

PERSPECTIVES ON THEORIZING PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN POST-COMMUNIST WORLD

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ABSTRACT

IN EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND ESPECIALLY IN THE FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS CONTAINED THE JOY OF INDEPENDENCE, THE TASK OF BUILDING A STATE FOR A TIME OBSCURED THE CRISIS OF LEGITIMACY. IN THIS PAPER WE MAKE A PRESENTATION OF THE REASONS THAT INSTEAD OF CREATING A STABILITY GENERATED DISTURBANCE AMONG THE STATES FRESH OUT OF COMMUNISM.

BESIDES POST-COMMUNIST DISORDER, WE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT DEMOCRACY WAS POORLY UNDERSTOOD AT THE TIME THAT IT WAS BELIEVED THAT ONCE THE COMMUNIST PARTY WILL BE REMOVED FROM THE SCENE, DEMOCRACY AND MARKET ECONOMY WILL ESTABLISH NATURALLY, BUT OMITTED TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT LEGACY OF THE SOVIET TOTALITARIAN REGIME. IN THIS PAPER WE WANT TO ANSWER TO THE QUESTIONS PUT OVER TIME AND WHICH IT IS ABOUT WITH THE REASONS OF DEMOCRATIZATION FROM CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE BUT ALSO TO PRESENT, BRIEFLY, THE TRAJECTORY OF STATES IN THE EARLY YEARS OF FREEDOM.

KEYWORDS: POST COMMUNISM, DEMOCRACY, EAST EUROPE, DEMOCRATIZATION, FREEDOM

INTRODUCTION

In Central and Eastern Europe, democracy was the most successful, and most theories of changing lend the outlook oriented to the agents. Early 80's - contrary to what some researchers who consider that democracy be started sooner or later - it is the beginning of democratic construction in the Central and Eastern Europe³.

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³ When I say this, I rely on the fact that starting in the spring of 1981, the trade union "Solidarity" under the influence of both internal and external factors, especially the Vatican and CIA, more insistently pushes

What represents democratization? It means above all to build a democratic state. There is general agreement according to which democracy is more than simply inserting the elections, but there is no academic consensus on necessary reforms. Therefore, the full democratization of the state is a combination of institutional change (state form), changing representativeness (who influence the policies and over who is responsible State) and functional transformation (what does the state or which is the area of his responsibility)⁴.

Some researchers argue that the transition to democracy depends on the society certain of one special preconditions social, economic or cultural nature, even there is not agreement about the role of these preconditions. A different school of thought believes that democratization is firstly, the political leaders process who have the will and ability to initiate this process. But obviously, both preconditions, and the democratic construction have them importance, and some preconditions facilitates the democratic construction. These preconditions include a relatively high level of economic development and prevalence of what is called Western culture and values, which including Western Christianity. Presently, almost all countries have suffered substantial Western influence, except Cuba and maybe two more states have become democratic. Countries that haven't democratized are those that the conditions which favor the democracy are very weak. This does not mean that these conditions are indispensable of democracy. AREN'T - India, non-Christian country and poverty is the typical case. However, the remaining non-democratic states are or poor or non-Western, or both conditions simultaneously. Their democratization is not impossible, but it is likely to be more difficult. In addition, non-Western societies go through strong process of affirmation of their culture national. They oppose with more power of Western attempts to export Western values and institutions and they search in their cultural traditions, identities and meanings.⁵.

Essential questions that check democratization are communist world:

- *Why the transitions took place?*
- *How can we explain the different trajectories of post-communist countries?*⁶

things to an open confrontation with the regime policy communist. This union has turned into a powerful political movement. First congress of trade unions, it discusses the issue of "social ownership" of the means of production. Easily see how Poland, Romania under vast umbrella of the Communist regime started to arrange slowly along the road to democracy.

⁴Jean Grugel, *Democratizarea*, Iasi: Polirom, 2008, p. 77-78

⁵ Larry Diamond, Yun-han Chu, Marc F. Plattner, Hung-mao Tien, *Cum se consolideaza Democratia*, Iasi: Polirom, 2004, p. 42

⁶ Jean Grugel, *Democratizarea*, p. 199;

WHY THE TRANSITION TOOK PLACE?

