

# 7. Transition to the end of history

# Required and recommended texts to read

- Hanley, Seán. Intro and The right in post-communist Europe. of Ch. 1. **(Getting the right right in post-communist Europe)** In: *The New Right in the New Europe: Czech Transformation and Right-Wing Politics, 1989-2006*. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015. pp. 1-8.
- Przeworski, Adam: **The "East" Becomes the "South"?** The "Autumn of the People" and the Future of Eastern Europe. *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Mar., 1991), pp. 20-24
- Bruszt, László, and George K. Horvath. **"1989: The Negotiated Revolution in Hungary."** *Social Research* 57, no. 2 (1990): 365–87.
- Ágh, Attila. Radical Party System Changes In Five East-Central European States: **Eurosceptic and Populist Parties on the Move in the 2010s.** *Baltic Journal of Political Science*. December 2015, No. 4.
- Janos, Andrew C.: **From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony:** East Central Europe Under Two International Regimes. *East European Politics and Societies: and Cultures*. Vol 15, Issue 2, 2001

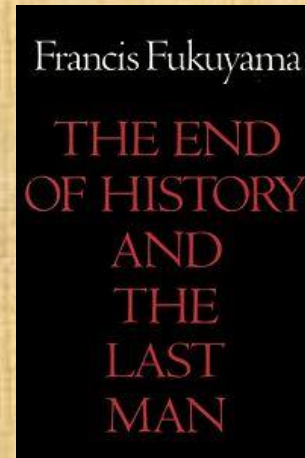
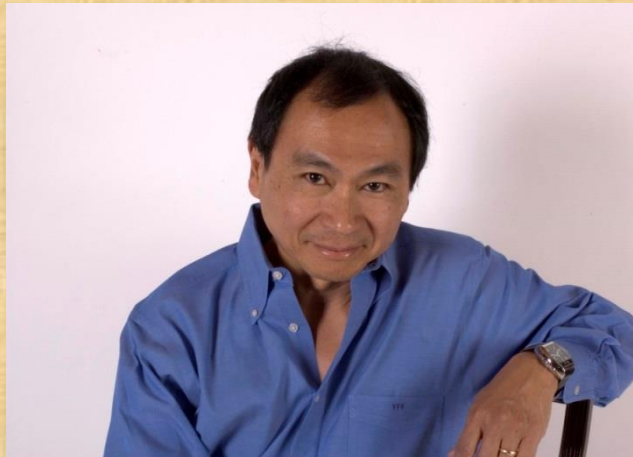
1989 – Annus Mirabilis

What happened actually?

1989 – Annus Mirabilis  
What happened actually?

The end of  
history arrived

Francis  
Fukuyama  
1952-



1992

*„What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the **universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.**”*

Francis Fukuyama: The End of History? National Interest, Summer, 1989



# 1989 – Annus Mirabilis

## What happened actually?

# The Iron Curtain fell



Berlin, 1989.  
november

Near Sopron,  
1989. June





1989 – Annus Mirabilis  
What happened actually?

The Iron Curtain fell –  
Was it even there?



Berlin, 1989.  
November



Near Sopron,  
1989. June

1989 – Annus Mirabilis  
What happened actually?

The end of  
Communism





# 1989 – Annus Mirabilis

## What happened actually?

# Triumph of the West



Churchill's copy of secret agreement with Stalin  
made in Moscow, October, 1944.

Roumania	Russia	90%
	The others	10%
Greece	G. Balkans	90%
	The other Balkans	10%
Yugoslavia		50/50?
Hungary		50/50?
Bulgaria	Russia	75%
	The others	25%

