Contents

List of Tables and Figures	ix
Preface Preface	X
Notes on the Contributors	
List of Abbreviations	
Crontian Reumass salvested to the Continue of	
Map of Europe	
PART ONE: ANATOMY OF A DIVERSE REGION	
1 Introduction: Defining Central and	
Eastern Europe Judy Batt	
Irrepressible Diversity	
The 'Lands in Between': A Geopolitical Predicament 'Catching Up' with Europe: The Problem of	
Statehood Stateh	nolice 11
Bearing the Brunt of European Power Politics	
The 'Return to Europe'	17
2 Poland Frances Millard and Assembly and Assembly	23
The Transition to Postcommunism	24
Elections and Governments	26
The 1991 Election and Problems of	
Government Formation	28
1993 and the Victory of the Successor Parties	29
The Return of Solidarity The Leaves of the Leaves And	31
The Election of 2001	
Institutions and State-Building	ono 34
Issues and Policies	38
3 The Czech Republic and Slovakia	41
Kieran Williams	
From Velvet Revolution to Dissolution	# 41
The New States' Institutions and Party Systems	
Common Problems in Separate States	53

4	Hungary Mark Pittaway	57
	Postcommunist Patterns of Government	64
	Current Issues	71
5	The Balkans since 1989: The Winding Retreat from	
	National Communism Tom Gallagher	74
	Contested and Stalled Transitions	75
	The Economic Context of Fragile Transitions	77
	The Corrosive Effects of War	80
	Ethnic Autocracies: A Comparison of the Serbian	
	and Croatian Regimes	82
	EU Efforts to Stabilize the Balkans	85
	Shortcomings of the International Approach	87
	Nationalism, Democracy and Crossnational Politics	89
6	Ukraine and Post-Soviet Europe: Authoritarian	
	Consolidation or Renewed Reform?	92
	Andrew Wilson	
	Historical Background and Independence	
	from the USSR	92
	Politics in Independent Ukraine	95
	Dilemmas and Choices	104
	Conclusion	111
	industrial forms to among these and experted obstructed? So	
PA	RT TWO: THE FRAMEWORK OF POLITICS	
7	Executive Leadership: Presidents and Governments <i>Ray Taras</i>	115
	Models of the Political Executive	115
	Factors Shaping the Structure of Executive Power	122
	The Background of Central and Eastern	122
	European Leaders	128
	Conclusion 2001 In the control of th	131
	Concrusion	131
8	Structures of Representation: The New	
	an naments of Central and	
	Eastern Europe Tell Ropecky	100
	motitutional Origins and Frome	134
	a maments and Representation	
	Executive–Legislative Relations	144

	Contents	vii
	Internal Structures and Procedures Conclusion	151
9	Political Parties Paul G. Lewis	
	Functions and Origins of Political Parties	154
	The Nature of the CEE Party Spectrum	160
	Party Structure and Organization	165
	Conclusion notations in Contrat and	172
10	Elections and Voting Behaviour Krzysztof Jasiewicz	173
	Seats and Votes: The Politics of Electoral Reform	178
	Patterns of Voting Behaviour	183
11	Constitutional Engineering in Central and	
	Eastern Europe Klaus von Beyme	
	Aspects of Constitutional Engineering in	
	Central and Eastern Europe	190
	The Efficient Parts of the Constitution:	
	Regime-Building in Central and Eastern Europe	195
	The Dignified Parts of the Constitution:	100
	Human and Civil Rights	199
	Protection of Rights and Constitutional Courts	205
	Conclusion	208
PAR	T THREE: ISSUES OF PUBLIC POLICY	
12	Managing Transition Economies George Blazyca	213
	The Washington Consensus	214
	Transition Experiences	217
	Unresolved Issues: Policy Dilemmas	231
13	Changing Societies: Class and Inequality in	192
	Central and Eastern Europe Terry Cox	234
	Long-Term Social Structural Changes:	
	Stratification and Mobility	235
	Social Change in the Postcommunist Transition	238
	Declining Standards of Health and Quality of Life	248
	Conclusion	251

