

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE - NECESSARY STAGES OF DEMOCRACY CONSTRUCTION*

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ABSTRACT:

THE FALL OF COMMUNISM IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE, IN 1989, IS PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENT FROM THE SECOND WORLD WAR. DISAPPEARANCE OF TOTALITARIAN COMMUNIST REGIME MARKED THE BEGINNING OF A NEW PHASE A PARTICULAR CONSTRUCTION AND DEMOCRACY IN THAT STATE FOR MORE THAN FOUR DECADES KNEW ONLY BASED CONTROL SYSTEM OF EXCESSIVE AND SUPPRESSION OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS. WESTERN EUROPE THE MODEL FOR THE GRADIENT DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE ENTRANTS STATES BUT THEY PROVE TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE STEPS THAT ARE REQUIRED TO BE FOLLOWED FOR OBTAIN FINAL RESULT: DEMOCRACY. IN THIS ARTICLE WE PRESENT STAGES OF MANDATORY MET FOR A STATE THROUGH DEMOCRATIZATION, TO REACH DEMOCRACY.

KEYWORDS: COMMUNISM, TOTALITARIANISM, DEMOCRATIZATION, DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION, DEMOCRACY

The collapse of the Soviet Empire marked the beginning of democratization in Central and Eastern Europe and was seen as a politically and economically triumph of the West. A famous interpretation of this event was attributed by Francis Fukuyama, as an *end of history*. Extrapolating, we can state that democratization was a *new chapter of history*, marked by the fall of the Berlin Wall, *and not an end*, as Fukuyama argues. A *chapter* for Westerners proasserting the possibility of a viable alternative to capitalism or democracy was virtually non-existent .

Recent history shows us that all states of decommunized in Central and Eastern Europe have turned inevitably to democracy, following certain steps. We mention that the mandatory steps to go due to the configuration of the previous political regime given the intention (and succeeding) to make it in society *Tabula Rasa*: Association destroyed every trace of social point of view and prevented the establishment of new associations². The mandatory steps that we have identified the democratization are: 1) Establishing membership and training; 2) compromise; 3) habituation; 4) The alignment of the international system; 5)

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² Pasquino, *Course of Political Science*, (Iasi European Institute, 2002), 313

The development and market capitalism; 6) The development of parliamentary institutions and political. These six steps together towards a single result: *democracy*³. Continuing our study we describe in the end will decide their order and their classification in one of the three phases of democratization: *initial, partial and full*.

1) ESTABLISHING MEMBERSHIP AND TRAINING

Pasquino believes that *membership and preparation* are found one after the other and not side by side. After their conceptual delimitation, we explain why we believe it is better for them to work together.

When we talk about community belonging referring to, specifically membership in the political community. This concern them directly on participants regime change in, they must be included in a political community. Although this phase of democratization has not received due consideration should be borne in mind that its importance is reflected in the strong distrust of minority political community that wants to be democratic. Specifically if a united and concentrated minority is not in the political community that wants to produce the restoration of democracy, in this case two unfavorable situations arise transition to democracy: 1) the minority that refuses to submit to the new political class reform decisions; 2) or reaching civil war. As an example for the latter case is Ukraine in 2014: civil battle between pro-Russian and pro Westerners .

Thus for the transition to democracy is smooth or blockage, it is imperative that most people find themselves in the same political community.

Inevitably, after the problem was solved ownership, the system prepares the formation of a democratic regime. We note that this is where *preparation* stage start but, as previously mentioned, we can not talk about education without clarifying ownership or affiliation without clarifying something to follow (preparing for something). In this case we are talking about preparing the formation of a democratic regime⁴.

2) COMPROMISE

If before talking about the population belonging to a political community, now we will discuss the problem of elites that are found in different political communities.

As in the first case (of ownership) can create democratization various unfavorable situations when the elites refuse cohabitation (living together), entering the competition for political power and everything they want is to fight for power. Please note that the difference between fighting and competition is that the competition is respected democratic principles and the rule of law is violated⁵ in battle.

In any event competition is preferred but not be overlooked one thing: competition can turn into a fight. This would be when the democratization process stops and the only option is that o to reach agreement on compromise.

