

Notes and References

Chapter 1 Democratization: Economic Prerequisites

1. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).
2. Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London, Penguin, 1992).
3. Huntington, pp. 13–26.
4. Huntington, p. 17. This is representative of the minimalist notion of democratization generally used in studies of this process, including in this book, viz. the change of regime from one functioning on the basis of non-democratic principles to one resting on democratic principles. This begs the important question of what is meant by democracy, and this is raised in the Conclusion.
5. It is not clear that the metaphor of the wave is completely satisfactory; waves tend to be regular in timing, there is often a certain uniformity both within and between waves, the effect of one wave is overwhelmed by the next (at least when the tide is coming in), and the notion of a wave lasting 100 years robs the metaphor of any meaning. The metaphor can obscure differences between the cases comprising the waves. For example, in the case of the decolonized states in the second wave, the crucial authorities were external, the colonial masters, and it was the disappearance of their will and capacity to maintain their rule in the colony which was essential rather than the breakdown of the local power structure. In the third wave cases (and those non-colonial second wave cases) it was the breakdown of the local authority structures which was important. Nevertheless, it has become established in the literature as a useful way of referring to the democratizations of the 1970s and 1980s, and will therefore be used in the subsequent discussion.
6. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1965).
7. Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy. Participation and Opposition* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1971), Chapter 8.
8. See this discussed in Huntington, pp. 298–311.
9. See the discussion in Kenneth A. Bollen, 'Political Democracy and the Timing of Development', *American Sociological Review* 44, 4, 1979, pp. 572–587. The reverse of this was the argument about the incompatibility of Roman Catholicism and democratic outcomes. For example, Howard Wiarda, 'Toward a Framework for the Study of

- Political Change in the Iberic–Latin Tradition: The Corporative Model’, *World Politics* 25, 2, January 1972, pp. 206–235.
10. Seymour Martin Lipset, ‘Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy’, *American Political Science Review* 53, 1, March 1959, pp. 69–105.
 11. For example, see the discussions in Seymour Martin Lipset, Kyoung-Ryung Soong and John Charles Torres, ‘A Comparative Analysis of the Social Requisites of Democracy’, *International Social Science Journal* 136, May 1993, pp. 155–175; Seymour Martin Lipset, ‘The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited’, *American Sociological Review* 59, February 1994, pp. 1–22; Carlos H. Waisman, ‘Capitalism, the Market, and Democracy’, *American Behavioral Scientist* 35, 4/5, March/June 1992, pp. 500–516; Mick Moore, ‘Democracy and Development in Cross-National Perspective: A New Look at the Statistics’, *Democratization* 2, 2, Summer 1995, pp. 1–19.
 12. Lipset, p. 75.
 13. For example, see Larry Diamond, ‘Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered’, *American Behavioral Scientist* 35, 4/5, March/June 1992, pp. 450–453.
 14. See Diamond pp. 454–455; Samuel P. Huntington, ‘Will More Countries Become Democratic?’, *Political Science Quarterly*, 99, 2, Summer 1984, pp. 200–201; Huntington, *Third Wave*, pp. 59–64; Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, ‘Modernization: Theories and Facts’, *World Politics* 49, 2, 1997, pp. 159–160. For Huntington, the range was defined as ‘upper middle income’. For an argument that posits the occurrence of democracy when ‘power resources have become so widely distributed that no group is any longer able to suppress its competitors or to maintain its hegemony’, see Tatu Vanhanen, *Prospects of Democracy. A Study of 172 Countries* (London, Routledge, 1997). The quotation is from p. 5.
 15. Diamond, p. 454.
 16. Przeworski and Limongi, pp. 159–160.
 17. To use another of Huntington’s terms.
 18. For some data, see Huntington, *Third Wave* ... p. 62.
 19. See Huntington, ‘Will More Countries ...’ p. 199.
 20. Huntington, *Third Wave* ... Chapter 2.
 21. This is based on the discussion in Diamond, pp. 475–485, which is in turn based principally on Lipset.
 22. This is based on Lipset’s views about the political susceptibilities of the working class and the problems they can pose for democratic stability. In particular, see Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man* (London, Heinemann, 1960), Chapters 3 and 4.
 23. Civil society is itself shaped by the course of economic development. The contours of the groups of which civil society consists (especially those related to employment), the improved educational levels which underpin increased popular involvement, and the development of a mass communications network which helps shape the public sphere, are all themselves directly shaped by the course of economic development.

24. Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Prospects for Democracy* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). See Chapter 3 for more details. Use of the term 'transition' has been criticized for its teleological overtones, but those working in the field have generally not seen the process as inevitably leading to democracy. The breakdown of an authoritarian regime may lead to its replacement by another authoritarian regime. A democratic regime established in the transition phase may not become consolidated. Indeed, a consolidated democratic regime may itself fall and be replaced by an authoritarian set of ruling arrangements.
25. Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

Chapter 2 The Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes

1. To use the language of Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).
2. For an attempt to schematize the transition in terms similar to this, see Robert H. Dix, 'The Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes', *Western Political Quarterly* 35, 4, 1982, pp. 568–569.
3. The probability that a democratic regime would survive four or five consecutive years of negative growth was said to be 57 per cent and 50 per cent respectively. Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 79, citing an unpublished study by Fernando Limongi and Adam Przeworski.
4. Stephen Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 33–36.
5. However, it is doubtful that anything can be read into these earlier bouts of economic difficulty, except perhaps that authoritarian regimes survived them, because all countries experience such periods at times.
6. Haggard and Kaufman, p. 46.
7. On economic crisis and the bureaucratic authoritarian regime, see David Collier (ed.), *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979).
8. Haggard and Kaufman, Chapter 2. These examples are discussed more fully in Chapter 5.
9. Manuel Antonio Garretón, 'The Political Evolution of the Chilean Military Regime and Problems in the Transition to Democracy', Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

10. For some figures, which are not wholly consistent, see Haggard and Kaufman pp. 34–35 and Luis Carlos Bresser Pereira, Jose Maria Maravall and Adam Przeworski, *Economic Reforms in New Democracies. A Social Democratic Approach* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 37.
11. This is argued at some length in Haggard and Kaufman, Part One.
12. Amos Perlmutter, *Modern Authoritarianism. A Comparative Institutional Analysis* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1981), p. 2.
13. Haggard and Kaufman pp. 11–13.
14. This did not apply to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, but they were, chiefly for political reasons, still on the margins of the dynamic engine of global economic growth.
15. Fernando H. Cardoso, 'Entrepreneurs and the Transition Process: The Brazilian Case', Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Comparative Perspectives* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 137–153.
16. For one discussion of this, see Karen L. Remmer, 'Redemocratization and the Impact of Authoritarian Rule in Latin America', *Comparative Politics* 17, 3, April 1985, pp. 253–275.
17. On Spain, see Jose Maria Maravall and Julian Santamaria, 'Political Change in Spain and the Prospects for Democracy', Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). On Greece, see P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, 'Regime Change and the Prospects for Democracy in Greece: 1974–1983', *Transitions ... Southern Europe*; Howard R. Penniman (ed.), *Greece at the Polls. The National Elections of 1974 and 1977* (Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1981); Linz and Stepan, Chapter 8. On Argentina, see Marcelo Cavarozzi, 'Political Cycles in Argentina since 1955', *Transitions ... Latin America*. Also Roberto Aizcorbe, *Argentina. The Peronist Myth. An Essay on the Cultural Decay in Argentina After the Second World War* (Hicksville, Exposition Press, 1975).
18. See Huntington, *Third Wave ...* pp. 72–85.
19. On this, see Laurence Whitehead, 'International Aspects of Democratization', *Transitions ... Comparative Perspectives*, pp. 25–31.
20. Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London, Penguin, 1992).
21. On this see Harvey Starr, 'Democratic Dominoes: Diffusion Approaches to the Spread of Democracy in the International System', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35, 2, June 1991, pp. 356–381.
22. It may be that the experiences of Portugal and Spain stimulated pressures for democratization in the South American countries because of their common cultural ties and the important symbolic role that the European metropolises played in Ibero-American culture.
23. For a brief discussion of some approaches to this see Diane Ethier, 'Introduction: Processes of Transition and Democratic Consolidation:

- Theoretical Indicators', Diane Ethier (ed.), *Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Southern Europe, Latin America and Southeast Asia* (London, Macmillan, 1990), p. 9.
24. Guillermo O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics* (Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1973). But see the discussion in Collier.
 25. Karen L. Remmer, 'New Theoretical Perspectives on Democratization', *Comparative Politics* 28, 1, October 1995, p. 107.
 26. Dix, pp. 563–566.
 27. This is the distinction drawn by Perlmutter between autocracy and tyranny, which both refer to rule by a single individual, and authoritarianism which refers to 'a collective dictatorship, an oligarchy, or a military government.' Perlmutter, p. 1.
 28. For a discussion of single party regimes, see Gary D. Wekkin *et al.* (eds.), *Building Democracy in One-Party Systems* (Westport, Praeger, 1993).
 29. On military regimes, see Eric A. Nordlinger, *Soldiers in Politics. Military Coups and Governments* (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1977); and Amos Perlmutter, 'The Comparative Analysis of Military Regimes: Formations, Aspirations, and Achievements', *World Politics* xxxiii, 1, October 1980, pp. 96–120.
 30. On the nature of the Spanish regime, see Juan J. Linz, 'An Authoritarian Regime: Spain', Erik Allardt and Stein Rokkan (eds.), *Mass Politics: Studies in Political Sociology* (New York, The Free Press, 1970). The military was clearly a subordinate element in Spain.
 31. On bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, see Collier; and O'Donnell, *Modernization* . . .
 32. Charles G. Gillespie, 'Uruguay's Transition from Collegial Military-Technocratic Rule', *Transitions ... Latin America*, p. 181.
 33. Kenneth Maxwell, 'Regime Overthrow and the Prospects for Democratic Transition in Portugal', *Transitions ... Southern Europe*. Also Constantine P. Danopoulos, 'Democratization by Golpe: The Experience of Modern Portugal', Constantine P. Danopoulos (ed.), *Military Disengagement from Politics* (London, Routledge, 1988), p. 239.
 34. There is not a large literature on this sort of regime, but for some discussion, see for example, Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, 'Personal Rule. Theory and Practice in Africa', *Comparative Politics* 16, 4, July 1984, pp. 421–442; Guenther Roth, 'Personal Rulership, Patrimonialism, and Empire Building in the New States', *World Politics* xx, 2, January 1968, pp. 194–206; Ann Ruth Willner, *The Spellbinders. Charismatic Political Leadership* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1984).
 35. In part this was agreed because of fears of the excessive politicization of the military that could result from a more institutional arrangement.
 36. Huntington's 'reformists' and 'standpatters'. Huntington, p. 121.
 37. Perhaps the military institution, especially when in power, is the best illustration of this sort of structure.

