-mass linkages 73–4
- as filter to stop economic refugees from coming to the West 61
- future of democracy in 202–25
- and Germany 42–3
- integration in the EU 46, 161
- most important political parties 126–34
- negotiated transitions 19, 141–8, 211
- parliamentary systems 84, 88, 93, 109
- parties compared with Balkans 121–2
- political stabilization in 96, 161–2
- re-democratization in 140–70
- reform of post-communist parties 105
- and regional cooperation 218–19
- transformation in 24–139
- transition process 18–19
- ‘U’ curve of recovery 161
- underdevelopment in 40
- use of term here 7
- Eastern Europe (EE) 88
- Europeanization of 24–48
- factor in destabilizing ECE 32
- Latin Americanization in 41
- parliamentary democracy 19
- pre-transition crisis 18
- ‘red-brown’ parties and elites 19
- revolutions 30–1
- use of term 2
- Eastern perception 7–8, 21n
- Easternization 4, 38
- Ecoglasnost, Bulgaria 180, 181, 182
- ecological disaster 32
- economic crisis 25
- Czech Republic 159
- in Hungary 157
- Polish 143–4, 150–1
- in Romania and Bulgaria 188
- economic destabilization, threat of 219, 221
- economic growth in ECE (1996) 34, 82–3, 212
- economic recession in Balkans 82–3, 212
- economic refugees 61
- economic transition 49–50, 52–5
- Economist* 39, 69
- economy
- militarized Soviet 26
- and politics, paradoxes of democratic transition 33–7, 112
- state intervention in the 52

- educated urban masses 61–2
 efficiency 213–14, 217
 election results, in ECE, summary 164–5
 elections
 first free, ECE 148–51
 first free and/or multi-party, chronology of 99
 ‘founding’ (first free) 74, 85–6
 free and fair 86, 190–1
 inter-war 63
 electoral abstentions 102, 103 Table 5.3
 electoral behaviour 101–39
 characteristics of 101–2
 electoral fraud 183–4, 189, 190–1
 electoral systems 85–6, 97–8
 electoral turnouts 150–1
 electoral volatility 101, 103
 electoralist democracy 20, 43, 210, 211
 elite fragmentation 70
 elite parties 105
 elite recruitment 92
 elite-mass linkages 73–4, 79, 90
 role of 13–14
 elites
 change, succession or continuity 112
 competition or cooperation 77, 221
 ‘gate-keeper’ 73
 new capitalist 64
 new professional political 69, 72, 77, 92
 political-administrative 58–9
 professionalization of new 112, 215–16
 socialization of 92, 94
 socio-economic and political 12, 112
 transitional political 56, 69–72
 transitory 73–7, 91, 215, 219
 elitism, intellectual 18, 64
 elitist democracies 11–12, 14, 63
 see also populist democracy
 employers organizations 59–60
 environmental factors, in democratization 9–10
 Ersson, Svante 1
 established industrial democracy 20
 etatism, paternalistic 62–3, 67, 68
 ‘Eternal East’ 38–40
 ethnic cleansing 172, 173, 205
 ethnic issues 190, 203–12
 ethnic-regionalist parties 119–21
 Table 5.9; 122, 123, 207
 Euro-Atlantic integration 44–5, 161
 Europe
 Eastern borders of 2
 unification of 1
 European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages 80
 European Charter on Self-Government 80
 European Commission for Democracy through Law *see* Venice Commission
 European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms 80
 Additional Protocol on minorities 204
 European Court of Justice 80
 European integration 46–8, 216
 and regional cooperation 220–2
 scenario 41–2
 European Union (EU)
 accession period 222–3
 Amsterdam summit (1997) 44, 223
 associate membership of CE and EE states 44, 46
 benign neglect by 69, 223–4
 Copenhagen summit (1993) 43–4
 Eastern enlargement 43–4
 failures of crisis management 36, 43, 69
 forced democratization by the 35–7
 influence on Southern Europe 18, 19, 37
 integration of ECE and the Balkans in 46, 161, 203, 218
 membership in 35, 220
 membership negotiations for Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia 223
 membership preconditions 44, 49, 111, 223
 obstacles to ECE integration 223–4
 preparation for citizenship of 44–5
 promotion of democracy 41, 42
 protection of minority rights 80
 team or individual approaches 220, 221
 and Western Europe 7
 Europeanism 65–6
 Europeanization 20, 43–5, 49, 81, 110, 211, 216
 of CE and EE 4, 24–48
 commitment to 62, 69
 in ECE 65–6
 perspectives for 32–7
 the prospects for 218–25
 versus traditionalization 121, 123, 153
 executive power-sharing 206–7
 expanded procedural minimum democracy 20
 experts, in parties 106
 exports, EE’s banned by WE 69
 ‘Extended South’ 40–1
 extended-substantial meaning of democracy 16
 extremist movements 66, 72
 facade democracies 11, 14, 19, 20, 31, 34–5, 41, 43, 105, 185–6
 in the Balkans 180–5
 successful ‘forced’ and failed 15, 36