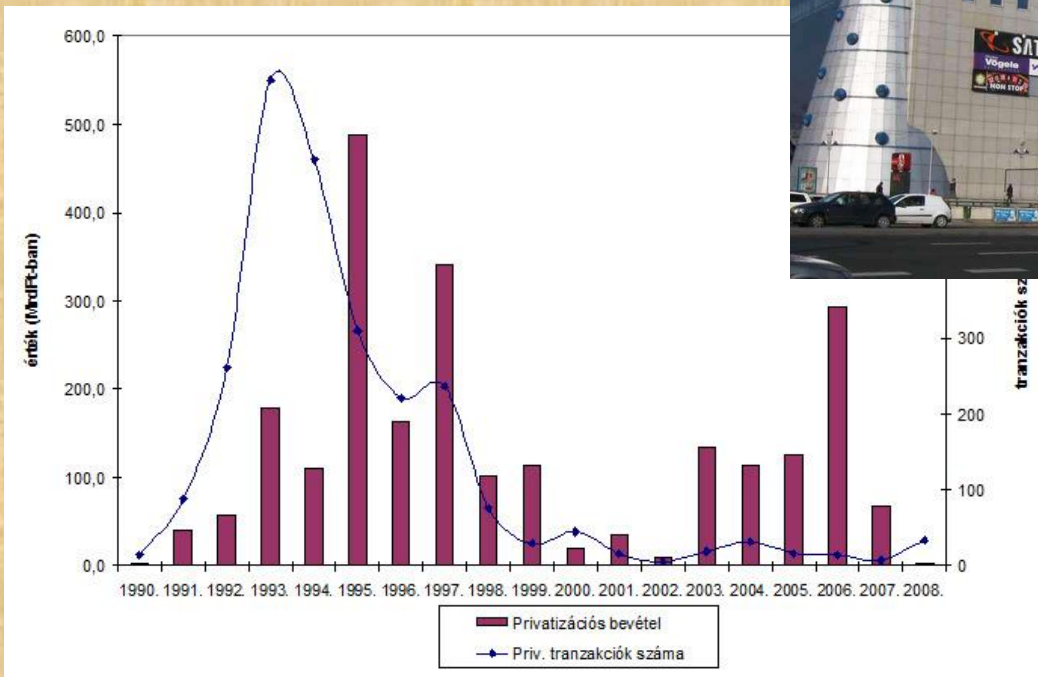


*„While the paradise of full communism remained pie in the sky, the consumer paradise of western capitalism was fully visible in the shop windows of Paris, Vienna, and Berlin.” (Janos 2001: 247)*



# 1989 – Annus Mirabilis What happened actually?

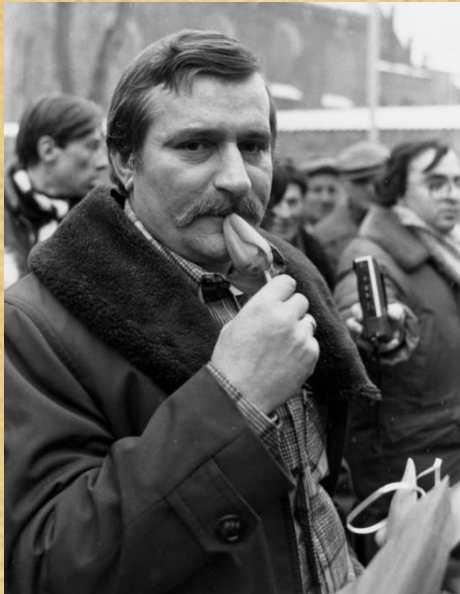
# The end of central planning



„... what died in Eastern Europe is the idea of rationally administering things to satisfy human needs” (Przeworski 1991: 22)

1989 – Annus Mirabilis  
What happened actually?

The end of  
dictatorship



**Transition:**  
from authoritarianism to democracy



# Transitology approach

- 1.) any country moving *away* from dictatorial rule can be considered a country in transition *toward* democracy
- 2.) democratization tends to unfold in a set sequence of stages: opening, breakthrough, consolidation
- 3.) elections equal democracy
- 4.) underlying conditions in transitional countries (economy, history, institutions, ethnic make-up, traditions, ...) will not be major factors in either the onset or the outcome of the transition process
- 5.) the democratic transitions making up the third wave are being built on coherent, functioning states

Carothers, Thomas. „The End of the Transition Paradigm” *Journal of Democracy* 13:1 (2002)



## Differences at the start

*„ the conditions of particular countries are not the same: Chile has borne the brunt of economic transformations under authoritarian rule while Brazil still faces a deteriorating economy; Czechoslovakia has almost no foreign debt while Hungary has a crippling one; Uruguay seems to have solved its military problem while Argentina continues to live under the fear of the putsch; Hungary already has a party system and legitimate institutions while Rumania still has neither.”*