Once compromise has been made shall be submitted to the decision phase "*compromise reached consists of not only the conscious decision to recognize equally their differences, but also to create structures and procedures to protect these differences, to put value and guide them towards democratic competition by accepting the existence and legitimacy of opposition*"⁶

³ See Adrian Gorun, *Introduction in Political Science*, (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, 2003)

⁴ See Pasquino, *Course of Political Science*, 314

⁵ Gorun, *Introduction in Political Science*

⁶ Pasquino, *Course of Political Science*, 314-315

Please note that this compromise does not fully solve the political conflict but maintain stability⁷. The point you can name, as did Rustow, *habituation*.

3) HABITUATION

This stage, which can have a fairly large temporal scope, comprising *the step of knowledge*. The latter is necessary since this *political cohabitation* requires prior knowledge between subjects, followed by the query. As in the steps above, no one can not be considered stable. She may suffer blockages or obstructions welcome at any time, either in the first stage (the knowledge) be undergoing common. If knowledge can be considered inevitable (and necessary) and unfavorable situations may develop transition phase commonly found in some instability which can degenerate into a conflict between the power elite, so unfavorable since such a situation would *compromise* relegation stage.

This phase aims, in part, strengthening compromise on the premise that its artisans have *"need to convince the professional politicians, activists and citizens of the importance and effectiveness principles of conciliation and reconciliation"*.⁸ Once this has been achieved, democracy increases due to the smooth functioning of its principles (checked over time).

4) ALIGNMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

In the case of the states in Central and Eastern Europe, the international system has proved to be a mold concerning the establishment of a democratic regime and a guide when states were still under the influence of communist regimes. Pasquino says that *"it can not, by itself, or to establish or destroy political regimes, except war and invasion. In general, the international system acts as a facilitating or weakens democratic trends background"*.⁹ Thinking about the role of former communist and totalitarian regimes changing international system, we conclude that Pasquino is wrong when it claims that it can produce changes than by war and invasion. If in the 80s, for example, the international system does not intervene to support the trade union Solidarity in Poland in particular and the general regime change, communism certainly acted in a particularly aggressive. The role of the West has been understood as one of conciliator, largely, but understanding its true role, we can say, 25 years after the fall of communism, it was the manipulator.

The alignment of the international system proves to be necessary for democratic principles to become effective. I said earlier that it is able to facilitate or weakening of democratic tendencies. Nothing really. Certainly in the middle of the USSR could not develop a democratic state with regional influence international system.

5) THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARKET AND CAPITALISM

The survival of a democratic regime is inevitably linked to socio-economic context in which it is desired to strengthen the regime. Przeworski argues that *"democracies arise independently of the level of development, but die in the poorer countries and in the richer countries survive."*¹⁰ We believe that in poor countries democracies may occur only in exceptional cases, not only did not survive. As an example we can take from the poor African countries. Every trace of democracy has disappeared due to poverty encountered in the region. Another situation where the political destabilization in a democratic state poorest is

⁷ See Adrian Gorun., *Politics and power*, (Bucharest: Ed. Expert, 2006)

⁸ Pasquino, *Course of Political Science*, 315

⁹ Pasquino, *Course of Political Science*, 316

¹⁰ Adam Przeworski, Fernando Limongi , *Modernization: theories and facts*, in *World Politics*, January 1997, 159

created when attempting a forced economic development in a short period of time. In this case the regime tends to devolve into authoritarian or totalitarian. However, we stress that an authoritarian or totalitarian favors higher growth in a poor state, than democracy. This was demonstrated by Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, Jose Antonio Fernando Limongi Cheibub and study "*What determines the durability of democracies?*". When preparing the study, they observed trajectory of a number of 135 countries on the survival and collapse of political regimes in the period 1950-1990.

