

**BABEȘ-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY**  
**Faculty of History and Philosophy**

**International Relations and Security Studies Doctoral School**

**Doctoral thesis**

\*\*\*

***DEMOCRATIZATION OF STATES FROM CENTRAL  
AND EASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE FALL OF THE  
IRON CURTAIN***

Doctoral supervisor,  
**Professor Michael SHAFIR, Ph.D.**

Author,  
**Flavius Cristian MĂRCĂU**

**Cluj-Napoca**  
**2016**

## CONTENT

<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	4
<b>I . DEMOCRATIZATION, DEMOCRACY AND CONSOLIDATION - CONCEPTUAL DELIMITATIONS</b> .....	11
I.1. WHAT IS DEMOCRATIZATION?.....	11
I.2. WHAT WERE THE REASONS FOR DEMOCRATIZATION?.....	13
I.3. HOW CAN BE EXPLAIN THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM.....	15
I.4. STAGES OF DEMOCRATIZATION .....	17
I.5. STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY .....	29
<b>II. DEFINITIONS AND HONORS: DEMOCRATIC REGIMES AND UNDEMOCRATIC REGIMES</b> .....	33
II.1 WHAT IS NOT DEMOCRACY? .....	33
II.1.1. AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES .....	34
II.1.2. TOTALITARIAN REGIMES .....	37
II.1.3. SULTAN REGIMES .....	40
II.1.4. POST-TOTALITARIAN REGIMES .....	43
II.2 DEMOCRATIC REGIMES .....	45
<b>III. NECESSITY OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN COMMUNIST STATES</b> .....	51
III.1. WHY HAVE OCCURRED TRANSITION? .....	53
III.1.1. GORBACIOV EFFECT.....	55
III.1.2. COMPARED PROSPERITY OF WEST TO EASTERN .....	61
III.1.3. ECONOMIC CRISIS OF THE TOTALITARIAN REGIME .....	63
III.1.4. BIRTH OF SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION .....	68
III.1.5. WESTERN INFLUENCES AND DOMINO EFFECT .....	73
III.2 WHAT KIND OF DEMOCRATS TAKE SHAPE? .....	76
III.3. HOW CAN WE EXPLAIN THE POLITICAL CRISIS AND VARIOUS POST - COMMUNIST TRAJECTORIES? .....	80
<b>IV. 1989 - THE FALL OF COMMUNIST REGIMES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE</b> .....	85
IV.1 REVOLUTION OF "THE TEN YEARS" FROM POLAND .....	89
IV.2 REVOLUTION OF "THE TEN MONTHS" FROM HUNGARY .....	95
IV.3 "NEGOTIATE" REVOLUTION FROM BULGARIA .....	99
IV.4 REVOLUTION OF "THE TEN WEEKS" FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA .....	101
IV.5 REVOLUTION IN R. D. GERMAN .....	105
IV.6 REVOLUTION OF "TEN HOURS" FROM ROMANIA .....	108
IV.7. MODALITY TO TRANSFER POWER .....	119
<b>V. ECONOMIC TRANSITION BETWEEN POLITICAL DECISION OF POST-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS AND COLLECTIVIST MENTALITY</b> .....	123
V.1. ECONOMY .....	125
V.1.1. RELINQUISHMENT OF PLANNED ECONOMY .....	129
V.1.2. WAYS TO CHANGE ECONOMY.....	133
V.1.3. WHAT CAN BE REFORMED? .....	135

V.1.4. MARKETISATION .....	137
V.1.5. PRIVATIZATION .....	139
V.1.6. FOREIGN INVESTMENT PROGRAMS.....	143
V.1.7. UNEMPLOYMENT .....	145
V.1.8. THE FORMATION OF NEW CLASSES OF OWNERS FROM FORMER COMMUNISTS.....	149
V.2 MENTALITY. COMMUNIST LEGACY AND THEIR NEGATIVE IMPACT .....	152
V.2.1. DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES .....	153
V.2.2. MISTRUST OF THE POPULATION IN THE NEW POLITICAL CLASS .....	157
V.2.3. FEAR OF ASSOCIATION .....	159
V.2.4. TENDENCY OF BREAKING THE LAW AND CORRUPTION.....	160
V.2.5. NOSTALGIC MEMORY .....	162
<b>VI. CASE STUDY: HEAVINESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS FOLLOWING THE SOCIAL PROTESTS IN ROMANIA IN EARLY 90S .....</b>	<b>165</b>
VI.1. THE FIRST SIGNS OF DISCONTENT .....	167
VI.2. THE MINERS' RAMPAGE FROM 13 TO 15 JUNE 1990 .....	172
VI.3. REPRESSION JUSTIFICATION .....	180
VI.4. ECHOES IN WESTERN PRESS AND THEIR EFFECT .....	181
VI.5. HINDERS DEMOCRATIZATION .....	184
VI.6. CONCLUSIONS .....	185
<b>CONCLUSIONS .....</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>APPENDIX .....</b>	<b>192</b>
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>198</b>