38. See the discussion in Adam Przeworski, 'Some Problems in the Study of the Transition to Democracy', *Transitions ... Comparative Perspectives*.
39. Przeworski, 'Some Problems ...', pp. 50–3.
40. Diamandouros, p. 147.
41. On the difference between social and political revolution and their effects, see Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolution. A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979).

Chapter 3 Elites and Transition

1. Dankwart A. Rustow, 'Transitions to Democracy. Toward a Dynamic Model', *Comparative Politics* 2, 3, April 1970, pp. 337–363.
2. Rustow, p. 353.
3. Rustow, p. 355.
4. Rustow, p. 356.
5. Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), and Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). All four volumes have also been published in a consolidated version, Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Prospects for Democracy* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). Henceforth all references will be to the separate volumes.
6. *Transitions ... Tentative Conclusions*, p. 6.
7. *Transitions ... Tentative Conclusions*, p. 3.
8. *Transitions ... Tentative Conclusions*, pp. 5 and 4 respectively.
9. *Transitions ... Tentative Conclusions*, p. 19.
10. *Transitions ... Tentative Conclusions*, pp. 28–31, 37 and 38.
11. Theorization has been attempted using game theory and, within the confines of this approach, has had some success. See Gretchen Casper and Michelle M. Taylor, *Negotiating Democracy. Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996). See below.
12. *Transitions ... Tentative Conclusions*, p. 7.
13. Luciano Martins, 'The Liberalization of Authoritarian Rule in Brazil', *Transitions ... Latin America*, p. 88.
14. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), p. 9.

15. It is also more useful than the discussion in Linz and Stepan, who give examples of liberalization without actually defining it. Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 3.
16. See the discussion in Adam Przeworski, 'Democracy as a contingent outcome of conflicts', Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad (eds.), *Constitutionalism and Democracy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 61. Also Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market. Political and Economic Reform in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 54–66.
17. Enrique A. Baloyra, 'Democratic Transition in Comparative Perspective', Enrique A. Baloyra (ed.), *Comparing New Democracies. Transition and Consolidation in Mediterranean Europe and the Southern Cone* (Boulder, Westview Press, 1987), pp. 40–42.
18. For the argument that what is central is negotiation between regime 'Defender' and regime 'Challenger' with the 'Mass Public' playing a mediating role, see Casper and Taylor.
19. *Transitions ... Tentative Conclusions*, p. 37. For Friedheim, a pact is 'an open-ended bargaining process rather than a formal contract.' Daniel V. Friedheim, 'Bringing Society Back into Democratic Transition Theory after 1989: Pact Making and Regime Collapse', *East European Politics and Societies* 7, 3, Fall 1993, p. 491
20. *Transitions ... Tentative Conclusions*, p. 38. On pacts also see Charles Guy Gillespie, *Negotiating Democracy. Politicians and Generals in Uruguay* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), Chapter 8.
21. *Transitions ... Tentative Conclusions*, p. 38.
22. *Transitions ... Tentative Conclusions*, pp. 39–47.
23. Huntington, p. 165.
24. Huntington, p. 166.
25. Terry Lynn Karl, 'Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America', *Comparative Politics*, 23, 1, October 1990.
26. Karl 'Dilemmas ...', p. 11.
27. Samuel P. Huntington, 'How Countries Democratize', *Political Science Quarterly* 106, 4, 1991–92, p. 584.
28. Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, p. 169.
29. Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, p. 169.
30. For one discussion of these, see Robert H. Dix, 'The Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes', *Western Political Quarterly* 35, 4, 1982, pp. 567–568.
31. Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, p. 171.
32. For a discussion of the conservatizing effects of pact-making in Brazil, see Frances Hagopian, "Democracy by Undemocratic Means'? Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil', *Comparative Political Studies* 23, 2, July 1990, pp. 147–170.
33. O'Donnell, 'Introduction to the Latin American Cases', *Transitions ... Latin America*, pp. 12–13.
34. For example, see the comments in Diane Ethier, 'Introduction:

- Processes of Transition and Democratic Consolidation: Theoretical Indicators', Diane Ethier (ed.), *Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Southern Europe, Latin America and Southeast Asia* (London, Macmillan, 1990), p. 11.
35. Ethier, 'Introduction', p. 11.
 36. This is a principal element of the argument in Casper and Taylor. But here the population is considered as an undifferentiated mass, with no account taken of how popular opinion is manifested or the relationship between élites and mass.
 37. Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, p. 146. The total of 33 comes from p. 14.
 38. e.g. John Keane, *Democracy and Civil Society* (London, Verso, 1988) and John Keane (ed.), *Civil Society and the State* (London, Verso, 1988).
 39. According to Weigle and Butterfield, civil society is 'the independent self-organization of society, the constituent parts of which voluntarily engage in public activity to pursue individual, group, or national interests within the context of a legally defined state-society relationship.' Marcia A. Weigle and Jim Butterfield, 'Civil Society in Reforming Communist Regimes. The Logic of Emergence', *Comparative Politics* 25, 1 October 1992, p. 3. The strength of this definition lies in its acknowledgement of the importance of state recognition of a sphere of autonomous social activity, but its weakness is the view that that sphere must be legally defined. While formal, legal definition may strengthen social autonomy, to demand that this always be present seems unnecessarily restrictive.
 40. For one argument in relation to ex-Communist states, see Baohui Zhang, 'Corporatism, Totalitarianism, and Transitions to Democracy', *Comparative Political Studies* 27, 1, April 1994, pp. 108–136. Also see below. The church can be a significant actor in the revival of civil society. Poland is an excellent example. For a discussion of its role in Brazil, see Andrew Hurrell, 'The International Dimensions of Democratization in Latin America: The Case of Brazil', Laurence Whitehead (ed), *The International Dimensions of Democratization. Europe and the Americas* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 153–157.
 41. Philippe C. Schmitter, 'An Introduction to Southern European Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain and Turkey', *Transitions ... Southern Europe*, p. 7.
 42. For one argument that this hierarchy of causes is not as clear cut as the transition school has suggested, but which indirectly shows the difficulty of saying much meaningful about the effect of international factors (i.e. either statements at a high level of generality or the identification of specific influences in particular cases), see Geoffrey Pridham, 'International Influences and Democratic Transition: Problems of Theory and Practice in Linkage Politics', Geoffrey Pridham (ed.), *Encouraging Democracy. The International Context of Regime Transition in Southern Europe* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1991), pp. 1–30.
 43. Alfred Stepan, 'Paths toward Redemocratization: Theoretical and

- Comparative Considerations', *Transitions ... Comparative Perspectives*, pp. 64–84. Also see Laurence Whitehead, 'Democracy by Convergence and Southern Europe: a Comparative Politics Perspective', Pridham, *Encouraging Democracy*, pp. 45–61, esp. pp. 46–48.
44. The restoration of democratic rule in countries liberated from the Nazis, such as Netherlands, France and Belgium, would be variants on this theme. Decolonization has also been significant, and may be seen as a variant of this theme.
 45. For a discussion of US attempts to promote democracy in the Caribbean basin, see Laurence Whitehead, 'The Imposition of Democracy: The Caribbean', Whitehead, *International Dimensions ...*, pp. 59–92.
 46. Transition studies frequently note the role of the oil price shock of the early 1970s in fostering regime change, but this is rarely linked to a broader structural view of the international economy. For example, see Alfred Tovas, 'The International Context of Democratic Transition', *West European Politics* 7, 2, April 1984, pp. 158–171.
 47. For a discussion of Nicaragua, see Whitehead, 'Imposition ...', pp. 77–83.
 48. For an interesting argument, see Whitehead, 'Democracy by Convergence', pp. 50–52.
 49. For a survey of Central America which notes the US role, see Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992), Chapter 6. Also see Whitehead, 'Imposition ...'. For one discussion of Greece in these terms, see Susannah Verney and Theodore Couloumbis, 'State-International Systems Interaction and the Greek Transition to Democracy in the mid-1970s', Pridham, *Encouraging Democracy ...*, pp. 109–110. Also see below.
 50. For a study of the US use of human rights in Latin America, see Kathryn Sikkink, 'The Effectiveness of US Human Rights Policy, 1973–1980', Whitehead, *International Dimensions ...*, pp. 93–124.
 51. See the discussion in Thomas Carothers, 'The Resurgence of United States Political Development Assistance to Latin America in the 1980s', Whitehead, *International Dimensions ...*, pp. 125–145.
 52. See Whitehead, 'Imposition ...', pp. 77–83.
 53. An example of a party is the Portuguese Socialist Party which had operated from Toulouse in France before the fall of the Caetano regime.
 54. For a discussion of the role of the EC, see Geoffrey Pridham, 'The Politics of the European Community, Transnational Networks and Democratic Transition in Southern Europe', Pridham, *Encouraging Democracy ...*, pp. 212–245. On Greece, see Basilios Tsingos, 'Underwriting Democracy: The European Community and Greece', Whitehead, *International Dimensions ...*, pp. 315–355, who sees the EC as having been much less activist in pressing democracy on Greece than other authors. He is particularly critical of Verney and Couloumbis (fn.58). Such conditionality, the attachment of specific