 ‘Fair Weather (the Promising North)’ 41–2
 fascism 66
 Federal Republic of Germany *see* Germany, West
 federalization 207–8
 Fidesz, Hungary 154, 157, 163n
 Finland 208
 Flores Juberias, Carlos 209
 forced democratization 34–7, 43–5
 ‘forced-course’ development 33–7
 foreign policy, small states 42
 formalist democracies 10, 11, 13, 14, 20, 34–5, 63, 185
 former ruling parties, reform process of 155–60
 ‘Forum’ type parties 144
 fragmentation, electoral and party 101–2 Table 5.1
 ‘fragmented’ societies 10, 58
 France 206, 211
 Freedom Union (UW), Poland 162, 163n
 future of democracy in ECE and Balkans 202–25
 future scenarios 37–45
 G7 summit (1991) 31
 Gallagher, Tom 183, 184
 Gázso, Ferenc 125n
 GDansk shipyards 217
 GDP
 annual percentage change (1989–95) 53 Table 3.1
 balance of national budget as %age of (1990–95) 54 Table 3.4
 change of (1989–1995) 53 Table 3.2
 Gegs, Northerner in Albania 189
 ‘gentle revolution’, Spanish type of 180
 German Democratic Republic (GDR) 29, 30, 38
 and opening of Hungarian-Austrian borders 145
 Germanization 42–3
 Germany 13, 33, 207
 West 12, 34
 model of prime ministerial government 151
 Giordan, Henri 81
 Gligorov, Kiro 179
 global democracy, theorizing 10–15
 globalization 25
 and regionalization 222
 Goati, Vladimir 173, 191n
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, denunciation of Brezhnev doctrine 28–30
 Gorbachev doctrines 27–32, 142, 145
 ‘Gorbachev factor’ 25–7
 ‘governability’, crisis of 213–14
 governance 51, 63
 democratic 94–6
 government
 central 95
 first non-communist in CE and EE in Poland (1989) 143
 relative strengths of 92
 transformation of 87
 Grachev doctrine 31–2
 Gray, Victor 21n
 Great Transformation 2, 50, 202
 Great Uncertainty mentality 38–40
 Greater Romania Party (GRP; PRM) 184
 Greece 3, 5, 7, 12, 18, 36, 174
 ‘ally phase’ with US 34–5
 Colonels’ regime 35
 democratization-through-defeat 35
 Greeks, and Macedonia 179

- Gunther, Richard 12
- Habsburg Empire 4, 5, 6, 175
- Haggard, Stephan 124n
- 'hardliners' 86
- Havel, Václav 147, 150
- Held, Joseph 20n
- 'help for self-help' strategy 41-2
- Hesse, J.J. 97n 213
- Hettne, Börn 222
- High Commissioner for National Minorities 204
- Hill, Ronald 21n
- 'historical' parties 75, 118, 119 Table 5.8; 121
- Hockenos, Paul 120
- Holmes, Leslie 25
- homelands of minorities 78
- Horn, Gyula 157
- 'horseshoe model' of left-right political continuum 67
- Howard, Dick 97n
- Hoxha, Enver 189
- human rights 36, 77, 80, 204
- 'hundred-party' system 102, 111, 113, 146
- Hungarian Civic Party 157
- Hungarian Coalition, in Slovakia (HC, MK) 160
- Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF; MDF) 144, 146, 148, 154-5
- Hungarian Justice and Life Party (HJLP; MIEP) 155
- Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP; MSZP) 145, 146, 148, 154, 155, 157-8, 163n
- Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP; MSZMP) 144-5, 156, 163n
- Hungarian-Austrian border opening 145
- Hungarian-Slovak bilateral treaty (1995) 163-4n
- Hungary 13, 33, 56, 69, 70, 71, 72, 104, 120, 123, 212, 219
- Act on Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities (1993) 209
- bilateral treaties with Slovakia and Romania 157
- committees of public administration 95
- constitution (1989) 145, 151
- Democratic Forum 66
- election results (1990-94) 165
- ethnic minority representation in 209-10
- EU membership negotiations for 223
- failure of Gorbachev doctrine (1989) 29-30
- first free election (1990) 145, 148-9, 150-1
- inflation 53
- invited to join NATO (1997) 44
- liberal democracy in 224
- loan-based modernization 25
- mixed electoral system 86, 148, 154-5
- most important political parties 128
- negotiated transition 144-6
- October Revolution (1956) 5, 26, 33, 144
- parliamentary system 148-9
- political stabilization 162
- poverty in 81n
- pre-transition crisis 144-6
- prime ministerial system 92
- reform of left 157-8
- reprivatization demand 154
- role in collapse of Soviet Union 26-7
- roundtable negotiations (1989) 29, 85, 99, 145
- September Agreement (1989) 145, 148, 151
- Soviet-type modernization 41
- transformation in 76, 141
- transition, chronology of 167-8
- unicameral legislation 92, 98
- Huntington, Samuel 10, 14, 15, 33, 50, 76
- Husak regime 30, 141, 147
- Husak-Jakesh regime, Czechoslovakia 30
- Hyde-Price, Adrian 6, 164n 203, 204, 223
- ideological issues 53, 91
- Iliescu, Ion 183-4, 186, 187
- Ilonszki, Gabriella 60, 96n 112
- IMF (International Monetary Fund) 34
- 'imperfect' democracies 11
- imposition, by elites 210
- inclusive hegemonies 10, 11, 63
- inclusiveness 10-11
- income structure 56