**KEYWORDS:** COMMUNISM, POSTCOMMUNISM, DEMOCRATIZATION, DEMOCRACY, TOTALITARIAN REGIME, CENTRAL EUROPE, EASTERN EUROPE

26-year anniversary of the fall of communism in most countries of Central and Eastern Europe, has led us to look at this Faraway event and also close. Communism as totalitarian regime, is black part in history thanks to brutal methods and the large number of victims that he has made over time. A black stain who could not be removed many years after the implosion of the totalitarian regime and still is felt at the level of mentality.

The present study aims to highlight the ways in which states Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, East Germany and Romania, would implement democratic regime that has made its presence felt, as a consolation, among the few defenders of liberalism and democracy political. For them, highlight Jean-Francois Revel, replacing communism with a political democracy, represent an absolute priority, *"which could not be subordinated to any*

*other objective and without which, moreover, they thought, no other objective could be achieved: neither prosperity nor justice, no peace"*<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, our approach examines the most important event of the Second World War, namely the democratization of the former Soviet bloc and the implosion of a regime more than four decades has demonstrated that it can only work closely with excessive authority, strongly felt among citizens.

Need to create a democratic regime was found at the individual level, outlining the idea that every citizen is entitled to live in dignity, tolerance and respect. Through our study, we explain how, through a combination of positive factors has generated the opportunity for change, using the process of democratization. Specifically, we highlight the steps that led to the fall of the communist regime. If for democracy, Jean Grugel considers that there is a list of options that, once elected, to necessarily lead to establishment of a democratic<sup>2</sup> regime , we decided to develop a theory that includes various steps that need to be taken into account to achieve it through the process democratization.

We will highlight what a democratic system based on the question: *democratic in relation to what?* Over time theories were launched on the characteristics of a democratic regime. Douglas Rae outlines the idea of *majority rule* in the state properties; but we can state that this is enough? Felix Oppenheim is considering participation feature, but according to Giovanni Sartori's, would be justified to consider *that "the full democracy that ever existed was China during the so-called cultural revolution"*.<sup>3</sup>

Imposing a conceptual boundary regimes, we managed to minimize the difficulties by creating a comparison between democratic and undemocratic regimes, developing along the different situations that we have highlighted the main features of democracy.

Regarding *the thesis structure and bibliography* from its base, in order to elaborate our study, we considered a model structure from the early 1980s, reaching the 1995 level, debating on six chapters the concept of *democratization*; comparison between democratic and undemocratic regimes; need to democratize the communist states; the fall of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe; socioeconomic aspects, political, mentality and development of

---

<sup>1</sup> Jean-Francois Revel, *Revirimentul democrației*, Humanitas, București, 1995, p. 9

<sup>2</sup> Jean Grugel, *Democratizarea*, Polirom, Iași, 2008, p. 15

<sup>3</sup> Giovanni Sartori, *Teoria democrației reinterpretată*, Polirom, Iași, 1999, p.178

security after leaving communism and I finished it a case study in which we describe hinders democratization in Romania as a result of social protests in the early 90's.

In the first chapter, entitled *Democratisation, Democracy and Consolidation* - conceptual delimitations, we offer an explanation of the terms democratization and democratic consolidation and develop a theory from the studies of authors Gianfranco Pasquino, *Course of political science*; Robert Dahl, *On Democracy*; Raymond Aron, *Democracy and Totalitarianism*; Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, *Modernization: theories and facts*; and others by which we create a set of necessary steps that a state should take in order to establishing democracy - general steps, one in the other sequence, will lead to stability, rights, plurality, freedom, equality, etc.

Also, the description was imposed *democratic consolidation* process aimed at implementing simple consideration that democracy is not enough for the regime to resist in time . Linz and Stepan highlights in the article "The road to a consolidated democracy" need to strengthen of democracy saying that "*in many cases the elections were free and competitive, the government resulting from such elections lacks both the power of "de jure "as and the «de facto» to determine policies in many areas significant because executive, legislative and judicial decisively still constrained by a gear made up of "reserved areas", "military prerogatives" or "authoritarian enclaves".*"<sup>4</sup>

Continuing our study, we chose in the second chapter, *Definitions and distinctions: democratic and undemocratic regimes*, to highlight by contrast the differences between democratic and undemocratic regimes, based on the question *What is not democracy ?*. In this sense, using the theory *a contrario*, we wanted to show opposites of democratic regime, and the benefits it brings in a state. Chapter structure is not only present the main features of each type of regime in part, but the reframing of countries into a different category<sup>5</sup> in terms of regime that they knew.