- conditions to the distribution of benefits, has been a common practice of such bodies as the IMF, although these are not usually specifically democratic in form.
55. Laurence Whitehead, 'International Aspects of Democratization', *Transitions ... Comparative Perspectives*, pp. 25–31. For a broader discussion, see Wolf Grabendorff, 'International Support for Democracy in Contemporary Latin America: The Role of the Party Internationals', Whitehead, *International Dimensions ...*, pp. 201–226.
 56. For one study, see Michael Pinto-Duschinsky, 'International Political Finance: The Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Latin America', Whitehead, *International Dimensions ...*, pp. 227–255.
 57. For one discussion of the role of the church, see Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, pp. 72–85.
 58. For one discussion of this see Harvey Starr, 'Democratic Dominoes. Diffusion Approaches to the Spread of Democracy in the International System', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35, 2, June 1991, pp. 356–381. Also see Laurence Whitehead, 'Three International Dimensions of Democratization', Whitehead, *International Dimensions ...*, pp. 5–8. A list of possible cases of contagion will be found on p. 5.
 59. Whitehead, 'Three International Dimensions ...', pp. 21–22.
 60. Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, p. 103.
 61. Philippe C. Schmitter, 'The International Context of Contemporary Democratization', *Stanford Journal of International Affairs* 2, 1993, pp. 19–22. A longer form of this paper will be found in Whitehead, *International Dimensions ...*, pp. 26–54.
 62. Donald Share, 'Transitions to Democracy and Transition Through Transaction', *Comparative Political Studies* 19, 4, January 1987, p. 540.
 63. O'Donnell, 'Introduction', *Transitions ... Latin America*, p. 5.
 64. Donald Share and Scott Mainwaring, 'Transitions Through Transaction: Democratization in Brazil and Spain', Wayne A. Selcher (ed.), *Political Liberalization in Brazil. Dynamics, Dilemmas and Future Prospects* (Boulder, Westview Press, 1985), pp. 178–179.
 65. Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, pp. 113–114. For another schema see Baloyra, pp. 10–18..
 66. In his discussion of paths of redemocratization, Alfred Stepan identifies three variants of foreign intervention: (1) A functioning democracy that was conquered in war is restored after the conqueror is defeated by external force, e.g. Netherlands 1945; (2) The conqueror of a democracy is defeated by external force and a new democratic regime put in place, e.g. France 1945; (3) Democratic powers defeat an authoritarian regime and play a major part in the installation of a democratic regime e.g. West Germany 1945. Alfred Stepan, 'Paths toward Redemocratization: Theoretical and Comparative Considerations', *Transitions ... Comparative Perspectives*, pp. 66–72.
 67. Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, p. 114.
 68. In a later article, Donald Share, while acknowledging that the élite participated in the process, seemed less sure that they should initiate or lead it. Share, 'Transitions to Democracy ...', pp. 529–531.

69. Juan J. Linz, 'Crisis, Breakdown and Reequilibrium', Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (eds), *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 35. Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, p. 114. It is also called transition by transaction by Diane Ethier. See Ethier, 'Introduction', p. 8.
70. He saw this type of transition as usually being fostered by a major institutional power-holder in the regime which came to believe that their long-term interests would be better served by a shift toward democracy than maintenance of the status quo. Such a path leaves the way open for elements within the regime to seek to tailor the process in such a way as to protect their core interests. As examples, he cites Spain where the process was initiated by a civilian or civilianized political leadership, Brazil where it was partly a case of initiation by 'military as government', and Greece (1973) and Portugal (1974) where it was initiated by the 'military as institution.' Stepan, p. 72.
71. Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, pp. 127–141.
72. Share and Mainwaring, pp. 178–179. However in Share's article, extrication has a different meaning; it 'occurs when authoritarian regimes experience a sudden loss of legitimacy, and abruptly hand power over to the democratic opposition.' Share, 'Transitions to Democracy ...', p. 531.
73. Ethier, p. 8, who also emphasizes how the regime has only a tenuous control over the process because of the relative importance of opposition movements. Stepan's notion of 'party pact' comes closest to this type of transition. He sees it as involving the construction of an oppositional pact to defeat the regime and lay the basis for democracy, and cites Colombia and Venezuela in 1958 as examples. Stepan, pp. 79–81.
74. Huntington did not include Bolivia in this category, but this is how it has been seen by Share and Mainwaring.
75. Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, pp. 152–153.
76. He saw four sub-types of this: revolution, coup, collapse and extrication. Share, 'Transitions to Democracy ...', p. 531.
77. Stepan had three equivalents of this: (1) 'Society-led regime termination', taking the form of diffuse protests, e.g. Greece in 1973, Argentina after the Cordoba revolt in 1969 and Peru after the general strike of July 1977 had elements of this; (2) 'Organized violent revolt coordinated by democratic reformist parties', e.g. Costa Rica 1948 and Venezuela 1958 approximated this; (3) Marxist-led revolutionary war, of which there are no examples. Stepan, pp. 78–84.
78. Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, pp. 142–149.
79. Huntington, *Third Wave ...*, p. 115.
80. For example, see Karl, 'Dilemmas ...'; and Casper and Taylor.
81. Linz and Stepan.
82. For example, Karl, 'Dilemmas ...', p. 1.
83. Rustow, pp. 350–352.
84. Linz and Stepan, p. 7.
85. Linz and Stepan, p. 7.
86. For example, Richard Snyder, 'Explaining Transitions from

- Neopatrimonial Dictatorships’, *Comparative Politics* 24, 4, July 1992, pp. 379–399; Stephen Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1995).
87. This is discussed in Linz and Stepan, Chapter 3, and is well summarized on pp. 44–45.
 88. Linz and Stepan, p. 42.
 89. Juan J. Linz, ‘An Authoritarian Regime: Spain’, Erik Allardt and Stein Rokkan (eds.), *Mass Politics: Studies in Political Sociology* (New York, The Free Press, 1970). This conception provides the basis upon which the whole typology has been constructed.
 90. This is discussed in Linz and Stepan, Chapter 4, esp. pp. 57–60.
 91. Although if society is as flattened as Linz and Stepan imply, it is difficult to see how meaningful elections would be.
 92. Linz and Stepan do not explain the relationship between early and late on the one hand, and early, frozen and mature post-totalitarian regimes on the other.
 93. Linz and Stepan, Chapter 5. The reference is on p. 66.

Chapter 4 Beyond the Elites?

1. Luciano Martins, ‘The “Liberalization” of Authoritarian Rule in Brazil’ and Terry Lynn Karl, ‘Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela’, Guillermo O’Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
2. Terry Lynn Karl, ‘Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America’, *Comparative Politics* 23, 1, October 1990, p. 6.
3. Guillermo O’Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), p. 3.
4. *Transitions ... Tentative Conclusions*, p. 5.
5. The most explicit in this is the work of Adam Przeworski.
6. *Transitions ... Tentative Conclusions*.
7. For example, according to Huntington, ‘democratic regimes that last have seldom, if ever, been instituted by mass popular action.’ Samuel P. Huntington, ‘Will More Countries Become Democratic?’, *Political Science Quarterly* 99, 2, 1984, p. 212.
8. One attempt to theorize transition using game theory does build in a role for the mass of the population, but this is only in a subsidiary capacity, as giving support usually to the regime challengers. In this view, what is crucial is the positions of the regime defenders and challengers, and the willingness and capacity of the defenders to defy or even suppress the popular view. But this elite-focused approach concentrating on elite preferences eschews consideration of the relative

- unity and power of the respective élites, any connections between élites and mass, and the way that the mass make their preferences known. Gretchen Casper and Michelle M. Taylor, *Negotiating Democracy. Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996).
9. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule ...*
 10. Enrique A. Baloyra (ed.), *Comparing New Democracies. Transition and Consolidation in Mediterranean Europe and the Southern Cone* (Boulder, Westview Press, 1987).
 11. As one student has argued, to say that democratization began with division inside an authoritarian regime is not to say very much because such divisions 'are presumably ubiquitous and not readily identified as significant apart from the phenomenon they are intended to explain.' Karen L. Remmer, 'New Theoretical Perspectives on Democratization', *Comparative Politics* 28, 1, October 1995, p. 107.
 12. Although there have been cases when political élites not under any pressure from the populace embarked on a course of liberalization in an attempt to improve the performance of the regime. Gorbachev's USSR is a good case in point.
 13. Fernando H. Cardoso, 'Entrepreneurs and the Transition Process: The Brazilian Case', Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Comparative Perspectives* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 137–153.
 14. Kenneth Maxwell, 'Regime Overthrow and the Prospects for Democratic Transition in Portugal', Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Southern Europe* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
 15. This point is made in Daniel H. Levine, 'Paradigm Lost: Dependence to Democracy', *World Politics* 40, 3, April 1988, p. 390.
 16. For example, see note 7 above.
 17. Linz and Stepan do talk about the deepening of democracy, meaning the quality of it, but this is not part of their definition, nor is it discussed in their analysis. Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 457.
 18. See Levine, p. 385.
 19. Levine, p. 394.
 20. See Adam Przeworski, 'Democracy as a Contingent Outcome of Conflicts', Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad (eds.), *Constitutionalism and Democracy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988).
 21. Even the most sophisticated structural accounts of change are unsatisfactory unless they give due weight to the activity of political actors. For example, see Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions. A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979).
 22. Karl, 'Dilemmas ...', p. 6.