- Independent Smallholders Party, Hungary (ISP) 67, 146, 154, 157-8
- India 11
- industrial output 52
- industrial society 216, 217
- industrialization 4, 25
- industry, Soviet type heavy 40-1
- inflation 60
- (1990s) 52-3, 54 Table 3.3
- initial crisis stage 16-17
- instability threats 212, 221-2
- institutional democracy, building 84-100
- institutionalization 17, 59, 92
- democratic 105, 202-3, 213
- of interest groups 214-16
- stages in democratic 87
- institutions
- relative lack of democratic 51
- stability of 44
- in transition 84-6
- intellectual elites 64, 91, 106, 108, 215
- interest organizations 17, 87, 107, 108, 109, 110, 214
- institutionalization of 214-16
- and parties 115
- interest parties 115, 116, Table 5.6
- interest rationalization 214-16
- Interest Reconciliation Councils 59
- interest representation 79-80
- Intergovernmental Conference (1996) 44
- internalization of rules 17
- international factors 186, 218
- in Europeanization 27-32
- international organizations 61, 186
- international relations 20, 33-4, 190, 211-12
- internationalization, of democratic standards 80-1
- Internationals, European party 111, 122, 161
- Iraq, invasion of Kuwait (1990) 39
- Ireland, Northern 208
- isolationism 25
- 'Italian road' see clientura system
- Italy 12, 13, 33, 36, 189, 208
- Izetbegovic, Alija 178
- Japan 12, 33, 34
- Jaruzelski, Wojciech 143, 144, 152
- Jasiewicz, Krzysztof 153
- Jews 120
- journalism, Western 8
- Kádár, János 144
- Karasimeonov, Georgi 182
- Karl, Terry 210, 212
- Katz, Richard 108
- Kaufmann, Robert 124n
- Kennan, George, 'Long Telegram' (1947) 26
- Klaus, Václav 124n 150, 158-9, 162, 220
- Kornai, János 52
- Kosovo 172, 174, 177, 190, 191n
- Kostov, Ivan 188
- krajinas* 175
- Kramer, Mark 162n
- Kucar, Milan 174
- Kulturkampf* 91
- Kurtán, Sándor 96n
- Kuwait 39
- Kwasniewski, Aleksander 153, 163n
- labour productivity 54, 55 Table 5.5
- Labour Union, Poland (LU; UP) 156
- Lane, Jan-Erik 1
- Latin America 14, 86, 109
- democratization in 9, 11, 212
- dual society model 41
- social populism 68
- socio-economic crisis 19, 40-1
- transition process 18
- 'Latin Americanization (the Extended South)' 40-1
- 'law of small numbers' 107
- leaders, charismatic 12, 67, 103, 104, 109
- League of Macedonian Communists (LMC; SKM) 179
- League of Serbian Communists (LSC; SKS) 176, 177
- League of Slovenian Communists (LSC; ZKS) 174
- League of Yugoslav Communists (LYC; SKJ) 172
- left-right axis of parties 121, 123
- legal-political devices
- in ECE 208-9
- in WE 205, 206-8
- legislation 53
- legislature, relations with executive 93, 95

- legitimacy, of democratic regimes
in the West 213
- legitimacy gap 94
- Leont'ev, Konstanti 26
- 'Leont'ev Dilemma' 26-7
- Levitsky, Steven 20, 21n
- Lewis, Paul 2, 3, 141
- liberal democracies 224, 225
- Liberal Democratic Party, Slovenia
(LDP; LDS) 175
- liberalism 8
- Liebert, Ulrike 18, 88
- Lijphart, Arend 10, 11
on consensus democracy 206, 208
- linkage politics 24-7, 220, 222
international and domestic 35-7
- Linz, Juan 5, 97n, 163n 224
- Lipset-Rokkan model of parties
111-12
- living, standard of 56-8
- local communities 79, 80
- local government
elections 95-6
minority representation in
209-10
- local self-government 87, 95, 96,
108, 207
- Longley, Lawrence 209
- 'lost vote' 148-9, 156
- Luijck, Paul 44, 173
- Lukanov, Andrei 181
- McCarthy, Paul 178, 189
- Macedonia 57, 81n, 172, 174, 186
ethnic diversity 179
first multi-party election (1990)
179
independence (1991) 179
most important political parties
136
semi-democracy in 224
transition, chronology 197
unicameral legislation 92, 98
- macro-politics 86, 161, 214
- Magocsi, Paul Robert 6
- Mair, Peter 108
- majoritarian democracies 11, 13, 79,
120, 205, 206
- 'Malta-Yalta' summit (1989) 30, 145
- managerial capitalism 125n
- 'marginal' zones, stability in 39
- market economy 1, 33-4, 44, 53, 58,
143-4, 151, 186, 204, 212
- marketization 85, 154, 156, 216
democratization and 33-7
- Marshall Plan 33
- Marxist governments 8
- Mason, David 141
- mass parties 104
- masses, in stages of systemic
change 92; *see also* elite-mass
linkages
- mature democracies 14, 211
- maximalist definition of democracy
20
- Mazowiecki, Tadeusz 143, 150, 153
- Meciar, Vladimir 72, 150, 160
- media, access to 106, 108, 190, 207
- 'media democracies' 108
- medium-sized parties 113, 115
- Mejdani, Rexhep 190
- Meseznikov, Grigorij 104, 111
- meso-politics 214
- Mexico 11
- Michnik, Adam 64-5, 143, 203
- micro-politics 86
- middle classes
base for democracy 55
demonstration effect of
Hungarian 26-7
lower strata 41, 57
new entrepreneurial 58