The need for democratization issues we discussed it in the third chapter, *Necessity for democratization in communist states*, taking as its starting point the idea that the communist regime perished through his own fault; thus, we have highlighted throughout the three chapters,

---

<sup>4</sup> Juan Linz, Alfred Stepan, „Drumul spre o democrație consolidată”, in Larry Diamond, Yun-han Chu, Marc F. Plattner, Hung-mao Tien, *Cum se consolidează democrația*, Polirom, Iași, 2004, p. 51

<sup>5</sup> Linz and Stepan considers that Romania must be classified as Sultan regime. We, by the analysis, we demonstrated that Romania has experienced totalitarian regime and not one Sultan. We also emphasized that decomunized states in Central and Eastern Europe have experienced post-totalitarian regimes (as they are described by Linz and Stepan)

the reasons which led to the implosion of communism; issues that led to the transition to democracy; type of democracy took shape and offered an explanation of the political crisis and post-communist different trajectories.

It is interesting to note how, initially, the negative aspects that have contributed to the destabilization of the totalitarian regime, have turned positive aspects were found at the base of democratization states. Different authors have identified a number of problems that were at the origin of the collapse of the communist regime. For example, Ralf Dahrendorf, in his paper, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe*, envisages three reasons why totalitarian regime was unable longer to survive: 1) Gorbachev regime; 2) impossibility of the communist regime to survive; 3) the prosperity of the West in comparison whit Soviet Union. In *Preparing for the Twenty-First Century*, Paul Kennedy, has identified the same number of reasons, but those reasons relate to the domains: 1) legitimacy; 2) economy and 3) culture and ethnicity, and Ken Jowitt, in the book *New world order. Leninist extinction*, starts from the idea that regime collapse is due to: 1) the renunciation of Khrushchev in the class struggle; 2) neo-traditionalizing Soviet policy by Brezhnev; 3) appearance of the Solidarity trade union; 4) The relativization of the absolute party (Lenin) by Gorbachev. However, from our point of view, and after studying numerous papers dealing with this issue, I pulled out five reasons that have contributed to the fall of communism: 1) the effect Gorbachev; 2) West's prosperity compared to the East; 3) economic crisis of the communist regime; 4) The appearance the Solidarity trade union and 5) and Western influences domino effect. Besides explaining the reasons stated above, we provided an explanation of the different trajectories of post-communist states, presenting issues that led to this phenomenon.

Reaching *the end* of the communist regime, in the fourth chapter, *1989 - the fall of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe*, we treated the issue revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe in terms of time, but without diminishing the importance of Poland in the sequence of events in the former Soviet bloc. Polish trade union *Solidarity* has played a crucial role in the '80s, culminating *roundtable negotiation* between the Communists and the opposition. It was the first case where communism failed, proving that it is no longer able to be able to manage a crisis, preferring instead to negotiate prominence of old ways based on force. We will observe in this chapter how Poland triggered a *positive contamination* remaining communist states which, by the end of '89, will have been liberated from communist dictatorship, producing

*a clear domino effect*. But a particular case, as regards these antitotalitarian revolutions, represent Romania, and this is largely due to the bloody events of December 1989. The number of dead and wounded during these events was extremely high compared to the rest antitotalitarian revolutions in communist countries.

If our approach to date covered the period before '89, in the fifth chapter, called *Economic transition between political decision of post-communist governments and collectivist mentality*, treat only the period after 1989, the communist regime is no more. We describe the process of democratization of the economic sector focusing on market transformation mechanisms and show how negative legacies that were felt in post-communism, led to the construction of politics and economics in the early years of freedom.

The last chapter of the present research is a case of study who treats the subject of Romania in the early years of the fall of communism, entitled *Heaviness of democratization process following the social protests in Romania in early 90s*. December 1989 gave the opportunity of reconfiguration of the political scene by replacing communism with a democratic system, but in the case of Romania things were not so simple, largely due to social protests emerged in 1990 as dissatisfaction with the new provisional government and how its action. The peculiarity is that if Romania is to be found precisely in the fact that post-Communist leaders have shown a reluctance by the opposition of new political parties. Moreover, the demonstrations were repressed aggression worthy of a totalitarian regime in violation of human rights by official use of excessive force by the participants in repression. Besides these aspects, we have demonstrated slowing down the process of democratization, and his delay, including showing negative aspects that were felt on the international stage.