23. Klaus Nielsen, Bob Jessop and Jerzy Hausner, 'Institutional Change in Post-Socialism', Jerzy Hausner, Bob Jessop and Klaus Nielson (eds.), *Strategic Choice and Path Dependency in Post-Socialism. Institutional Dynamics in the Transformation Process* (Aldershot, Edward Elgar, 1995), p. 6. The determinative orientation of these authors' view of path dependency is reflected in the fact that they contrast this with a notion of path shaping, whereby forces can intervene at certain conjunctures to eliminate constraints and launch development onto a new path. pp. 6–7.
24. Nielsen *et al.*, p. 6.
25. For discussion of this issue, see the classic accounts in Eric A. Nordlinger, *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments* (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1977) Chapter 4, and S.E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback. The Role of the Military in Politics* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1975) Chapter 11.
26. For a discussion which focuses upon the relationship between the military and the ruler, see Richard Snyder, 'Explaining Transitions from Neopatrimonial Dictatorships', *Comparative Politics* 24, 4, July 1992, pp. 379–399.
27. Adam Przeworski, 'The Games of Transition', Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela (eds.), *Issues in Democratic Consolidation. The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective* (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), p. 117.
28. Terry Lynn Karl and Philippe C. Schmitter, 'Modes of Transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe', *International Social Science Journal* 128, May 1991, p. 272.
29. See the argument in Karen L. Remmer, 'Redemocratization and the Impact of Authoritarian Rule in Latin America', *Comparative Politics* 17, 3, April 1985, pp. 253–275.
30. Baohui Zhang, 'Corporatism, Totalitarianism, and Transitions to Democracy', *Comparative Political Studies* 27, 1, April 1994, pp. 108–136.
31. Zhang, p. 122.
32. To quote the titles of two very influential books. William McNeill, *The Rise of the West. A History of the Human Community* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1963) and E. L. Jones, *The European Miracle. Environments, Economies and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981).
33. Barrington Moore Jr, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969, originally published in 1966).
34. Moore, p. viii.
35. Moore, p. 414.
36. For one discussion substantially in these terms, see Lester M. Salamon, 'Comparative History and the Theory of Modernization', *World Politics* 23, 1, October 1970, pp. 97–98.
37. For a good short discussion, upon which the following rests, see

- Ronald P. Dore, 'Making Sense of History', *Archives européennes de sociologie* X, 1969, p. 297.
38. Discussion will not embrace the fourth path, which does not lead to the same sort of political outcome as those with which Moore is most concerned.
 39. Moore, p. 434 cf Theda Skocpol, 'A critical review of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*', *Politics and Society* 4, 1, 1973, pp. 14–16.
 40. Although there were many times when perceived interests did not coincide, e.g. the cases of emancipation and the Stolypin reforms in Russia were instances when the state sought to alter existing power arrangements in the countryside.
 41. Moore, p. 418.
 42. As well as those used in the following discussion, see J. V. Femia, 'Barrington Moore and the Preconditions for Democracy', *British Journal of Political Science* 2, 1, 1972; Stanley Rothman, 'Barrington Moore and the Dialectics of Revolution: An Essay Review', *American Political Science Review* 64, 1, March 1970; Jonathan Tumin, 'The Theory of Democratic Development', *Theory and Society* 11, 2, 1982; Ton Zwaan, 'One Step Forward, Two Steps Back. Tumin's Theory of Democratic Development: A Comment', *Theory and Society* 11, 2, 1982; Brian M. Downing, 'Constitutionalism, Warfare, and Political Change in Early Modern Europe', *Theory and Society* 17, 7, 1988. For a discussion of the critics see Jonathan M. Wiener, 'The Barrington Moore Thesis and Its Critics', *Theory and Society* 2, 1975.
 43. For example, Dore, pp. 298–99.
 44. Indeed, this general point applies to all of the class actors in Moore's analysis.
 45. For one critic who makes much of the difficulty of measuring the strength of what she calls the 'bourgeois impulse', see Skocpol.
 46. See the discussion in Ralf Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany* (Garden City, Doubleday, 1969), Chapters 3 and 4.
 47. Zwaan, p. 173.
 48. Timothy A. Tilton, 'The Social Origins of Liberal Democracy: The Swedish Case', *American Political Science Review* 68, 2, June 1974 and Francis G. Castles, 'Barrington Moore's Thesis and Swedish Political Development', *Government and Opposition* 8, 3, Summer 1973.
 49. Tilton and Castles.
 50. Castles, p. 330.
 51. Tilton, p. 569.
 52. The absence of a standing army, and therefore of the possibility of repression, may also have been significant. Tilton, p. 568.
 53. Goran Therborn, 'The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy', *New Left Review* 103, May–June 1977.
 54. Moore, pp. 30–32.
 55. For example, see the argument in Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London, Verso, 1979, originally published 1974).
 56. See Moore, p. 214 and the discussion by Skocpol, p. 29.

57. Therborn, pp. 21–23; Michael Mann, ‘War and Social Theory: into Battle with Classes, Nations and States’, Michael Mann, *States, War and Capitalism. Studies in Political Sociology* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1988), pp. 158–159 and Michael Howard ‘War and the Nation State’, *Daedalus* 108, 1979.
58. Moore, p. 414.
59. This is a more useful way of approaching this question than Skocpol’s insistence upon notions of state autonomy. The latter may be reduced to an issue of differences in historical interpretation between Moore and Skocpol on particular periods, because an assumption about the possibility of state autonomy seems to underpin much of Moore’s analysis.
60. Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Cambridge, Polity, 1992). For an earlier version, see John D. Stephens, ‘Democratic Transition and Breakdown in Western Europe, 1870–1939: A Test of the Moore Thesis’, *American Journal of Sociology* 94, 5, March 1989.
61. Rueschemeyer, Stephens and Stephens, p. 77.
62. The working class was not always the main actor. In the agrarian democracies of Switzerland and Norway, the working class was politically included and democracy was established by peasant–urban middle class coalitions before the working class became a significant political actor. Stephens, pp. 1032 and 1035.
63. Also see the discussion in Chapter 3 above.
64. Rueschemeyer *et al*, pp. 80–81.
65. Kurth argues that the bourgeoisie need not be subordinated to agrarian classes in order for this alliance to come about. He argues that the economic situation of that class, or of segments of it, the need to maintain control over the working class, and the role of the state in industrialization, logically leads the bourgeoisie to alliance with a similarly-placed class in the rural area. James R. Kurth, ‘Industrial Change and Political Change: A European Perspective’, David Collier (ed.), *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979).
66. Stephens, p. 1038.
67. Rueschemeyer *et al*, p. 83.
68. Karl and Schmitter, p. 271. Examples cited of countries where these did not exist are respectively Venezuela and Chile, and Greece, northern Italy, Argentina and Uruguay.
69. See the argument in Robert M. Fishman, ‘Rethinking State and Regime: Southern Europe’s Transition to Democracy’, *World Politics* 42, 3, April 1990, pp. 422–440.
70. And an interim government to administer the transition is unlikely.
71. This sort of schema also enables us to place classic types of regimes in comparative positions along these axes, and thereby to generalize about their propensity to experience democratic transition. Classic totalitarianism: high regime unity and atomized society. Military regime: usually high unity (especially if it is a Linz/Stephan hierar-

chical military regime, less so for a non-hierarchical regime) and society with some civil society elements. One man leadership: usually high unity but with high potentiality to disintegrate, and society with some civil society elements. Bureaucratic authoritarianism: segmentary regime, emergent civil society. Traditional authoritarianism: segmentary regime, weak beginnings of civil society.

Chapter 5 Transition and Civil Society

1. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), p. 114.
2. Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) p. 88.
3. David Gilmour, *The Transformation of Spain. From Franco to the Constitutional Monarchy* (London, Quartet Books, 1985), p. 23.
4. Gilmour, pp. 59–65.
5. For an excellent discussion of this, see Raymond Carr and Juan Pablo Fusi, *Spain. Dictatorship to Democracy* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1981).
6. For a study which uses public opinion data from the period leading up to the transition, see Rafael Lopez-Pintor, 'Mass and Elite Perspectives in the Process of Transition to Democracy', Enrique A. Baloyra (ed.), *Comparing New Democracies. Transition and Consolidation in Mediterranean Europe and the Southern Cone* (Boulder, Westview Press, 1987).
7. Gilmour, p. 92.
8. Gilmour, pp. 54–59.
9. See Carr and Fusi, Chapter 9.
10. Paul Preston, *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain* (London, Methuen, 1986), p. 18.
11. For a discussion of the background to local nationalism in Catalonia and the Basque lands, see Gilmour, Chapter 6.
12. Preston, p. 51.
13. Jose Maria Maravall and Julian Santamaria, 'Political Change in Spain and the Prospects for Democracy', Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Southern Europe* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), p. 82.
14. Which also stimulated the emergence among young officers of the Union Militar Democratica (UMD), an organization favouring the establishment of a democratic system of government and political independence of the military. Charles Powell, 'International Aspects of Democratization; The Case of Spain', Laurence Whitehead (ed.), *The International Dimensions of Democratization. Europe and the*