- migration to ECE, mass 61
- military oppression, Soviet 26-7
- military organizations, integration
into Western 43
- Milosevic, Slobodan 177-8, 188-9
- minimal-procedural democracies
15
- minorities 10, 78-81
Hungarian in Slovakia and
Romania 157
and national identities 67
protection of 80, 164n 204
- minority representation 207, 209-10
- minority rights 13, 120, 121, 204-10
- minority veto 208
- 'missing middle' 57, 59, 60, 108
- mixed (proportional and
majoritarian) electoral
system 86, 148
- mixed regimes 10, 11
- Mladenov, Petar 180, 181
- moderates, and radicals 64-6
- modernization 212-18
cooperative 217
loan-based 25
state-led 39, 40-1
- modernization-Europeanization,
weakness in Balkans 190
- modernizer parties 162
- Moldova 3
- Montenegro 172, 174, 177
- Moravcik, Jozef 160
- Movement for Democratic Slovakia
(MDS; HZDS) 104, 130, 150,
159-60
- movement parties 101, 103-4, 113
and umbrella organizations 104
Table 5.4
- Movement for Rights and
Freedom, Bulgaria (MRF;
DPS) 180, 181, 182
- multi-party systems 33-4, 74, 101,
102, 103, 151
- Nano, Fatos 190
- narrow interest parties 115
- nation-building 49-83, 216, 217
and democracy 77-81
ECE compared with Balkans 65
processes in 77-8
- national identity
healthy 77-8
and minorities 67
- national interests 59
- National Liberal Party, Romania
(NLP; PNL) 184
- national liberation movements, in
Soviet Union 27
- 'national' parties 107, 108, 114, 116
Table 5.6
- national roundtables 85, 141-2; *see
also* roundtable negotiations
- National Salvation Front, Romania
(NSF; FSN) 183, 184
- national-communism 103
- national-conservatism, centre-right
62-6
- national-populism 62-6
and social-populism 66-9
versus neo-traditionalism 62-6
- 'national-socialist' parties 121
- nationalism 67, 102, 120, 204
and communism 19
dominant in Balkans 190
- elite 65, 219
- militant 79-80, 205, 221
and minorities 78-81
romantic 39, 68
- nationalist parties 119-21 Table 5.9;
122, 123
- nationalist-populist parties 57, 103,
120, 121, 161
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty
Organization) 43, 161, 221,
222
- Hungary, Poland and the Czech
Republic invited to join
(1997) 44
- Madrid summit (1997) 188
and Romania 187-8
Russia vetoes integration 32
- negotiated transition
ECE 19, 141-8, 211
Spanish model of 42
- negotiating mechanisms 104
chronology of 99
- Németh, Miklós 145
- neo-corporatist democracy 112
- Neo-Stalinist countries 29
- neo-traditionalism, versus national-
populism 62-6
- Netherlands 207
- neutral countries 221
- new parties 117-19 Table 5.8
- 'new politics', Western 79
- New World Order (NWO) 9, 33, 37,
44-5, 221-2
- Nis demonstration (1996) 189
- nomenclatura 62, 64, 72, 163n 180,
183, 184
- 'non-standard' parties 111, 123
- Nordic countries 41-2, 59
- 'normalcy', return to 187
- normalization
violent 30
in Soviet Union 27
- Norton, Philip 89
- nuclear arms limitation treaty 31
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, *Transitions
from Authoritarian Rule*
15-16
- Offe, Claus 34
- Old World Order (OWO) 9, 24-5,
33, 37, 171, 185, 221
- Olesky, Józef 156
- Olson, David 89, 90, 110
- Olshewski, Jan 153, 182
- 'openers' 86
- Operation Desert Storm 39
- opposition
lack of an 11
role of the 93, 94
- opposition parties, new 115, 118
Table 5.7
- oppressed democracies 10

- Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) 80, 178, 189, 204, 222
- organized interests 59, 77, 104, 105, 213-14
incorporation of 55
- Orthodox Church 189
- OSCE *see* Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe
- Ottoman Empire 3, 6, 65, 171, 175
- overideologization 117
- overindustrialization of ECE under state socialism 60
- overparliamentarization 50, 88, 90, 106
- overparticipation 88, 105, 106
- overpersonalization of political life 71-2
- overpoliticization 50, 51, 91, 215
- part 210
- pan-European institutions 1, 44, 59-60, 80-1, 222
international chronology of 45
- parliamentarization 88, 89-92, 105
and party development 108
- Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Recommendation 1201 80
- parliamentary committees 94, 97n
- parliamentary democracy 87, 152
European type in SE 18
- parliamentary parties 93, 105, 106, 115
new ECE 148-51
- parliamentary system 84-100
in EE 19
- parliaments 84, 87, 88
democratic deficit, causes 90-1
functions in young democracies 18, 93-4, 216
'governing' 89, 95
minority representation in 209-10
and parties 93
transitory 86
unpopularity of 89-91, 102
- 'partial regimes' 217
- participation
in the Balkans 190-1
and competition as primary democratic values 210-11
political 79-80
principle 11, 13