The urgency of the theme that I have proposed, given that we are contemporaries of that period, or born then, is a point of interest due to the fact that 1989 marked the collapse of the communist regime that survived more than four decades.

References in this field is a vast one, we managed to go through a large part of many books and articles written on the subject, selecting those that have presented arguments defined so we can argue their vision on the process of democratization in Central and east, leaning on us with a special interest countries Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Romania. In the present research we have considered selecting those authors who can be considered the reference in this field: Juan Linz, Alfred Stephan, Gianfranco Pasquino, Robert

Dahl, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Robert E. Goodin, Guillermo A. O'Donnell, Jean Grugel, Giovanni Sartori, Grzegorz Ekiert, Stephen E. Hanson, Jean-Francois Revel, Michael Shafir, Adrian Gorun, Catalin Zamfir, Raymond Aron, Leslie Holmes, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Ken Jowitt, Vladimir Tismaneanu, Hannah Arendt, Domenico Fisichella, Chantal Millon-Delsol, Carl J. Friedrich, Max Weber, E. Chehab, Pierre Manent, and others.

In terms of *objectives / research hypotheses*, we considered:

- Focusing on providing a framework both theoretically and analytically, the rebuilding process of democratization in Central and Eastern Europe.
- Dealing with a subject that concerns the recent history of Central and Eastern Europe, and the bibliography that I used it consists of authors of reference for this area, they have developed various theories to make the transition from totalitarianism and authoritarianism to democracy. The novelty of our study lies precisely in the fact that some of these works of reference do not folds on the case of postcommunist <sup>6</sup>states, we managed to demonstrate this. Thus, with these works we developed a *pattern* that can underpin a transition where the state suddenly out of a totalitarian or authoritarian system.
- Development of critic spirit and analytical and systematic skills , specific to a specialist in International Relations and European Studies.
- The presentation of a credible recent history regarding the fall of communism in the six states listed above and the steps that they have completed the process of market liberalization and the implementation of democracy.
- Finally, through the case study that we approached, we wanted to verify the theory that we developed, showing how state we choose experienced a slowdown of democratization, because of failure to comply steps needed it .

*The research methodology* was complex, based on multi-disciplinary; thus, in this study, I appealed to the critical examination and rigorous bibliographical sources *by correlation and comparison*, managed to observe the differences and similarities of historical information that we could extract and presented arguments.

Establish *cause-effect* relationships (method of causality) in the study of democratization of the postcommunist allowed us to outline the framework within which democratization was

---

<sup>6</sup> For example: the book *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1996, written by Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, which deals with the issue of post-totalitarian regimes in some decomunized states, not find their applicability

possible, but also to understand in depth the process performed following the events that succeeded in 1989 and It led to the establishment of democracy in Member decomunized. Not only factors we consider the economic, political, but also the psychology and behavior of people. Thus, according to March Bloch<sup>7</sup>, in terms of multiple causation, it must offer an answer to the question *why?* - Why it was possible democratization?

By *document analysis*<sup>8</sup> method (official documents, statistics, data obtained during studies, press materials, etc.) we were able to better understand social phenomena, political and economic level decomunized states. Our goal was to develop this study based on consistency and clarity, and in this case we used the *descriptive analysis*, without missing the *hybridization methodology* (interdisciplinary methodology) given the multiplicity of areas underlying the present research, and makes little *qualitative hermeneutics*<sup>9</sup> of different situations and events that occurred in Central and Eastern Europe before and after the fall of communism. Regarding case studies, *hermeneutics of documents* allowed us to form a precise vision of the events that occurred in Romania in early 90s.

Besides the methods described above, we appealed to the work of memoirs and autobiographies written by former leaders who found themselves on the political stage or were made notice during antitotalitarian revolutions. Regarding such sources, we should mention that we can not consider all testimony, whereas memoirs may face a high degree of subjectivity, but corroborating them with official documents, deeds and other papers that deal with the same subject, I could, we believe, extract authentic facts.

---

<sup>7</sup> Marc Bloch, *Pledoarie pentru istorie*, Editura Tribuna, Cluj-Napoca, 2007

<sup>8</sup> Sorin Dan Sandor, „Metode si tehnici de cercetare în științele sociale”, <http://www.apubb.ro/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Suport-MTCS-Ro.pdf>, accessed 4/4/2015

<sup>9</sup> See Jerzy Topolsky, *Metodologia istoriei*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1987