We previously established that the poorest states tiny democracy is likely to arise, and if you try a forced growth in a very short period, the system tends to be authoritarian or totalitarian, and in this case it is imperative to answer the following question: where totalitarian regimes produce higher economic growth in poor countries than democratic regime, and democracy can arise only in the developed countries in economic terms, we are entitled to say that it is necessary to support regimes totalitarian because the only way a democracy may arise in a poor country? We address this question because the answer that we will offer to provide an explanation which leaves no room for interpretation. First democracy dictatorships are not the product development. If this would be possible, "*the speed with which dictatorships make the transition to democracy would increase with the level of development: however, the survival prospects of dictatorships analyzes indicate that not happen. Indeed, transitions to democracy are random in terms of level of development: no transition can not be predicted only by the level of development*".¹¹

By the answer I understood very clearly that the birth of a democracy is not random and linked to the level of development and, once created, democracy is more likely to survive in more developed countries than in poor ones but, according to Lipset, maintain welfare of a nation democratic regime. Basically, how is good condition is bigger democratic regime is more likely in terms of survival and consolidation.¹²

6) THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL

Since we are talking about the party leader (Communist Party in our case) and the fact that he lost his leadership role should be underlined that in the first stage of the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe, was dropped any mention constitutional target *leading role* of the Communist Party in the state and around this stage, other political parties were granted the right to exist and to carry out. The newly *deported* from party leadership and outlawed in some states¹³ had to *redefine*¹⁴ (on the surface). But in many countries, redefining consisted of changing the name to give the vague impression of abandonment of Marxism-Leninism but there were also cases where former party members were unable to

¹¹ Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, Fernando Limongi, *What determine the durability of democracies ?* in Larry Diamond, Yun-han Chu, Marc F. Plattner, Hung-mao Tien (eds.), *How to consolidates democracy*, (Iasi: Polirom, 2004), 308

¹² Seymour Martin Lipset, *Some Social Requisites for Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy*, in *American Oilitical Science Rewiev* 53 (1959), 56

¹³ See the case of Romania when after the bloody events of 1989, the Communist Party was outlawed and dissolved by decree-law.

¹⁴ Continuity of successor parties of the former communist party is a strange paradox of democratic politics in Central-Eastern Europe. Eventually, the 1989 revolution sought to remove the communist parties in power to end the monopoly sis their political and economic discretion But all these partied, even the most despised, have suprevietuit and some of their successors have won popular support pofesionalism considerable political and reputation. Some have returned to government, free elections this time. (Anna Grzymala-Busse, pointing past: ex-communist parties after 1989, Grzegorz Ekiert, Stephen E. Hanson, *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe*, p 197)

find a middle ground in terms of the so-called transformation party, at which the party split in two¹⁵.

From this point we can discuss the states decomunized multiparty¹⁶ system and parliamentary institution and political¹⁷ formation. We consider that democracies differ from state to state, and "systems for the separation of representation and oversight powers and methods of organization of interests and legal doctrines associated rights and duties of citizenship may vary and even vary significantly between regimes that are generally recognized as democratic."¹⁸ John Hallowell argues that democracy should be understood as a complex of institutions essential for the survival of the regime and can not be isolated or treated as a distinctive feature, which is "designated, individually and collectively, to apply the principle that government should support the consent of the governed".¹⁹

Although democracy differs from state to state, it presupposes drawing constitutional limitations in setting power of political leaders²⁰ and establish mechanisms for the election of new leaders. Looking at history, we understand that parliaments arose only when it was raised the issue of limiting the power of the king. These limitations aimed largely the power to spend because parliament, at the time, represent the interests of the nobility, being composed of them, and they come to support much of the costs and fees imposed king. This kind of control can be seen as a pioneer of parliament in achieving democratic²¹ regimes.

Next we discuss the institutional characteristics that may be incurred in the new democratic regimes or presidentialism and parliamentarism ie we answer the following question: *which of the two systems support democracy a longer life?*

Trying to give a reasoned answer, we call on the study of Juan Linz "The perils of presidentialism" as it is launched assumption that parliamentary democracies are more durable than presidential ones. The argument behind this statement is that the presidential race can come only one winner and the loser will not receive any formal role in policy and it may not even be a member of parliament. When a parliamentary system, defeated candidate for the premiership will be leader of the opposition²². Adam Przeworski believes that a presidential regime, Chief Executive fulfilling the role of head of state and undermine the legitimacy of opposition because it "can partisan interests of the President that the national interests".²³

Another argument concerning trends in a system bottleneck and decrease the life of the democratic regime is that such blockages can occur in both systems that frequently appear only in presidential democracies legislative bottlenecks.