- 'participatory revolution' 215
- parties 17, 84, 88, 91
cleavages 115-22
concentration 113, 114
declining confidence in 102
in democratic transition 18, 101-3
- descriptive-quantitative typology 113
dominance of 88
fragmentation of 86, 161
functional typology 113-15, 123
genetic typology 115-22, 123
ideological typology 122
most important of Balkans 135-9
most important of ECE 126-34
and parliaments 93
role of political 101-39
and social movements 108
top-down construction 107-8
truncated pyramid 107-8
- types 113-23
- partitocrazia see* partyist democracies
- Partos, Gabriel 204
- Party of Democratic Action, Bosnia-Herzegovina (PDA; SDA) 178
- Party of the Democratic Left, Slovakia (PDL; SDL) 155, 160
- Party of Democratic Revival (PDR; SDP) 174
- party elite 52, 108
and media 108
and party organizations 108
- party families, Western typology of 122, 125n
- party formation process 102, 109, 113-23, 191
in ECE 124n
- party identification 107, 108
- party membership, senilization of 107
- party organization 103-9
weaknesses in 107-8
- Party of Romanian National Unity (PRNU; PUNR) 184
- Party of Social Democracy in Romania (PSDR; PDSR) 184
- party state (*Parteienstaat*) 12
- party systems 86
in democratic transition 101-3, 109
European model 111
multi-dimensional 207
- partyist democracies 12, 14, 50, 52, 74, 108, 214
- past, glorification of the 38-40
- 'path dependent development' 33
- patronage 12
- Pawlak, Waldemar 156
- peasant societies 58, 63
- penetrated societies 37
- pensioners 57
- Pentagonale 219, 221
- perestroika* 25, 29
- 'permanent revolution' 76
- Persian Gulf 7
- Pesic, Vesna 178
- Pestoff, Victor 81n
- Peterle, Lojze 174
- plural societies 206
- pluralism
moderate 101, 108
polarized 101, 105, 182
- pluralization 38
- Podkrepa (Support), Bulgaria 180, 181, 182
- Poland 26, 33, 69, 70, 72, 86, 104, 123, 209, 212, 219
April Pact (1989) 142, 148, 152
bicameral parliament 92, 98
border changes 3
committees of public administration 95
crisis (1988-89) 28-9, 141
dual executive 152-3
election results (1991-93) 164
electoral law with 5% threshold 154, 156
EU membership negotiations for 223
first free elections (1991) 28-9, 144, 148, 150-1
- invited to join NATO (1997) 44
- liberal democracy in 224
- loan-based modernization 25
- most important political parties 126-8
- 'moving walls' 28-9, 143
- negotiated transition 141-4
- new constitution (1997) 153
- political stabilization 162
- pre-transition crisis 141-4
- reform of left 156-7
- revolution (1980-81) 5, 26
- roundtable negotiations 28, 85, 99, 142
- semi-presidential system 142-3, 152-4
- Small Constitution (1992) 152
- Solidarity 28
- Soviet-type modernization 41
- transition, chronology of 166-7
'transplacement' in 76
- 'poli-technologies' 10
- policy 95, 212, 214-16
- policy-making process 214
- Polish Peasantry Party (PPP; PSL) 156
- Polish United Workers Party (PUWP; PZPR) 142, 143
- political change, and socio-economic change 215-16
- political class 12, 112
- political culture 86, 89, 101-39
British 205-6
democratization of 17
relative lack of democratic 51
- political disorder, threat to West of Soviet 31-2
- political learning process 51, 108, 111, 187, 189, 221
- political model, Western 5
- political parties *see* parties
- political philosophy 16
- political rights 77
- political sociology 16
- political transition 49, 51-2
- politicians
of historical vision 70-1
of morals 70, 71, 215
'transitional types' of 70-2
- politics
and administration 95
and business 112
and economy, paradoxes of democratic transition 33-7, 112
'running amok' *see* overpoliticization
- polyarchies 10, 11
- Popov, Dimitar 181
- 'popular fronts' 113
- populism 19, 66-8, 204
anti-intellectual 64
authoritarian 184
right-wing 41, 51
see also social-populism
- populist democracy 210, 211
- Portugal 18, 35
- 'possibilist theories' 18
- post-colonialism 11-12
- post-communist parties
conservation in Balkans 105
reform in ECE 105

- 'post-communist' vote, return of the 102 Table 5.2; 103, 155, 163n, 182, 204
- post-industrial society 216
- post-Solidarity parties, Poland 150, 153-4
- post-Yugoslav states 172-3
- postmaterialist values 79
- 'postmodern' politics 147-8
- poverty 40, 41, 56, 81n 144
- power structure, overconcentrated 214
- Prague demonstration (1989) 30, 147
- Prague Spring (1968) 147
- 'Prague-Vladivostok hypothesis' 3, 19, 21n
- pre-communist parties, old 117-19
- pre-transition crisis 16-17, 91-2, 141, 185
- presidential systems 19, 41, 84-100, 106, 123
- presidentialism, perils of 96, 97n
- Pridham, Geoffrey 15, 16, 17, 21n, 97n, 124n
- prime ministerial government 151