- Americas* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 287. See pp. 287–289 for the broader effects on developments in Spain of the Portuguese experience.
15. Gilmour, p. 139.
 16. For the argument that, in principle, the king had three options, to seek to preserve the essence of the existing regime, to initiate change from within the regime, or to seek a ‘democratic rupture’, see Kenneth Medhurst, ‘Spain’s Evolutionary Pathway from Dictatorship to Democracy’, *West European Politics* 7, 2, April 1984, pp. 32–33. On US support for the king, see Jonathan Story and Benny Pollack, ‘Spain’s Transition: Domestic and External Linkages’, Geoffrey Pridham, *Encouraging Democracy. The International Context of Regime Transition in Southern Europe* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1991), pp. 131–132.
 17. Gilmour, p. 145.
 18. Preston, pp. 95–96.
 19. The Law for Political Reform involved popular sovereignty, universal suffrage, recognition of political pluralism, the abolition of the Franquist Cortes, *Movimiento* and National Council, elections for a bicameral legislature, and codification of the position of the king. Gilmour, p. 158.
 20. Carr and Fusi, p. xiii.
 21. Also potentially significant was Suarez’s unrivalled access to public opinion polling results and his consequent ability to read the political landscape better than his opponents. Medhurst, p. 36.
 22. Preston, pp. 113–114.
 23. Maravall and Santamaria, p. 85.
 24. Maravall and Santamaria, p. 88.
 25. Preston, p. 138. Also see the discussion in Gilmour, pp. 194–202.
 26. For an analysis which focuses upon the 1977, 1979 and 1982 elections, see Mario Casiagli, ‘Spain: Parties and Party System in the Transition’, *West European Politics* 7, 2, April 1984.
 27. Although Linz and Stepan argue that the problem of ‘stateness’, or national unity (and specifically the Basque problem) had still to be resolved before the transition could be classed as ended. Linz and Stepan, pp. 99–107.
 28. With some assistance from abroad, especially Western Europe. See Powell.
 29. In the terminology of Linz and Stepan, p. 166.
 30. For an argument that this reflected the military’s identification with Western values, see Andrew Hurrell, ‘The International Dimensions of Democratization in Latin America. The Case of Brazil’, Whitehead, *International Dimensions*, p. 158. Also see Alfred Stepan, *Rethinking Military Politics. Brazil and the Southern Cone* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988), Chapters 5 and 6.
 31. On these issues see Stepan, *Rethinking*, Chapter 2 and pp. 33–35.
 32. Stephen Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 72.

33. Stepan, *Rethinking ...* , p. 37.
34. Stepan, *Rethinking ...* , p. 40.
35. Luciano Martins, 'The "Liberalization" of Authoritarian Rule in Brazil', Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Latin America* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), p. 83.
36. Martins, p. 90.
37. Fernando H. Cardoso, 'Entrepreneurs and the Transition Process: The Brazilian Case', Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Comparative Perspectives* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 137–153.
38. Stepan, *Rethinking ...* , p. 56.
39. Although there had been pressures for some time from within the business community favouring a form of liberalization. See the general discussion in Cardoso and Haggard and Kaufman, pp. 58–59.
40. Haggard and Kaufman, p. 62.
41. Stepan, *Rethinking ...* , pp. 57–59 and 65.
42. Linz and Stepan, pp. 168–169.
43. On the Pinochet regime, see Arturo Valenzuela, 'The Military in Power. The Consolidation of One-Man Rule', Paul W. Drake and Ivan Jaksic (eds.), *The Struggle for Democracy in Chile* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1995) and J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, *Military Rule in Chile. Dictatorships and Oppositions* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
44. Paul W. Drake and Ivan Jaksic, 'Introduction: Transformation and Transition in Chile, 1982–1990', Drake and Jaksic, p. 5.
45. Drake and Jaksic, 'Introduction', p. 5.
46. Drake and Jaksic, 'Introduction', p. 6.
47. Alan Angell, 'International Support for the Chilean Opposition, 1973–1989: Political Parties and the Role of Exiles', Whitehead, *International Dimensions ...* , pp. 175–200.
48. See the discussion in Guillermo Campero, 'Entrepreneurs Under the Military Regime', Drake and Jaksic, pp. 134–139.
49. Borzutzky cites work by Valenzuela and Valenzuela that argues that parties were able to maintain their identity and autonomy despite regime repression and that 'limiting organizational and electoral activities, rather than undermining politics, freezes the positions of recognized leaders and shifts party activities to other outlets in civil society.' Silvia T. Borzutzky, 'The Pinochet Regime: Crisis and Consolidation', James M. Malloy and Mitchell A. Seligson (eds.), *Authoritarians and Democrats. Regime Transition in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987), p. 80. Also see Manuel Antonio Garreton, 'The Political Opposition and the Party System Under the Military Regime', Drake and Jaksic.
50. Borzutzky, p. 83.
51. Augusto Varas, 'The Crisis of Legitimacy of Military Rule in the 1980s', Drake and Jaksic, p. 84.
52. Garreton, pp. 227–228.

53. For a discussion of this, see Linz and Stepan, pp. 207–210.
54. For one discussion, see Herbert S. Klein, *Bolivia. The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 246–247.
55. For this characterization of the military, see Robert Pinkney, *Right-Wing Military Government* (Boston, Twayne Pubs, 1990), p. 84.
56. Eduardo A. Gamarra, ‘Bolivia: Disengagement and Democratization’, Constantine P. Danopoulos (ed.), *Military Disengagement from Politics* (London, Routledge, 1988), p. 52–53.
57. Laurence Whitehead, ‘Bolivia’s Failed Democratization, 1977–1980’, *Transitions ... Latin America*, pp. 56–57.
58. Gamarra, p. 55–56.
59. Klein, pp. 256–257.
60. Haggard and Kaufman, p. 65.
61. Whitehead, ‘Bolivia’s ...’, p. 62.
62. For details on these, see Gamarra, pp. 65–72.
63. Whitehead, ‘Bolivia’s ...’, p. 63.
64. For some details, see Whitehead, ‘Bolivia’s ...’, p. 65.
65. Whitehead, ‘Bolivia’s ...’, p. 67.
66. For an analysis which focuses upon the quasi-presidential and party structures, see Luis E. Gonzalez, *Political Structures and Democracy in Uruguay* (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1991).
67. Charles Guy Gillespie, *Negotiating Democracy. Politicians and Generals in Uruguay* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 56.
68. Pinkney, p. 62.
69. Gillespie, *Negotiating ...*, p. 50.
70. Gillespie, *Negotiating ...*, p. 62.
71. Gillespie, *Negotiating ...*, p. 71.
72. Linz and Stepan, p. 153.
73. Gillespie, *Negotiating ...*, pp. 174–175.
74. Charles G. Gillespie, ‘Uruguay’s Transition from Collegial Military-Technocratic Rule’, *Transitions ... Latin America*, p. 183.
75. For some figures, see Gillespie, ‘Uruguay’s ...’, p. 184.
76. Haggard and Kaufman, p. 71.
77. Gillespie, *Negotiating ...*, p. 131.
78. Gillespie, *Negotiating ...*, pp. 144–145.
79. Linz and Stepan, pp. 154–155.
80. Robin Luckham, ‘Faustian Bargains: Democratic Control over Military and Security Establishments’, Robin Luckham and Gordon White (eds.), *Democratization in the South. The Jagged Wave* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 130.
81. Luckham, p. 134.
82. Sung-Joo Han, ‘South Korea: Politics in Transition’, Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *Democracy in Developing Countries. Volume 3. Asia* (Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 1989), p. 280.
83. For some figures on opposition support, see James Cotton, ‘From Authoritarianism to Democracy in South Korea’, James Cotton (ed.),

- Korea Under Roh Tae-woo. Democratization, Northern Policy and Inter-Korean Relations* (Canberra, Allen and Unwin, 1993), p. 30.
84. Gordon White, 'Civil Society, Democratization and Development', Luckham and White, p. 196.
 85. For one discussion, see David Potter, 'Democratization at the Same Time in South Korea and Taiwan', David Potter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh and Paul Lewis (eds.), *Democratization* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1997), pp. 230–231.
 86. Cotton, p. 30.
 87. This continued into 1986 when there were at least 1700 protest demonstrations. White, p. 194.
 88. Even when Kim Young Sam had formerly advocated a parliamentary system for Korea. Han, p. 285.
 89. Cotton, p. 31.
 90. Okonogi Masao, 'South Korea's Experiment in Democracy', Cotton, p. 9.
 91. Potter, p. 228; Cotton, p. 32; Han, p. 287.
 92. Masao, p. 12.
 93. Cotton, p. 33–34.
 94. Constantine P. Danopoulos, 'Democratization by Golpe: The Experience of Modern Portugal', Constantine P. Danopoulos (ed.), *Military Disengagement from Politics* (London, Routledge, 1988), p. 234.
 95. Hugo Gil Ferreira and Michael W. Marshall, *Portugal's Revolution: Ten Years On* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 254.
 96. Kenneth Maxwell, *The Making of Portuguese Democracy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 58.
 97. For a discussion of the parties' emergence, see Walter C. Opello Jr, 'Portugal: A Case Study of International Determinants of Regime Transition', Pridham, *Encouraging Democracy ...*, p. 86.
 98. Kenneth Maxwell, 'Regime Overthrow and the Prospects for Democratic Transition in Portugal', *Transitions ... Southern Europe*, p. 120.
 99. Maxwell, *Making ...*, p. 86.
 100. According to Opello, these were organized by leftist groups, but COPCON refused to dismantle them. Opello, p. 92.
 101. Although Gomes was not himself a radical, taking pains to assure the US that Portugal would adopt a Western liberal democratic system. Opello, p. 94.
 102. Maxwell, *Making ...*, p. 110.
 103. For its text, see Ferreira and Marshall pp. 256–262. For discussion, Maxwell, *Making ...*, p. 112.
 104. Support from Western sources worried about the possibility of radicalism in Portugal had been flowing to some of these parties, especially the PSP, for some time. At this time, Soviet support for the PCP was limited to material assistance; Moscow sought to rein in the ambitions of the Portuguese Communists so as not to endanger détente. Opello, pp. 88–89.