When we talk about transition, it should be taken in mind the reason for this. We can not say that a state desired a transition to “something” if all goes well but certainly we can say that in communist states the transition to democracy wanted. But why these transitions took place? According to Jean Grugel, some thinkers say that the *elites desire for more security* stood behind the turn to democracy in post-communist societies⁷. Now, a natural question you should ask is: why democracy? The totalitarian regime did not provide sufficient security for elites those times? Right would have been that Grugel to say that those who wanted the collapse of the communist regime were not *only disliked elites of the regime leadership*, and in this case, things are quite different given that they wanted a change of leadership but not necessarily the regime⁸.

There are a number of papers that discuss topics such as end covenants and terms of transition in Central and Eastern Europe. Munck and Leff Sklnik⁹ states that the degree to which the transition is the result of pacts "affects policy form and post transition regime by influencing the competition between elites, institutional rules elaborated during the transition and acceptance or rejection by key actors of the new rules the game¹⁰. There are also works over the training institutions, political parties and electoral systems. These works see experiences of Central and Eastern Europe as part of a database about democracy in general. There are many works of this kind but for countries that emerged from communist dictatorship, they didn't matter because at that time weren't written. These works were designed posteriori.

For the transition to work, Communism has to go. It were launched various theories about the collapse of Communism, the fall was due to overvaluation of power by the West, Gorbaciov's¹¹ bad governance, economic implosion of the state. This last hypothesis

⁷ A se vedea Jean Grugel, *Op. cit.*

⁸ Citizens about their communist ideology was well imprinted in my mind and evil by passing driver and only due to its decision. After all the people shouted "Down with Ceausescu". Certainly protests would be stopped if Nicolae Ceaușescu and Wojciech Jaruzelski would be out on the streets and had told the crowd: tomorrow, the move to democracy, and I will be the new president! (*Marcau Flavius, Revolutia Romana din 1989, Targu-Jiu: Academica Brancusi, 2011, p.9*)

⁹ Munck G, L. Leff, *Modes of Transition and Democratization in South America and Europe in Comparative Perspective*, Comparative Politics, nr. 29, vol. 3, p. 347

¹⁰ Jean Grugel, *Op. cit.*, p. 205;

¹¹ To escape the stranglehold exercised apart from the party and to continue the restructuring economic plans, general secretary resorted to “glosnos” - transparent - that is officially encouraged public debate of carefully selected topics. Announcing the impending changes and stimulating people's expectations, Gorbaciov aimed to create a tool that he and his supporters can win official opposition that they faced. It

believe that it stayed - not to understand that the only factor that led to the fall of the totalitarian regime - at the fall of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Gorbaciov tried to reform the economy of the Soviet Union but which pushed the regime to a slippery slope. Tony Judt believes that any potential reform of the economy was faced with a dilemma. "If economic fundamentals reform began with decentralization of decision-making or by granting autonomy to local businesses and giving up to directives issued by the center, as were producers, directors and businessmen to work properly in the absence of outlets markets?"¹². If we look at previous phrase we are easily tempted to suggest a solution that creating a outlets markets but we must to keep in mind that this would cause serious political cracks in society given that *capitalism* "was formally condemned and hated for decades"¹³ – Gorbaciov himself has avoided any mention of the market economy late in 1987, even then invariably referring to a socialist market.

The reform was intended to be one beneficial only that the moment was badly chosen, and that success have been guaranteed to him was necessary a reform of the political party. I believe this because the Soviet Union had at management only people who loved power in the true sense of the word. They "wanted to maintain political and institutional levers of command economy; everyday corruption and minor absurdities but extremely spread in the economy were just sources of their power and authority"¹⁴. Of the previously reported we realize that economic reform cannot be done only by giving up control, and this was impossible because the communist regime represented the truly control: control the economy, information, population, etc.

As mentioned above, the economy was not the only factor that led to the fall of the Soviet totalitarian regime. We can say that besides the failed attempt to reform the economy, other communist countries have played an essential role. Saying this, I wish to discuss and explain the domino theory. When communist rule began to fall in a country, her legitimacy was affected in all other. The credibility of the communism was based in part on the claim that incarnates need, it's logical product of historical progress, a fact of political life, an unavoidable presence in modern landscape. Once this has proven a fake act - in Poland, for

was an old stratagem used among other and reformers country. But Gorbaciov, urgent need of transparency from the authorities, which was revealed the events of April 26, 1986.