Przeworski, Adam: The "East" Becomes the "South"? The "Autumn of the People" and the Future of Eastern Europe. *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Mar., 1991), pp. 24

# Open ended transition

*„[differences in state strength, effectiveness of political parties, characteristics of the economy, bureaucracy, welfare services...]*

*„None of the above implies that the future of Eastern Europe is given or that the prospects of Latin America are doomed.*

*(...)*

*the issues that now confront Eastern Europe are the classical problems concerning the economics, the politics, and the culture of poor capitalism. These issues take us back to the eternal problematic of democracy and development.*

*(...)*

*... today they face Eastern Europe as well as Africa, Asia, and Latin America: the >>East<< has become the >>South.<<”*

## Potential problem areas

*“The formal process of constitutional reform takes at least **six months**; a general sense that things are looking up as a result of economic reform is unlikely to spread before **six years** have passed; the third condition of the road to freedom is to provide the social foundations which transform the constitution and the economy from fair-weather into all-weather institutions capable of withstanding the storms generated within and without, and **sixty years** are barely enough to lay these foundations.”*

Dahrendorf, Ralf. Reflections on the revolution in Europe: in a letter intended to have been sent to a gentleman in Warsaw. London: Chatto & Windus, 1990, pp. 99-100



# Peculiar characteristics of political transition

*“Early comparative work identified three groups of parties in post-communist Europe as ,right-wing or ,conservative’ on the basis of their origins or ideology”*

- 1) Mainstream centre-right parties (traditionalist conservatives and liberal conservatives)*
- 2) Broad populist-nationalist groupings (which played a dominant role in the politics of new nation-states)*
- 3) Former ruling communist parties, with a ,chauvino-communist position’ (combining nationalism, social conservatism and economic populism)*

## Differences of the political transition

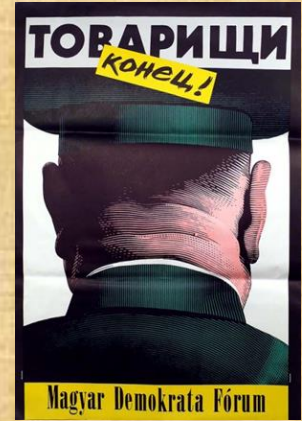
*“In states such as Hungary and Poland ,right-wing’ politics are understood in terms of Christian, conservative-national, national-populist or radical anti-communist positions (...) in the Czech Republic, by contrast, the centre-right largely defined itself in terms of economic liberalism and anti-communism, seeing its ,conservatism’ in its commitment to bringing the ,tried and tested’ neo-liberalism of the West to a provincial society overly inclined towards collectivism”*

Hanley, Seán. *The New Right in the New Europe: Czech Transformation and Right-Wing Politics, 1989-2006*. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015: 4



**Use of decisive force (China)**

**Confrontation**



**No use of decisive force**



**Resignation (GDR, Czechoslovakia)**

**No resignation**

**Compromise (Poland)**

**No compromise**

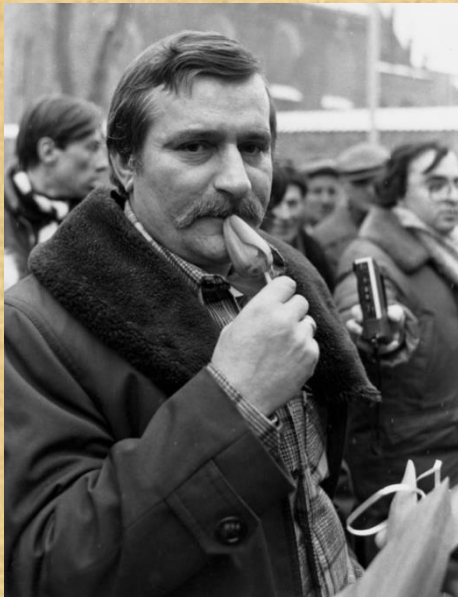
The response of state-socialist systems to confrontation (László Bruszt- David Stark)

**Constrained election contest (Bulgaria, Romania, Albania)**

**Free election contest (Hungary)**



# The political transition – the way it happened



Hungary: Negotiated (constitutional) revolution with a fractured political opposition

Thank you for your attention!

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