105. Linz and Stepan, p. 122.
106. For the text see Ferreira and Marshall, pp. 263–268.
107. For a discussion of the political parties and subsequent elections, see J. R. Lewis and A. M. Williams, ‘Social Cleavages and Electoral Performance: The Social Basis of Portuguese Parties, 1976–83’, *West European Politics* 7, 2, April 1984.
108. Constantine P. Danopoulos, ‘Farewell to Man on Horseback: Intervention and Civilian Supremacy in Modern Greece’, Constantine P. Danopoulos, *From Military to Civilian Rule* (London, Routledge, 1992), pp. 42–43.
109. Danopoulos, p. 44–45.
110. For a balanced view which sees international factors as secondary to domestic in structuring the Greek transition, see Basilios Tsingos, ‘Underwriting Democracy: The European Community and Greece’, Whitehead, *International Dimensions ...*, pp. 315–355.
111. This follows Danopoulos, pp. 45–46.
112. Linz and Stepan, p. 132.
113. This goes some way toward explaining why there was no military reaction to the trial and sentencing of many officers accused of crimes in 1975. Linz and Stepan, p. 132.
114. Linz and Stepan, pp. 190–191.
115. For a discussion of Galtieri’s strategy, see James W. McGuire, ‘Interim Government and Democratic Consolidation: Argentina in Comparative Perspective’, Yossi Shain and Juan J. Linz (eds.), *Between States. Interim Governments and Democratic Transitions* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 187–188.
116. Cited in McGuire, p. 188.
117. For some details about these documents, see McGuire, pp. 188–189.
118. Enrique A. Baloyra, ‘Democratic Transition in Comparative Perspective’, Enrique A. Baloyra (ed.), *Comparing New Democracies. Transition and Consolidation in Mediterranean Europe and the Southern Cone* (Boulder, Westview Press, 1987), p. 24.
119. Linz and Stepan, p. 193.
120. McGuire, pp. 189–190.

Chapter 6 Transition and the Collapse of Communism

1. For example, Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Russell Bova, ‘Political Dynamics of the Post-Communist Transition. A Comparative Perspective’, *World Politics* 44, 1, October 1991, pp. 113–138. For an explicit argument about both the validity and value of applying the transition methodology to the post-Communist transition, see Philippe C. Schmitter with Terry Lynn Karl, ‘The Conceptual Travels of

- Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far to the East Should They Attempt to Go?', *Slavic Review* 53, 1, Spring 1994, pp. 173–185. This prompted a vigorous, if not very satisfying, exchange: Valerie Bunce, 'Should Transitologists Be Grounded?', *Slavic Review* 54, 1, Spring 1995, pp. 111–127; Terry Lynn Karl and Philippe C. Schmitter, 'From an Iron Curtain to a Paper Curtain: Grounding Transitologists or Students of Postcommunism?', *Slavic Review* 54, 4, Winter 1995, pp. 965–978 and Valerie Bunce, 'Paper Curtains and Paper Tigers', *Slavic Review* 54, 4, Winter 1995, pp. 979–987.
2. This list is my own rendering of similar points made by other authors. See Bunce, 'Transitologists ...', pp. 119–123; Sarah Meiklejohn Terry, 'Thinking About Post-communist Transitions: How Different Are They?', *Slavic Review* 52, 2, Summer 1993, pp. 333–337.
 3. In addition, for the Slovaks the Czechs may have appeared as oppressors while in the former Yugoslavia it was the Serbs who were given this guise.
 4. Terry, p. 334.
 5. For a discussion of the nature, importance and role of Round Table talks in Eastern Europe generally, see Helga A. Welsh, 'Political Transition Processes in Central and Eastern Europe', *Comparative Politics* 26, 4, July 1994, pp. 383–388.
 6. For details of the agreements, see Keith Crawford, *East Central European Politics Today* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 60.
 7. In contrast to Poland where the Round Table resulted in an agreement on power sharing, in Hungary the opposition eschewed this course and went straight to competitive elections.
 8. Crawford, pp. 63–64.
 9. Developments in the republican capitals were crucial for structuring the overall course of events in Yugoslavia, but they will not be discussed in detail here. However, in some areas, in particular Slovenia, autonomous popular forces played a major role in shaping developments. For studies which pay attention to republican developments, see Misha Glenny, *The Rebirth of History. Eastern Europe in the Age of Democracy* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1990) and Laura Silber and Allan Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1995).
 10. For one discussion of developments in Slovenia, see Tomaz Mastnak, 'Civil Society in Slovenia: From Opposition to Power', *Studies in Comparative Communism* XXIII, 3/4, Autumn/Winter 1990, pp. 305–317.
 11. McSweeney and Tempest argue that there was a distinctive East European path of transition characterized by dependence on the relaxation of foreign control and the opposition of crowds on the streets, but this level of generality obscures the important differences that did exist between countries. Dean McSweeney and Clive Tempest, 'The Political Science of Democratic Transition in Eastern Europe', *Political Studies* xli, 3, September 1993, p. 417.
 12. For other discussions, see Welsh, pp. 379–394; Ekiert offers a tripar-

tite analysis:

- (a) where political society is stronger and pragmatic/reformist elements in the party–state are more influential, the result will be negotiated openings, as in Poland and Hungary;
 - (b) where political society is weaker and pragmatic/reformist elements in the party–state are ineffective, the result will be popular upsurge, as in the GDR and Czechoslovakia;
 - (c) where political society and pragmatic/reformist elements are both absent, the result is revolutionary upheaval, as in Rumania.
- Grzegorz Ekiert, 'Democratization Processes in East Central Europe: A Theoretical Reconsideration', *British Journal of Political Science* 21, 3, 1991, p. 307.
13. There is an immense amount of material on each of these regimes. The references cited in the following footnotes are only a very few of these which have been particularly useful.
 14. On Ceausescu's power and the regime he ran, see Edward Behr, *'Kiss the Hand You Cannot Bite'*. *The Rise and Fall of the Ceausescus* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1991) and Michael Shafir, *Romania. Politics, Economics and Society* (London, Frances Pinter, 1985), esp. Chapter 6.
 15. On the Czechoslovak party, see Zdenek Suda, *Zealots and Rebels. A History of the Ruling Communist Party of Czechoslovakia* (Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1980).
 16. On the policy of 'normalization' see Milan Simechka, *The Restoration of Order. The Normalization of Czechoslovakia 1969–1976* (London, Verso, 1984).
 17. For a survey of the GDR, see David Childs, *The GDR: Moscow's German Ally* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1983).
 18. See Nicholas C. Pano, 'Albania', Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone (ed.), *Communism in Eastern Europe* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1984).
 19. Joseph Rothschild, *Return to Diversity. A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War II* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 254.
 20. On Hungary, see Rudolf L. Tokes, *Hungary's Negotiated Revolution. Economic Reform, Social Change and Political Succession, 1957–1990* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996); Bennett Kovrig, *Communism in Hungary. From Kun to Kadar* (Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1979).
 21. For studies of Yugoslav reformism, see Paul Shoup, 'Crisis and Reform in Yugoslavia', *Daedalus* 79, Spring 1989, pp. 129–145; Denison Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment 1948–1974* (Berkeley, University of California, 1977); April Carter, *Democratic Reform in Yugoslavia: The Changing Role of the Party* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982).
 22. See the survey of the Polish experience in Andrzej Korbonski, 'Poland', Rakowska-Harmstone.
 23. For a paper which addresses this theme, see Stephen F. Cohen, 'The Friends and Foes of Change: Reformism and Conservatism in the

- Soviet Union', and comments by T. H. Rigby, S. Frederick Starr, Frederick Barghoorn and George Breslauer, and Cohen's response, *Slavic Review* 38, 2, June 1979, pp. 187–223.
24. For a history of the Bulgarian Communist Party, see John D. Bekk, *The Bulgarian Communist Party from Blagoev to Zhivkov* (Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1986).
 25. This distinction is similar to that drawn by Marcia A. Weigle and Jim Butterfield, 'Civil Society in Reforming Communist Regimes. The Logic of Emergence', *Comparative Politics* 25, 1, October 1992, p. 1. Also see the discussion by Ekiert which distinguishes between 'domestic society' which is 'the domain of purposeful action restricted to the private sphere and organized in terms of material needs and self-interests' and 'political society' which 'embraces the entirety of voluntary associations and social movements in an active political community.' Ekiert, p. 300.
 26. For characterizations of these regimes, see Hugh Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe Between the Wars, 1918–1941* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1945); Antony Polonsky, *The Little Dictators. The History of Eastern Europe since 1918* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975); Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1974); Gregory M. Luebbert, *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy. Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 260–263.
 27. Politically this was often manifested through a government party operating in a pseudo-parliamentary system.
 28. On state primacy, see the classic Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London, New Left Books, 1974); also the stimulating George Schopflin, 'The Political Traditions of Eastern Europe', *Daedalus* 119, Winter 1990, esp. pp. 61–65.
 29. Crawford, p. 17.
 30. Schopflin, p. 65.
 31. Figures for agriculture (which include significant numbers of landless rural labourers in Hungary and Poland) come from Joni Lovenduski and Jean Woodall, *Politics and Society in Eastern Europe* (London, Macmillan, 1987), p. 32. The average in Western Europe at this time was about 20 per cent. For industry they come from Polonsky, p. 175.
 32. As Lovenduski and Woodall argue, many areas lacked 'an enterprising middle class of townspeople anxious for economic progress. The peasantry, overwhelmingly the largest class, lacked the skills, capital and legal freedoms to become entrepreneurs, whilst the landowning aristocracy saw no need to augment or risk its wealth.' p. 29.
 33. The broader ethnic divisions were also a major handicap to such a sense of society developing.
 34. For an argument applied to most of the region which explains this urban migration of the gentry in terms of their inability to prosper in international competition, see Andrew C. Janos, 'The Politics of Backwardness in Continental Europe, 1780–1945', *World Politics* xli, 3, April 1989, pp. 331–335.