14 The Implications of EU Enlargement	253
The Accession Process So Far: Travelling in Hope	254
The Differential Impact of Enlargement Across	
Central and Eastern Europe	
New Dividing Lines in Europe: The Impact of	
EU Border Policies	264
Conclusion molaulono	
The Corresponding Control of the Corresponding Control of the Corresponding Control of the Contr	
Elections and Voting Behaviours A consequence State 173	
PART FOUR: CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE	
IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE 2011 OF THE 21556	
15 Democratization in Central and Eastern Europe:	
A Comparative Perspective Geoffrey Pridham	269
Regime Change Trajectories and the Prospects for	
Democratic Consolidation	
Looking to the Future: A New Comparative Politics	
of Europe?	287
Regime-Building in Central and Easterp Muone mort 195	
Further Reading	290
Human and Civil Rights - Seeled's beet Land	296
Bibliography Henoisuttano Dina addula to noisonas	290
Index	316

Index

Adenauer, Konrad 128	Chikan, Attila 69
Albania 75-6, 77	Christian Democrat Movement (Slovakia)
Albanians 90	51–2
Alliance of Free Democrats (Hungary) 59, 62, 63	Christian Democratic People's Party (Hungary) 64
Alliance of the New Citizen (Slovakia) 52, 171	Christian Democratic Union (Czech Republic) 48
Alliance of Young Democrats (Hungary) 59, 66, 70, 157	Civic Democratic Party (Czech Republic) 48, 157
Antall, Jozsef 63-4, 66, 145	Civic Forum (Czechoslovakia) 43
AWS (Solidarity Electoral Action) 31, 37	Civic Platform (Poland) 168
distributed from the Control Victorial	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia
Balcerowicz, Leszek 26, 31, 36, 37,	50, 157, 168
225	Communist Party of Ukraine 96
Balkans 74-91	communist rule 16-17, 173-5
political transition in 75-7	collapse of 7–8
economic circumstance in 77-9	legacy of 5-9, 276
nationalism in 89-91	Constantinescu, Emil 79
organized crime in 81-2	constitutional courts 206-7
Stability Pact 88	constitutions and constitutional change
see also country entries	190–210
Baltics 8	establishment of postcommunist 192-3
nationalist election successes in 176	in Czechoslovakia 56
Bekesi, Laszlo 67	in France 194–5
Belarus 97, 154, 273	in Hungary 193–4
presidentialism in 123	in Poland 34-5, 193
Belka, Marek 38	of Central and Eastern Europe,
Berisha, Sali 77, 279	compared 195-210
Bokros, Laszlo 67-8	corruption
Boross, Peter 66-7	in Balkans 78
Bosnia 76, 80	in Ukraine 98
Brezhnev doctrine 174	Croatia 164
Bulgaria 76, 79	compared with Serbia 82-5
and European Union 77-9	Csurka, Istvan 66
Buzek, Jerzy 31	Czech Republic
	elections of 2002 in 48-50
Carnogursky, Jan 52	governance, quality of 55-6
Ceausescu, Nicolae 7, 74, 75	law enforcement in 56
Central and Eastern Europe	leadership succession in 53-4
communist rule in 16-17	legal system 48
definitions of 3–9	legislature 48

political developments in 46-56

Roma, representation of 55

formation of 9-11

statehood in 11-14

turnout in 54
women, representation of 55
Czech Social Democratic Party 48–9
Czechoslovakia 8, 12, 41–6
Charter 77 in 42
Communist Party in 42
Czechs and Slovaks in 41, 44
dissolution of 44–6
elections of 1990 in 43–4
events of 1968 in 7
political repression in 42–3
political transition in 41–6
see also Czech Republic; Slovakia

Dahrendorf, Ralf 183
De Gaulle, Charles 128
Demes, Pavol 55
democracy, in Central and Eastern Europe 209–10
Democratic Charter (Hungary) 66
Democratic Convention (Romania) 157
Democratic Labour Party (Lithuania) 157
democratization, in Central and Eastern Europe 269–89
tests of 271–87
Djukanovic, Milo 84
Dzurinda, Miklos 52

East Berlin, uprising in (1953) 7
economies 213–33
in CIS compared with ECE 217–20
in Czech Republic 228
in Hungary 228–9
in Poland 228, 229
in Russia 228
neoliberal policies 214–17
postcommunist performance compared 217–31
small enterprises 230
electoral behaviour 183–9
electoral systems 140–2, 178–83
see also country entries

elites 241–3
European Union
Copenhagen conditions of 254–6
domestic implications of membership of 262–4

enlargement of and Central and Eastern Europe 18–21, 189, 223, 232–3, 253–66

role of in Balkans 85-7 executive government, types of 116-18

Fico, Robert 51
Founding elections 178
Freedom Union (Czech Republic) 48
Freedom Union (Poland) 36–7