- privatization 38, 54, 61, 85, 112, 156
- by vouchers, in Czech Republic 159
- procedural minimum democracy 20
- procedural rules 17
- 'Promising North' 41-2
- proportional electoral system 85, 148, 149
- proportional representation 12
- in public institutions 207
- Protection of Minorities, Draft Proposal for the (Venice Commission) 204
- protest voting 101
- pseudo-democracies 19, 224
- psychological crisis 57-8
- public administration 45, 95
- Public Against Violence, Czechoslovakia (PAV; VPŇ) 147, 149, 150
- public employees 58
- Pundeff, Marin 181
- 'pyramid' schemes, in Albania 189
- quasi-democracies 14
- quasi-state parties 117
- radicals, and moderates 64-6
- 'Raped West' 37-8
- re-democratization
- in CE 5
- in ECE 140-70
- recentralization 96
- 'red-brown' parties and elites in EE 19
- reform 210
- Reform Alliance, Hungary 144-5
- 'reform communists' 144-5
- reform countries 29
- reformed post-communist parties 115-17, 118 Table 5.7
- 'reformers' 86
- regional conflicts 43
- regional cooperation 81, 203, 218-25
- and European integration 220-2
- regional disintegration 203
- regional features, common in ECE 160-2
- regional integration, transborder 209
- regional organizations 5, 219
- in CE and EE to aid preparation for EU membership 44-5, 47-8
- European integration in 47-8
- regional self-government 87, 108, 207
- regionalism, 'new' 222
- regionalization 2
- and globalization 222
- regions
- in comparative transition 16, 140-201
- defining 2-3
- relations with other countries in 78
- specificities in democratization 18-19
- religious values 63
- repetition scenarios 37
- replacement by opposition groups, Czechoslovakia 76
- representative government, ECE 151-60
- Republican Party, Czech Republic (RP; SPR) 158
- revolution 210
- consensual model of peaceful 142
- 'from above', Gorbachev's 25
- 'revolutionary aristocracy' 147-8
- revolutions 5, 30-1
- (1989) 7, 33, 73
- rights 80-1, 151; *see also* human rights; minority rights; political rights; social rights
- Roman, Petre 187, 192n
- Romania 12, 29, 67, 86, 209
- bicameral parliament 92, 98
- Christmas Revolution (1989) 146, 180, 190
- coalition government 187-8
- constitution (1991) 184
- coup d'état* (1990) 183, 186
- election results (1992-96) 193
- facade democracy in 183-4, 186
- first multi-party election (1990) 183
- isolationism with technological decay 25
- most important political parties 137-9
- presidential system 184
- role of the army in 41
- second round of democratization 178, 187-8, 203
- semi-democracy in 224
- Soviet Union bilateral treaty with (1991) 32
- transition, chronology 199-200
- Roskin, Michael 6
- 'rouble zone' 31
- roundtable negotiations
- Hungary (1989) 29, 85, 99, 145
- Poland 28, 85, 99, 142
- rule of law 77, 87, 96, 151
- ruling class *see* nomenklatura
- Rupnik, Jacques 26
- Russia 32, 36
- facade democracy 11
- Russian dominance 31-2
- Russian Empire 3, 36
- Rustow, Dankwart, stages of democratization 16-17
- Sarajevo 173
- Sartori, Giovanni 105, 108
- scenarios, for the future 37-45
- Schmitter, Philippe 217
- on modes of transition and types of democracy 210-12
- Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* 15-16, 40
- Schöpfung, George 81n
- Securitate, Romania 183
- security, military 221
- security issues 221-2
- security organizations, European integration in 44, 46-7
- Sejm, Polish 91, 142, 143, 151-2
- self-governments 87, 209
- territorial 214-16
- see also* local self-government; regional self-government
- 'selfish' politics 50, 215
- semi-democracies 224
- separation of powers 87, 92-4
- separatism 205
- Serbia 57, 67, 81n, 85, 86, 96, 172, 190
- election results (1992-93) 193
- facade democracy 11
- first multi-party election (1990) 177
- 'hot winter' (1996-97) 188-9
- independence 173, 174, 176-8
- most important political parties 135-6
- pseudo-democracy in 224
- second round of democratization 203
- transition, chronology 196
- Serbian Civic Alliance 178
- 'Serbian empire' 172, 173, 177
- Serbian Radical Party (SRP; SRS) 177-8
- Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM; SPO) 177, 178
- Serbian Socialist Party (SSP; SPS) 176-7, 178, 189
- Serbs 17-9, 172
- Seroka, Jim 173, 174, 176
- service economy 52
- Seselj, Vojislav 177
- settlement minority self-government 209
- Shabad, Goldie 216
- shadow/second economy 56
- Shafir, Michael 187, 188
- shock therapy
- economic crisis in Hungary 157
- for Polish economic crisis 143-4, 150-1
- in Romania and Bulgaria 186, 187-8
- 'short-termism' 76-7
- 'silent' groups 79-80
- single issue parties 120
- 'Sleeping Beauty (the Raped West)' scenario 37-8