35. Rothschild, *East Central Europe ...*, p. 28.
36. Lovenduski and Woodall, p. 34. Although there were regional variations within Poland. See Rothschild, pp. 29–31.
37. In Schopflin's term, state administration was subject to 'colonization' by the gentry. Schopflin, p. 70.
38. Rothschild, *East Central Europe ...*, pp. 190–191.
39. This was a long-term process, being based on a textile industry which went back to the sixteenth century.
40. For some details, see Gale Stokes, 'The Social Origins of East European Politics', Daniel Chirot (ed.), *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe. Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages Until the Early Twentieth Century* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989), pp. 217–218.
41. Luebbert, p. 291. On the divisions within the working class based on ethnicity, region and political outlook, see Luebbert, pp. 293–294.
42. Cited in Lovenduski and Woodall, p. 36.
43. There is a good discussion of some of this in Rothschild, *East Central Europe ...*
44. As a class these had been destroyed by the Turks.
45. Rothschild, *East Central Europe ...*, p. 289.
46. Rothschild, *East Central Europe ...*, p. 321.
47. As in Serbia, this had been destroyed by the Turks.
48. Rothschild, *East Central Europe ...*, p. 323.
49. Rothschild, *East Central Europe ...*, p. 359.
50. Rothschild, *East Central Europe ...*, p. 360.
51. The sketches are incomplete in the sense that they downplay two extremely important types of division in this region, ethnic identification and religion. If anyone were seeking to understand the course of development in this region in the inter-war period, due concern would need to be paid to these two dimensions of social structure. However, the present analysis seeks not to explain that course of development, but to identify the existence or otherwise of the sort of bourgeois arena of organizations and ideas essential to the generation of the sort of autonomous social activity with which we are concerned. For some figures on ethnic minorities, see Luebbert, p. 260.
52. Although the Polish political and intellectual élite and bourgeoisie were decimated during World War II to a far greater extent than anywhere else in the region. Ekiert, p. 302.
53. For a discussion of this in relation to political parties, see Karen L. Remmer, 'Redemocratization and the Impact of Authoritarian Rule in Latin America', *Comparative Politics* 17, 3, April 1985, pp. 253–275.
54. This is linked to the earlier discussion of the levels of control the different regimes exercised. But whereas the former discussion focused upon regime capacity, this one concerns the capacity of the society to throw up autonomous social organizations in spite of regime pressure. For some discussions of the development of civil society under Communism, see for example, Zbigniew Rau (ed.), *The Reemergence of Civil Society in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (Boulder, Westview Press, 1991); Chandran Kukathas, David W. Lovell and

- William Maley (eds.), *The Transition from Socialism. State and Civil Society in the USSR* (Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1991); Robert F. Miller (ed.), *The Developments of Civil Society in Communist Systems* (Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1992).
55. For the argument that this was related to the twin crises of Communist regimes, their inability to inculcate the population with Communist values and modes of participation, and the inability to meet popular material expectations, see Weigle and Butterfield.
 56. For an argument that the West, especially through the CSCE process, helped stimulate the development of civil society forces, see Laurence Whitehead, 'Democracy and Decolonization: East-Central Europe', Laurence Whitehead (ed.), *The International Dimensions of Democratization. Europe and the Americas* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996) pp. 376–379. For a discussion of what is termed 'weak society' in Bulgaria and 'strong society' in Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia, see Sabrina P. Ramet, *Social Currents in Eastern Europe. The Sources and Meaning of the Great Transformation* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1991).
 57. On Polish intellectuals in politics, see Jacques Rupnik, 'Dissent in Poland, 1968–78: the End of Revisionism and the Rebirth of Civil Society', Rudolf L. Tokes (ed.), *Opposition in Eastern Europe* (London, Macmillan, 1979).
 58. Michael Bernhard, 'Civil Society and Democratic Transition in East Central Europe', *Political Science Quarterly* 108, 2, Summer 1993, p. 313.
 59. See Michael Bernhard, *The Origins of Democratization in Poland: Workers, Intellectuals, and Oppositional Politics, 1976–1980* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1993).
 60. On worker organization, see Jadwiga Staniszkis, *Poland's Self-Limiting Revolution* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1984); Neal Ascherson, *The Polish August. What Happened in Poland* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1981).
 61. On the church, see Suzanne Hruby, 'The Church in Poland and its Political Influence', *Journal of International Affairs* 36, 2, 1982–83, pp. 317–328.
 62. On the 'Prague Spring' see H. G. Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1976).
 63. On Charter 77 and VONS see H. G. Skilling, 'Independent Currents in Czechoslovakia', *Problems of Communism* 34, 1, January–February 1985, pp. 32–49; H. G. Skilling, *Charter 77 and Human Rights in Czechoslovakia* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1981); and H. G. Skilling, *Samizdat and an Independent Society in Central and Eastern Europe* (Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1989).
 64. On these intellectuals, see Rudolf L. Tokes, 'Hungarian Reform Imperatives', *Problems of Communism* 33, 5, September–October 1984, pp. 1–23; Tokes, *Negotiated Revolution*, Chapter 4; and George Schopflin, 'Opposition and Para-Opposition: Critical Currents in Hungary, 1968–1978', in Tokes, *Opposition*.
 65. See the quotation from Poszgay cited in M. Huber and H-G. Heinrich,

- 'Hungary – Quiet Progress?', Leslie Holmes (ed.), *The Withering Away of the State?* (London, Sage, 1981), p. 154.
66. For a discussion of this intellectual dissent, see Leslie Holmes, *Politics in the Communist World* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986) pp. 258–262 and Pedro Ramet, 'Disaffection and Dissent in East Germany', *World Politics* 35, 1, October 1984, pp. 85–111; also see Vladimir Tismaneanu, 'Nascent Civil Society in the German Democratic Republic', *Problems of Communism* 38, 2/3, March/June 1989, pp. 90–111; and Werner Volkmer, 'East Germany: Dissenting Views during the Last Decade', in Tokes, *Opposition*.
67. On the church, see Pedro Ramet, 'Church and Peace in the GDR', *Problems of Communism* 33, 4, July–August 1984, pp. 44–57; and Stephen Bowers, 'Private Institutions in Service to the State: The German Democratic Republic's Church in Socialism', *East European Quarterly* xvi, 1, 1982; and Joyce Marie Mushaben, 'Swords to Plowshares: The Church, The State, and the East German Peace Movement', *Studies in Comparative Communism* XVII, 2, Summer 1984, pp. 123–135.
68. Shoup, pp. 137–138.
69. Shoup, p. 141. Also see Mastnak.
70. This activity in Czechoslovakia was not sustained over a long continuous period either, but the scale of organization especially in 1968 outweighs this objection.
71. Some might object that this is wrong because of the dissident movement which emerged in the 1960s and was stamped out at the beginning of the 1980s. But this was always very restricted in the numbers of people it embraced, it had few links into the society at large, and unlike the Hungarian, German and Yugoslav cases discussed above, it was not accompanied by any other organized manifestation of a potential civil society. For arguments about civil society in the Soviet Union, see S. Frederick Starr, 'Soviet Union: A Civil Society', *Foreign Policy* 70, Spring 1988, pp. 26–41; T. H. Rigby, 'The USSR: End of a Long, Dark Night?', Miller; Geoffrey Hosking, *The Awakening of the Soviet Union* (London, Heinemann, 1990), Chapter 4.
72. For a similar point, see Baohui Zhang, 'Corporatism, Totalitarianism, and Transitions to Democracy', *Comparative Political Studies*, 27, 1, April 1994, pp. 108–136.

Conclusion

1. For a discussion of this, see Andreas Schedler, 'What is Democratic Consolidation?', *The Journal of Democracy* 9, 2, 1988, pp. 91–107.
2. John Higley and Richard Gunther (eds.), *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Eastern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992) p. 3.
3. Juan J. Linz, 'Transitions to Democracy', *The Washington Quarterly*

- 13, 3, Summer 1990, p. 156. Also see Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Hans-Jurgen Puhle (eds.), *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation. Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 5–10.
4. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), p. 267.
 5. Although, as Guillermo O'Donnell points out, this has focused on formal rules and ignored the importance of informal rules. Guillermo O'Donnell, 'Illusions About Consolidation', *Journal of Democracy* 7, 2, April 1996, pp. 34–51. This provoked comment and a response, *Journal of Democracy* 7, 4, October 1996, pp. 150–168. For an alternative view of consolidation, which does take in broader issues, see Adrian Leftwich, 'From Democratization to Democratic Consolidation', David Potter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh and Paul Lewis (eds.), *Democratization* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1997), pp. 524–532.
 6. Juan Linz, 'The Perils of Presidentialism', *The Journal of Democracy* 1, 1, Winter 1990, pp. 51–69.
 7. For some interventions in this debate, see Arend Lijphart (ed.), *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992); Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela (eds.), *The Failure of Presidential Democracy: Comparative Perspectives* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); M. Shugart and J. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992); Alfred Stepan and Cindy Skach, 'Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation: Parliamentarism and Presidentialism', *World Politics* 46, 1, October 1993, pp. 1–22; Scott Mainwaring, 'Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination', *Comparative Political Studies* 26, 2, 1993, pp. 198–228; Arend Lijphart, 'Constitutional Choices for New Democracies', Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Arend Lijphart and Carlos H. Waisman (eds.), *Institutional Design in New Democracies. Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Boulder, Westview Press, 1996).
 8. For example, Andre Blais and Stephane Dion, 'Electoral Systems and the Consolidation of Democracies', Diane Ethier (ed.), *Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Southern Europe, Latin America and Southeast Asia* (London, Macmillan, 1990).
 9. For example, Alex MacLeod, 'The Parties and Consolidation of Democracy in Portugal: The Emergence of a Dominant Two-Party System', Ethier; Renato R. Boschi, 'Social Movements, Party Systems and Democratic Consolidation: Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina', Ethier; Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully (eds.), *Building Democratic Institutions. Party Systems in Latin America* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1995); Geoffrey Pridham and