Georgievski, Ljubo 87
Geremek, Bronislaw 37
German Democratic Republic 8
Gligorov, Kiro 86
Goncz, Arpad 64, 145
Gongadze, Hryhorii 101–2
Gorbachev, Mikhail 7
Gross, Stanislav 54
Grosz, Karoly 60

Havel, Vaclav 43
health 248–50
in Poland 38–9
Herder, Johann von 12
Horn, Gyula 67
Horthy, Admiral 61, 125
Horvath, Odon von 14
Hoxha, Enver 74
human rights, in Central and Eastern
Europe 199–205

Europe 199–205
Hungarian Democratic Forum 59, 63
Hungarian Justice and Life Party 66
Hungarian Socialist Party 62, 66
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party 57, 62
Hungary 57–73
Aptell government in 64, 6

Antall government in 64–6
control of media in 69–70
economic performance in 70–1
election of 1985 in 58
election of 1989 in 61
election of 1990 in 62–3
election of 1994 in 67
election of 1998 in 68–9
election of 1990 63–4, 181–2
election of 2002 in 71–3
Horn government in 67–9
opposition in communist period 59–64
passim

Hungary – continued

Orban government in 69–71
political transition in 60–64
rising of 1956 in 7, 60
'second economy' in 58
under communist rule 57–64
Hurenko, Stanislav 94
Husak, Gustav 43

Iliescu, Ion 79, 120, 145 income distribution 239–41 Independent Smallholders' Party (Hungary) 59, 158 inequalities 231–2

Jaruzelski, Wojciech 25 Jaszi, Oszkar 15

Kacynski, Lech 37 Kadar, Janos 57-61 passim Kimakh, Anatolii 102, 108 Klaus, Vaclav 45, 53-4 Kolodko, Grzegorz 38 Kosovo 84 see also NATO Kostov, Ivan 79 Kostunica, Vojislav 85, 119 Kovac, President 50 Kravchuk, Leonid 95, 96 Kuchma, Leonid 97-104 passim and Gongadze affair 101-2 campaign for resignation of 103-4 Kundera, Milan 3

languages, in Central and Eastern Europe 3–4 Law and Justice Party (Hungary) 37 Lazarenko, Pavlo 98–9, 108 leadership 115–22

Kwasniewski, Aleksandr 26, 32

characteristics of 128–31 factors shaping 122–8 in Czech Republic contrasted to Slovakia 126–7

women in 130 League of Polish Families 37–8 Lepper, Andrzej 38, 170, 188, 189 Lukashenka, Alexander 97 in the Czech Republic 44 in Poland, 28–9 Lytvyn, Volodymyr 103

Macedonia 86-7 Marchuk, Yevhen 99-100 Markovic, Mira 83 Masol, Vitalii 107 Matolcsy, Gyorgy 69 Mazowiecki, Tadeusz 26 Meciar, Vladimir 45, 53-4, 145 Medgyessy, Peter 67, 71, 73 media, and political parties 170-2 Melnychenko, Mykola 101-2 Mesic, Stjepan 84-5 Milosevic, Slobodan 75, 80, 84-5 Montenegro 84 Moroz, Oleksandr 100, 101 Movement for a Democratic Slovakia 50-1, 164

Nagy, Imre 60–1
National Movement for Simeon II
(Bulgaria) 79, 157, 168, 187–8
National Salvation Front (Romania) 77
NATO
bombing campaign in Serbia 20, 84
enlargement of 18–21
Nemeth, Miklos 60
Network of Free Initiatives (Hungary) 59
North, Douglass 121

'Olesky affair' (Poland) 31 Olszewski, Jan 28–9 Orban, Viktor 68, 69, 72, 125

parliamentary and presidential forms of government 105, 118–21, 196–8 see also leadership parliaments in Central and Eastern Europe 133–52 and political parties 139–42, 158–60 committees of 147–9 deputies, characteristics of 142–4 in Poland 35 internal organization of 147–51 in Ukraine 103 organizational characteristics of 134–8