- Slomczynski, Kazimierz 216
- Slovak Communist Party 155, 160
- Slovak National Council 149
- election results (1992-94) 165

- Slovak National Party (SNP; SNS) 160
- Slovakia 13, 30, 67, 68, 72, 104, 110, 219
- chronology 169–70
 - constitution (1992) 152
 - most important political parties 130–1
 - nationalist-populism in 159–60
 - semi-democracy in 224
 - traditionalism-provincialism in 161–2
 - unicameral legislation 92, 98
- Slovenia 20, 123, 141, 156, 172, 209, 219
- bicameral parliament 92, 98, 174
 - Constitution (1991) 174–5
 - election results (1992–96) 192
 - EU membership negotiations for 223
 - first free election (1990) 174
 - independence 174–5
 - liberal democracy in 224
 - most important political parties 132–3
 - negotiated transition 174–5
 - roundtable negotiations (1990) 85, 99, 174
 - transition, chronology 195
- Slovenian Christian Democrats (SCD; SKD) 174, 175
- Slovenian Peoples Party (SPP; SLS) 175
- small parties 113
- Small Power Triangle 87, 152, 213
- Smart, Michael 125n
- snowball effect 30, 32, 123, 146–7, 218
- of ECE democratizations on the Balkans 171, 180, 185, 187–8
 - use of term 32
- social actors 59–60, 61–2
- new 55, 216–17
 - and ways of change 210
- social capital 112, 125n
- social crisis, and democracy 50, 55–8, 60
- social democracy, Nordic 41–2
- Social Democracy of Republic Poland (SDRP; SdRP) 155, 156
- social democratic parties 115, 155–6
- Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDPC; SPDH) 176
- Social Democratic Union, Romania 187
- Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDUM; SDSM) 179
- social dialogue 110, 111–12
- social identity 217
- social market economy 77
- social movements 56, 104
- social polarization 57
- social rights 217
- social security 57–8
- social strata, state-dependent 64
- social stratification, new 216–17
- social structure transformations 55, 58–9
- social transition 50, 55–62
- social-populism, and national-populism 66–9
- socialism, as defined by the Brezhnev doctrine (1968) 27
- Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 172–3
- socialization phase 92, 111
- socio-economic change, and political change 202–3, 215–16
- socio-economic crisis 40–1
- Sofia mass demonstrations (1989) 181
- SOFTLY 5
- Solidarity 28, 72, 126, 151
- disintegration (1990–91) 143, 144
 - functions of 141
 - legal status (1989) 142
- Solidarity of Labour 156
- Solidarity Trade Union (STU; NSZZ) 154
- South Eastern Europe *see* Balkans
- South Tirol 208
- South-East European Cooperation Initiative (SECI) 179
- Southern Europe (SE) 3, 88, 109, 216
- chronology of democratization 22–3
 - compared with ECE 36–7
 - democratization in 7, 9, 11, 211–12
 - and EU promotion of democracy 19
 - European integration of 41–2
 - forced democratizations 34
 - party systems 109, 110
 - substantial democracies 16
 - transition process 18, 222
 - transitional elites in 76, 92
- 'Southern' tendency of political diversification 59
- sovereignty
- national 81
 - principle of limited 32
- Soviet Union 5, 7
- destabilizing effect of collapse 39, 79, 220–1
 - failure of state socialism 24–7
 - internal and external empires 26–7, 30
 - see also* Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
- Sovietization 4, 8, 33
- resistance to 5
- Spain 12, 18, 35, 207, 208
- aberturistas* 86
 - 'constituent assembly' 85
 - negotiated transition model 19, 42, 141
- stabilization 224–5
- in EE 36
 - political 112, 161–2
- 'standard' parties 123
- Standing Orders 94
- state
- 'cult' of 64
 - strong 211
- state administration 95
- 'state parties' 12
- state protectionism 154
- state socialism 51, 70, 71
- and class 217
 - collapse of 1, 7, 33
 - overindustrialization of ECE under 60
 - reasons for failure 24–7, 141
- state society 58
- state support for Hungarian parties 124n
- state-society relationships 210–11, 214
- Stepan, Alfred 5, 163n 224
- Stojanov, Petar 188
- structural adjustment, to the EU 42, 44, 161, 186, 213, 216
- structural prerequisites, in democratization 9, 14
- structural problems 50–1, 52–3, 60
- Stumpf, István 125n
- sub-cultures, political 74–5
- sub-systems, social 17
- substantial democracies 10, 16
- EU model 35
- Suchocka, Hanna 154
- Sunrise Manoeuvre, Albania (1997) 189
- superpower relations 39
- supranational organizations 80–1
- Swain, Nigel 145
- Sweden 211
- Switzerland 211
- Federal Council 206, 207
- systemic change 49–50, 64
- democratization and 212
 - global 223–4
 - social 60–2, 216–17
 - stages in 91–2
 - theoretization of 8–15
 - in the West 14–15
- systemic problems 50, 51, 52, 54, 60–1, 214
- and transitional problems 210–12