(Tony Judt, *Epoca Postbelica. O istorie a Europei dupa 1945*, Iasi:Polirom, 2008, p. 547)

¹² Tony Judt, *Epoca Postbelica. O istorie a Europei dupa 1945*, Iasi:Polirom, 2008, p. 546

¹³ *Ibidem*

¹⁴ *Ibidem*

example, where Solidarity succeeded, as it were, to put history in reverse - how believe it any more in Hungary or Czechoslovakia?¹⁵

TRAJECTORIES OF POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES?

Since 1989, Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Romania joined the parliamentary and democratic regimes, and were engaged in a process of radical change.

Jowitt predicted the "*Leninist heritage*" post-communist democracy fate was closely linked to the extent that the West Liberal Democrat has served as constructive entity "*Norman*", able to shape the world in his image. The share of international factor over post-communist political development was not limited to Western integration promises, but included concerted efforts of monitoring election, human rights and minority policies. For some countries, such as the former Yugoslavia, the West had a more active position against external biases to Western standards for civil and political rights¹⁶.

Poland. Even were the first country where a free trade union was able to negotiate with the Communist Party at the round table in any five years after almost not there - the first trade union of this kind fell apart. I believe this was due to the main reason: politics. They migrate across the political spectrum, from right-wing political parties (Christian nationalists) to left political parties (Social Democrats) – I tend to believe that this was due to trying to change the various issues on the political scene. It is interesting that the political parties separated of "Solidarity" not govern since with elections from 19 September 1993.

Hungary has experienced a gentle transition, prepared from the '80 from the followers of Kadar. After a period of political stability over four years, the Conservative Party of Democratic Forum, led by József Antall, was severely defeated at elections of 8 May 1994. As in Poland, the victory detached of Socialist Party ends the first chapter of post-communist history. Socialists have an absolute majority in Parliament, with 54% of votes.¹⁷

Former Czechoslovakia ceased to exist. Created in 1918, it did not survive the collapse of communism. Despite opposition from the most prestigious of the two nations

¹⁵Vezi pe larg Tony Judt, *Op. cit.*

¹⁶ A se vedea Vladimir Tismaneanu, Marc Morje Howard (ed.), *Ordinea mondiala dupa Leninism*, Bucuresti: Curtea Veche, 2009

¹⁷ Christian Duplan, Vincent Ginet, *Viata in Rosu*, Bucuresti: Nemira, 2000, p. 307

political figures such as Vaclav Havel and Alexander Dubcek, elected deputies at the last consultation, from June 1992 appeared Czech Republic and Slovak Republic. „ A painful divorce, but tolerant and respectful, where the reason was able to master booms passion”¹⁸. Following the example of two peoples, the main actors of the fall of communism in these two countries have each followed their own path. Union sealed in clandestine was replaced, logically, by engaging in the different political forces.

Romania. Ion Iliescu continue to lead the destiny of Romania. After his election triumph in May 1990 (with over 87% of votes), Iliescu was reelected in September 1992, with over 60% of votes. Consequently, remained in office until 1996. Breach with Petre Roman, who has mastered the NSF, weakening parliamentary majority president¹⁹.

CONCLUSIONS

Traditional theories of democratization have focused either over national structures or over national actors involved in creating conditions for appearance of democracy, whether in formulating agreements that make it possible. Modernization theory identifies capitalism, education and consumption as the reference standard of modernity, and as signs of the emergence of democratic order. Historical sociology highlight the importance of class invisible structures for understanding any political order. The emergence of democracy in particular correlates with the development of other social movements of the lower classes. On the other hand, experts focusing on the role of agents rejected the idea that democracy is an exceptional political order on it as a possible effect of the fall of authoritarian regimes, whether elites and leaders are able to engage constructive, rational and endowed the willingness to compromise. Democracy becomes possible when institutions can be formed so that the vital interests of elites to be guaranteed²⁰.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 310.

²⁰ Jean Grugel, *Op. cit*, p. 232

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