144.7	(D. t
relations with executive 144–7	'Return to Europe' 17–18
women, representation within 143	Radio Maryja (Poland) 171
parties, political 153–72	Reagan, Ronald 128
and media 170–2	regime transition, stages of 176-8
effective number of 158–9 emergence of 156–8	religion, in Central and Eastern Europe 3–4, 5, 13–14, 275
functions and origins of 154-5	rights, protection of 205-8
funding 168-70	Roma 55
green (environmental) 160	Romania 7, 8, 12-13
international links of 160-3	election of 1996 in 79
membership 166-7	election of 2000 in 79
postcommunist 157, 183-7	political transition in 77, 79, 174-5
spectrum of 160-5	Rukh (Ukraine) 94-6, 99
structure 167-8	Rusko, Pavol 52, 171
see also country entries; party entries	
Party of Greater Romania 157	satisfaction, levels of 250-1
Party of the Democratic Left (Slovakia)	Schuster, Rudolf 46
51, 157	Self-Defence (Poland) 36, 38, 188
Pawlak, Waldemar 29, 30	semi-presidentialism 119-20
Pilsudski, Jozef 13	see also parliamentary and presidential
Pinochet, Augusto 128	forms of government;
Poland 23-40	super-presidentialism
and European Union 39	Serbia, regime in compared with that in
constitutional reform in 34-40	Croatia 82-5
Constitutional Tribunal in 35	Simeon II 187–8
election legislation in 28, 29-30, 33	Slovakia 47–56
election of 1989 in 24-5, 181	election of 2002 in 51-2
election of 1991 in 28	Hungarian minority in 52
election of 1993 in 29-30	electoral system in 52-3
election of 1995 in 31	governance, quality of 55-6
election of 1997 in 31-3	law enforcement in 56
election of 2000 in 32	leadership succession in 54
election of 2001 in 32-3	legal system in 56
events of 1956 in 7	parties in 50-3
events of 1980-1 in 7	Roma, representation of 55
government succession in 26-33	turnout in 54–5
health service in 38-9	women, representation of 55
Little Constitution in 34–5	Slovenia 8, 83
local government in 35-6	Social Democratic Party (Czech Republic)
parties in 36-8	48-9, 158
policy issues in 38-40	Social Democratic Party (Romania) 79
postcommunist transition in 24-6	social structure, changes in 234-52
Sejm in 35	Socialist Party (Ukraine) 97
'shock therapy' in 26	Solarz, Zygmunt 171
Poszgay, Imre 60, 61	Spindla, Vladimir 49
poverty 243-8	Solidarity (Poland) 24-6, 29, 31, 37,
privatization 227-30	156-7, 225-6
in Ukraine 107-8	Solidarity Electoral Action (Poland) 31, 37
Przeworski, Adam 125-6	statehood, problem of 11-14
Public against Violence (Slovakia) 43	stratification and mobility 235-8

super-presidentialism 117

see also parliamentary and presidential
forms of government; semipresidentialism

Symonenko, Petro 100

Thatcher, Margaret 128
Tito, Josip Broz 74, 76
Tkachenko, Oleksandr 99, 100
Torgyan, Jozsef 65–6, 70
Tudjman, Franjo 76, 80, 83–4, 125
Tudor, Vadim 77
Tyminski, Stanislaw 188
Tymoshenko, Yuliya 101

Ukraine 3, 8, 92–111 achievement of independence in 92-5 agricultural reform in 108 and European Union 110 and NATO 110 and United States 109, 111 composition of deputies 154-5 constitution of 1996 in 98 constitutional issues in 105-6 corruption in 98 deputies, changing affiliations of 103 economy in 98, 106-8 elections of 1994 in 96-7 electoral system in 97, 99 foreign policy of 109-11 nationalism in 104-5 parliamentary election of 1994 in

parliamentary election of 1998 in 98–9
parliamentary election of 2002 in 102–3
parties in 96–7
presidential election of 1991 in 95
presidential election of 1994 in 97
presidentialism in 105–6, 123
referendum of 2000 in 100–1
regional political cultures in 93–4
relations with Russia 98, 110–1
unemployment 221–2, 246–7
United Peasant Party (Poland) 157–8

Visa regime, of European Union 21, 264–6 Vitrenko, Nataliya 100

Walesa, Lech 26, 30, 145 women, political representation of 55, 130, 143

Yugoslavia 6–7, 8, 12, 74–5
conflict in 80–2
European Union role in 82–7
exploitation of by new elite 81
international involvement in 87–9
see also Balkans
Yushchenko, Viktor 100, 102, 108

Zeman, Milos 49 Zhelev, Zhelu 76–7, 145 Zhivkov, Todor 74, 75 Zlenko, Anatolii 110