- Szelényi, Iván 125n
- Szomolányi, Sonja 104
- Szűcs, Jeno 21n
- tax evasion 56
- technological decay, isolationism with 25
- territorial autonomy 208
- terrorism 208
- Tirana demonstrations (1990) 185
- Tito 172, 176
- Tökés, Rudolf 145
- Tosks, Southerner in Albania 189
- totalitarian systems 9, 186
- totalitarian theory 8
- trade unions 56, 59, 119
- traditionalism 65, 68, 203–4
- see also* conservatism, traditional
- transformation
- in ECE and Balkans 24–139
 - use of term 49
- transition 1–23
- Balkans, chronologies 194–201
 - institutions in democratic 84–100
 - model 16–20
 - modes of and types of democracy 210–12
 - paradoxes of democratic 32–7
 - period 222
 - process 8
 - as regime change 17
 - scenarios 37
 - stage 17, 141, 185–6
 - summary of key turning points 202–3
 - use of term 49
 - see also* triple transition

- 'transition costs' from command economy to market economy 53
- Transition from Authoritarian Rule* (Schmitter) 15–16, 40
- transitional problems 50, 51, 53–4, 60
- and systemic problems 210–12
- Transitions to Democracy* (Pridham) 16, 17
- 'transitology' 16
- 'transplacement' (Huntington) 76
- Transylvania 183
- travestita* 104, 107
- 'triangular configuration' of political processes 78–81
- tripartite institutions 112
- 'triple revolution' 216
- triple transition 49–83
- Tudjman, Franjo 176
- Turkey 34
- Turkization 43, 222
- Turks, in Bulgaria 180, 181
- TV, parliamentary debates on 89
- Tymowski, Andrzej 144
- 'tyrannical majorities' 13, 14, 110 ethnic 205
- Ukraine, Western 7
- umbrella organizations 64, 113 and movement parties 104 Table 5.4
- underdevelopment, in ECE 40
- unemployment 40 (1990–95) 56 Table 3.6; 57 structural 58
- Union of Democratic Forces, Bulgaria (UDF; SDS) 181, 182
- United List of Social Democrats (ULSD; ZLSD) 174, 175
- United Nations (UN) 80
- United States (USA) 179, 211
- global crisis management 39
- promotion of forced democratization 34–5
- support for new democracies 33–4
- urban-rural different structures 60
- vacuum hypothesis 79
- values
- crisis of 65
- democratic 10–11, 17, 210–11
- of 'nation' and 'people' 63
- persistence of old 74–5
- populist 67–8
- 'Velvet Revolution', Czechoslovakia 30, 141, 146–7
- Venice Commission 204
- Verney, Susannah 35
- vicious circle theory 202, 216, 219
- Videnov, Zhan 182, 188
- Vienna Institute for Comparative Economics 223
- Vietnam 8
- violent politics 73, 172, 183, 189, 190, 210–11
- virtuous circle theory 202, 212, 216–17
- Viségrad group (VG) 5, 6, 219–20, 223
- Vojvodina 172
- voluntarism 215
- Vuyksteke, Richard 14
- wages, real 56
- Walesa, Lech 141, 144, 152–3, 163n
- Warsaw Pact 212, 223
- Bucharest meeting (1989) 28
- Weber, Max, division of labour 108
- welfare 56–8
- welfare democracies 41–2
- West
- crisis management in Yugoslav war 173
- disillusionment of the 39
- institution transfers from the 217
- legitimacy of democratic regimes in the 213
- myth of perfect democracies 9
- systemic change in the 14–15
- Western Europe (WE) 88–9
- and Central Europe 220
- commitment in 223
- extreme right-wing parties in 66
- involvement with EU 7
- legal-political devices for conflict resolution 205, 206–8
- party systems 110–11
- use of term 3
- Western European Union (WEU) 43
- Western perception 7–8, 21n 204, 216
- Westernization of parties 123
- Westminster model of democracy 205–6
- Whitehead, Laurence, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* 15–16
- Wiarda, Howard 97n
- Wolchik, Sharon 147
- Workers Alliance of Slovakia (WAS; ZRS) 160
- Workers Party in Hungary 156
- workers' self-management, Yugoslavia 173
- working class, Polish 144
- World Bank 34
- world system approach 9–10
- World Trade Organization (WTO) 218, 221
- World War II 37–8, 172
- Wyman, Matthew 124n, 125n
- Yalta system 24–5, 28, 30
- Yanov, Alexander 26–7
- Yeltsin, Boris 31–2
- Yeltsin-Grachev doctrine 32
- young democracies
- characteristics of 13, 14
- and criteria for consensus democracy 208
- parliamentary functions 93–4
- problems of 50–1, 74
- violent or negotiated transitions 211
- Yugoslav war 171, 172–9, 186, 190
- Yugoslavia 5, 25, 31, 36, 73–4, 141, 209
- bicameral parliament 92, 98
- disintegration of (1991) 39–40, 173, 220–1
- Federal Army 172, 173, 174, 175, 177
- migration from 61
- royal dictatorship 172
- 'rump' 174, 177, *see also* Montenegro; Serbia
- transition, chronology 194–5
- see also* Bosnia-Herzegovina; Croatia; Macedonia; Serbia; Slovenia
- Yugoslavization 43
- Zajc, Drago 209
- Zajedno (Together) 178, 189
- Zeman, Milos 158
- Zhelev, Zhelju 181
- Zhivkov, Todor 146, 180
- Zubek, Voytek 156, 162n, 163n