- Paul G. Lewis (eds.), *Stabilising Fragile Democracies. Comparing New Party Systems in Southern and Eastern Europe* (London, Routledge, 1996).
10. For an explicit case, see Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, 'Political Crafting of Democratic Consolidation or Destruction: Europe and South American Comparisons', Robert A. Pastor (ed.), *Democracy in the Americas. Stopping the Pendulum* (New York, Holmes and Meier, 1989).
 11. David Collier and Steven Levitsky, 'Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research', *World Politics* 49, 3, April 1997, pp. 430–451. Also see J. Samuel Valenzuela, 'Democratic Consolidation in Post-Transitional Settings: Notion, Process and Facilitating Conditions', Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela (eds.), *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective* (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), pp. 62–70.
 12. For the argument that in discussing consolidation, the definition of democracy should be related to minimal conditions because no democracy can ever achieve the ideal that is associated with maximalist conditions, see Valenzuela, pp. 59–60.
 13. Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 5–6.
 14. Linz and Stepan, *Problems ...*, p. 5.
 15. Larry Diamond, 'Introduction: In Search of Consolidation', Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu and Hung-mao Tien (eds.), *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies. Themes and Perspectives* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. xix.
 16. For example, Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Boston, Little Brown and Co., 1965); Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 124–162; Roland Pennock, *Democratic Political Theory* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979); Larry Diamond (ed.), *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries* (Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 1993).
 17. For example, Larry Diamond, 'Toward Democratic Consolidation', *Journal of Democracy* 5, 3, July 1994, pp. 4–17; and Diamond, 'Introduction ...', pp. xxx–xxxii.
 18. Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi, 'What Makes Democracies Endure?', *Journal of Democracy* 7, 1, January 1996, pp. 39–55. As well as the economic factors noted above, the authors identified a democratic structure, favourable international climate, and parliamentary institutions.

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Index

- Albania 206–7, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 222, 229, 230–1
- Argentina 11, 12, 21, 25–6, 35, 36, 55, 56, 62, 66, 70, 84, 92, 93, 171–4, 177, 179–80, 182, 186
- Bolivia 21, 34, 51, 53, 69, 145–50, 179, 182–3, 184, 187
- bourgeoisie 4, 96–115, 116, 217–23, 258
- Brazil 10, 11, 15, 21, 26, 29, 34, 50, 53, 54–5, 68, 85, 93, 116, 136–41, 146, 171, 172–3, 177, 178, 183–4
- breakdown (of regime) 8–42, 83–5
- Bulgaria 203–5, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 222, 229, 230–1
- business 11, 12, 14–16, 35–6, 37, 130–1, 139, 157, 158, 168
- Chile 11, 12–13, 26, 27, 29, 54, 55–6, 67, 68, 92, 93, 141–5, 146, 150, 154, 171, 172–3, 176, 184
- church 20, 65, 130, 143, 200, 219, 225, 227
- civil society 4–7, 18, 57, 58–62, 72, 74, 75, 82–3, 94–5, 109, 112, 116, 117–23, 124–88, 190, 216–34, 240–2, 244, 250, 267
- forces 6, 7, 37, 59–60, 94–5, 117–23, 124–88, 210, 215, 216–34, 240–2
- communist regimes 1, 19, 20, 21, 25, 28, 40, 63, 84, 92, 94–5, 97–8, 99, 105, 189–234
- comparative historical sociology 90–120, 233–4
- consolidation (of democracy) 8, 235–42
- culture 2, 3–4, 91
- Czechoslovakia 59, 191, 194, 198–9, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 220, 223, 225–6, 228, 229, 230–1
- democracy 7, 86–8, 107, 235–42
- East Germany 59, 191, 199–201, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 220–1, 223, 226–7, 228, 229, 230–1
- Eastern Europe 1, 2, 21, 53–4, 65, 93, 99, 189–234
- economic dependence 14, 21–3
- economic development 2–5, 14–18, 35–8, 95–119, 128–9, 157, 161, 168, 190, 229, 239, 244
- economic difficulties 9, 10–13, 14, 15, 17, 34, 38, 40, 84, 136, 130, 139, 142, 151, 172, 198, 201–2, 203, 205
- elections 45, 56, 57, 61, 74–5, 78, 83, 133–4, 135, 136–7, 139, 141, 144, 147–8, 149, 151, 152–3, 156, 157, 158, 160, 165, 167, 169, 173, 178, 195, 197, 199, 200–1, 202, 204, 205–6, 207, 236
- elite disunity 9, 11–12, 18, 25–33, 34, 40–1, 45, 49–52, 83, 93, 125, 143, 169, 182, 187, 200, 202, 203, 208, 211, 230–2
- elites 7, 25–33, 43–79, 80–95, 113–14, 116, 117–23, 124–7, 174–88, 197, 210–11, 212, 229, 230–4, 237–42

- European Community 63, 64–5, 128, 129, 161
- Greece 1, 21, 24, 26, 34–5, 36, 51, 55, 56, 62, 64, 65, 67, 70, 84, 93, 167–71, 173, 177, 179, 182, 186
- human rights 19, 63, 172, 198, 225, 226
- Hungary 194, 196–7, 199, 201, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219–20, 223, 226, 227, 228, 229, 232
- individual leadership 25, 27, 40–1, 62, 66–7, 92, 146–7
- infection 21, 65–6
- international influences 10, 15, 18–25, 34, 62–6, 78, 105–6, 110, 130, 136, 160, 172
- Korea (South) 10, 59, 66, 69, 93, 156–60, 177, 179, 185
- labour unions 4, 13, 17, 60, 61, 86–7, 94, 116, 118–19, 131, 137, 142–3, 145, 147, 153–4, 162, 164, 179, 180–1, 182, 203, 204
- landowners 14–15, 36, 97–114, 160, 217–23
- legitimation 12, 16, 28, 32–3, 193–4
- liberalization 9, 34, 45, 46–9, 50, 51, 58, 59–60, 61, 119, 125, 130, 136–7, 168–9, 175, 185, 194, 196, 203, 207, 232
- middle class 4, 15, 107–13, 139–40, 143, 158, 159, 217–23
- military 14, 25, 26, 27, 29, 34, 39, 50, 51, 54–5, 56, 76, 77, 78, 91–2, 93, 128, 132, 134, 135, 136–41, 141–5, 145–50, 150–6, 156–60, 160–7, 167–71, 171–4, 183–4, 185, 186, 202, 206
- mobilization (popular) 9, 11, 13–18, 34, 37, 38–9, 40, 45, 57, 59, 60, 78, 82–7, 104, 106, 111–12, 131, 132, 137, 140, 142–3, 146, 147, 148, 153–4, 155, 157, 158, 159, 163, 165–6, 169, 171–2, 173, 176, 178–9, 183, 184, 185, 187, 194–5, 198, 199, 200, 201–2, 203, 204, 207, 209, 211–12, 224, 225–6, 227, 230, 231
- Moore, Barrington Jr 95–107, 109, 114, 118
- oil shock (1973) 10, 21, 23, 130, 136
- pacts 45, 52–8, 94–5, 134, 135, 137, 138, 155, 156, 164–5
- path dependence 71–9, 89–90
- Poland 18, 20, 59, 92, 93, 194–6, 198, 21, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 223, 224–5, 228, 229, 231–2
- political parties 6, 14, 17–18, 25, 26, 45, 55–6, 57, 59–61, 64, 65, 86–7, 92, 94, 111–12, 116, 119, 130–5, 137–41, 142–5, 145–50, 150–6, 156–60, 161–7, 169–71, 171–4, 179, 180–1, 183, 184, 185, 186, 195–6, 196–7, 198–9, 200–1, 202, 203–4, 205–6, 207, 210
- popular sector 4, 15, 16–18, 36–8, 57, 82–5, 125–6, 131, 140, 191, 193, 194, 211–12, 230–4, 238–9
- Portugal 1, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 56, 64, 65, 66, 70, 85, 92, 93, 130, 160–7, 169, 170, 173, 177, 178, 182, 185
- presidentialism (and parliamentarism) 236–7
- Romania 59, 201–2, 212, 213, 214, 216, 217, 218, 221, 222, 229, 230, 231
- Round Table talks 194–5, 197, 199, 200, 203–4

- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich *et al.*
106–14, 118
- Russia 222–3
- Soviet Union 1, 17, 22, 23, 84, 176,
191, 193, 194, 205, 208–10,
211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216,
217, 227, 228, 229, 232–3
- Spain 1, 21, 24, 25–6, 28, 53, 55,
56, 58, 64, 66, 67, 68, 92, 93,
128–36, 162, 173, 176, 179,
182, 183
- transition 1, 8–9, 43–79, 80–95,
124–7, 174–88, 189–211,
229–34, 245, 254–5, 258–9,
265–6
- literature 7, 8, 43–79, 80–95,
212
- through extrication 69–70, 127,
145–60, 174
- through replacement 70–1, 127,
160–74
- through transaction 68–9,
124–7, 128–45, 174
- Uruguay 2, 26, 54, 55, 58, 64, 66,
69, 93, 150–6, 171, 172–3, 176,
178, 179, 184–5
- USA 19, 23, 24, 63, 64, 160
- war 8, 18, 19, 74, 100
- waves of democratization 1–2, 8,
20, 21, 243
- working class 4, 16–18, 104,
108–13, 115–16, 129, 142–3,
145, 147, 148, 159, 161, 163,
165, 217–23, 224–5, 258
- Yugoslavia 24, 27, 191, 205–6,
211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217,
218, 221, 227, 228, 229, 232