Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, "When Europeanization Meets Transformation: Lessons from the Unfinished Eastern European Revolutions", in Valerie Bunce et. al (editors), *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*, pp. 59-81, Cambridge University Press 2010

In Chapter 3 from the anthology *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*, edited by Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss and published by the Cambridge University Press, Alina Mungiu-Pippidi authors an article in Part II of the book ("Encouraging Democracy: The Role of the European Union"), titled "When Europeanization Meets Transformation: Lessons from the Unfinished Eastern European Revolutions".

The article argues that the EU's smart power (defined by the EU enlargement commissioner Oli Rehn as a combination of hard and soft power, the use of "the whole spectrum of our policy instruments and economic resources") is an extremely complex process, and according to domestic and/or European circumstances, one or the other of its mechanisms is activated. However, because the mechanisms are not equally effectively, one cannot expect smart power to work similarly everywhere, particularly because countries with difficult transitions are left behind and accumulate over time. The focus of the article is on difficult Eastern European transitions (the so-called Southeastern European countries, namely Romania, Albania, Bulgaria, and the former Yugoslavia) and on making a comparison between these and other transitions made under relatively similar circumstances in terms of European proximity. The article proposes a model of the Southeastern European transition, reviews the evidence of the EU's impact in crucial areas for this model (nation- and state-building) and finally proposes a more developmental approach to understanding when and how EU smart power works.

- Thomas F. Remington, Goodrich C. White Professor of Political Science, Emory University

"Necessary reading for all who seek to understand what has happened to democracy in the 29 postcommunist states, these exceptional essays by leading experts balance nuanced interpretations of the particularities of individual regimes with comparative insights that speak to all students of regime dynamics – particularly on the complexity, diversity, and instability of mixed or hybrid regimes and the decisive role that local democrats or authoritarians can play when they can draw on the resources offered by regional and global allies."

- Philip G. Roeder, University of California, San Diego

Valerie Bunce is the Aaron Binenkorb Professor of International Studies and Professor of Government at Cornell University. Bunce is the author, most recently, of Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Collapse of Socialism and the State (Cambridge University Press, 1999), and her articles have appeared in the American Political Science Review, Comparative Politics, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Politics and Society, and International Organization, together with a variety of area-based journals and edited volumes.

Michael McFaul is the Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and Professor of Political Science at Stanford University. He is also a nonresident Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His contributions to this book were made before joining the U. S. government as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Russia and Eurasian Affairs at the National Security Council in the administration of President Barack Obama in January 2009. The views reflected in this publication are his alone and in no way represent or reflect U.S. government policy. He is the author and editor of several monographs, most recently Revolution in Orange: The Origins of Ukraine's Democratic Breakthrough (with Anders Åslund, 2006), Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Postcommunist Political Reform (with Nikolai Petrov and Andrei Ryabov, 2004), and After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transitions (with Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, 2004).

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss is Deputy Director and Senior Research Scholar at the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. She is the author of Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia (Cambridge University Press, 2006) and Local Heroes: The Political Economy of Russian Regional Governance (1997). She is also coeditor of After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transitions with Michael McFaul (Cambridge University Press, 2004). Her articles on contemporary Russia have appeared most recently in Foreign Affairs, Publius, Current History, Journal of Democracy, and Politics and Society.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS www.cambridge.org

ISBN 978-0-521-13308-1

Stoner-Weiss

DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM in the POSTCOMMUNIST WORLD

Valerie Bunce,
Michael McFaul,
Kathryn Stoner-Weiss

DEMOCRACY AND
AUTHORITARIANISM in the
POSTCOMMUNIST WORLD

GIME

Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World

Edited by

VALERIE BUNCE

Cornell University

MICHAEL McFAUL

Stanford University

KATHRYN STONER-WEISS

Stanford University



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521133081

© Cambridge University Press 2010

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2010

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Democracy and authoritarianism in the postcommunist world / edited by Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, Kathryn Stoner-Weiss.

p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-521-11598-8 (hardback) – ISBN 978-0-521-13308-1 (pbk.)

1. Former communist countries – Politics and government. 2. Democracy –
Former communist countries. 3. Authoritarianism – Former communist countries. I. Bunce, Valerie, 1949 – II. McFaul, Michael, 1963 –
III. Stoner-Weiss, Kathryn, 1965 – IV. Title
JN96.A58D423 2010
320.9171'7 – dc22 2009019255

ISBN 978-0-521-11598-8 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-13308-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

Prologue: Waves and Troughs of Democracy and Dictatorship Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss	<i>page</i> vii
PART I. WAVES OF REGIME CHANGE: FROM DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACYAND BACK?	
 The Missing Variable: The "International System" as the Link between Third and Fourth Wave Models of Democratization Michael McFaul 	3
2. A Regional Tradition: The Diffusion of Democratic Change under Communism and Postcommunism Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik	30
PART II. ENCOURAGING DEMOCRACY: THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION	
3. When Europeanization Meets Transformation: Lessons from the Unfinished Eastern European Revolutions Alina Mungiu-Pippidi	59
4. Democratization in Postcommunist Europe: Illiberal Regimes and the Leverage of the European Union <i>Milada Anna Vachudova</i>	82
PART III. CHOOSING REGIME CHANGE: DEMOCRATIZING ELECTIONS	
5. A Postcommunist Transition in Two Acts: The 1996–7 Antigovernment Struggle in Bulgaria as a Bridge between the 1989–92 and 1996–2007 Democratization Waves in	
Eastern Europe Tsveta Petrova	107

6. Defining and Domesticating the Electoral Model: A Comparison of Slovakia and Serbia Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik	134
 Georgia's Rose Revolution: From Regime Weakness to Regime Collapse Cory Welt 	155
8. Importing Revolution: Internal and External Factors in Ukraine's 2004 Democratic Breakthrough Michael McFaul	189
PART IV. RESISTING REFORM: BACKSLIDING DEMOCRACIES AND ENDURING AUTOCRACIES	
 Resistance to Contagion: Sources of Authoritarian Stability in the Former Soviet Union Lucan Way 	229
10. Comparing Oranges and Apples: The Internal and External Dimensions of Russia's Turn away from Democracy <i>Kathryn Stoner-Weiss</i>	253
11. Contagion Deterred: Preemptive Authoritarianism in the Former Soviet Union (the Case of Belarus) Vitali Silitski	274
12. A Horse of a Different Color: Revolution and Regression in Kyrgyzstan Scott Radnitz	300
Epilogue: The Changing Character of the Global Struggle for Democracy Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss	325
Index	337