We previously presented various arguments in favor of the parliamentary system, drawing on various theories launched by Linz, Stepan, Przeworski, Lemongi, etc. and we considered most important, underlying this statement is that of Preworski and Lemongi namely *economic growth of a state "parliamentary systems in poor countries, although you*

¹⁵ Leslie Holmes, *Post-communism*, (Iasi: European Institute, 2004), 206

¹⁶ See Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Failure. Birth and Death of Communism in the XX century*, (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia Publishing House, 1993), 120-129

¹⁷ Adrian Gorun, *Introduction in Political Science*, (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, 2003), 149

¹⁸ Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub, Limongi, *What determine the durability of democracies...*, 308

¹⁹ John H. Hallowell, *Moral basis of democracy*, (Bucharest: Ed. Paideia, 1999), 44

²⁰ Jean Gurgel, *Democratization*, (Iasi: Polirom, 2008), 83

²¹ See Pasquino, *Course of Political Science*, 181-182

²² See Juan Linz, The perils of presidentialism, *Journal of Democracy* 1 (1990), pp. 51-69; Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, Fernando Limongi, *What determine the durability of democracies ?* in Larry Diamond, Yun-han Chu, Marc F. Plattner, Hung-mao Tien (eds.), *How to consolidates democracy*, (Iasi: Polirom, 2004), 311-312

²³ Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub, Limongi, *What determine the durability of democracies?...*, 312

*are very fragile, have almost double the chance of survival presidential democracies and they are increased fourfold when there is economic growth "*²⁴

Regarding the political institutions of democratic governance, Robert Dahl, presents in the book about democracy, six institutions considered mandatory in a democratic regime, namely: a) elected officials; b) free, fair and frequent, c) freedom of expression; d) access to alternative sources of information; e) associational autonomy and f) inclusive citizenship²⁵.

Why do we need these political institutions? The answer is quite simple: without them, the democratic regime becomes unstable and tends toward authoritarianism. We'll do a brief description to explain their necessity in a democratic²⁶ system.

a) *officials elected through vote*

Government decisions return to leaders elected through the vote by citizens but we want to highlight the fact that electoral democracy is not a guarantor of freedom, than if they are added various safeguards²⁷.

b) *Free elections, fair and frequent*

What does this mean? First of all citizens must enjoy equal vote: all votes must be considered as equal to each other. In the second place, all citizens who go to vote shall not be liable to reprisals from third parties.

*The frequency of elections mean time of electoral rounds. It is not enough that the elections are free and fair if the frequency is low. Basically, if the representatives are elected for a period of 15 years, for example, when citizens are diminished right of final control over the agenda. For us to limit this right, it is imperative that the elections are held regularly and the distances between them not. According to Dahl, elections "annual representatives as a little too frequent, and any period longer than five years would be too long "*²⁸

c) *Freedom of expression*

What we mean by freedom of expression in a democratic regime? I'll try to define this freedom by comparison with totalitarian and authoritarian regime. In such a system, the people are subjected to total censorship on free speech. Not supported discussions on politics, economics, defense. The only accepted by one party talks are strictly related to everyday life and not defame party in any way. For example, during the communist regime censorship was applied in such a way that the early years of democracy, political discussions on it were mostly in private. Thus, anyone who talks about politics or leaders in terms which contravened the communist ideology and it is, come to be investigated by the Security and depending on the seriousness of the (propaganda against the regime) be condemned.

Democracy provides citizens the right to express openly, without undergoing repercussions own opinion on state policy, its leaders, defense²⁹ and others.

d) *Access to alternative sources of information*

Given the necessary information, understand that democracy makes this possible. But a totalitarian regime prohibits informing the public? No. No regime, whether totalitarian or authoritarian, does not prohibit information of a control by manipulating the media, publishers and printers control so that people could not get to the information (books, magazines, newspapers, informed audio or video) unless they were under the single party

²⁴ Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub, Limongi, *What determine the durability of democracies?...*, 318

²⁵ See Robert Dahl, *About democracy*, (Iasi: European Institute, 2003), 83-84

²⁶ See extensively analysis made by Adrian Gorun in the book *Stasiology and Electoral Systems*, (Targu-Jiu : Ed. Academica Brancusi, 2008)

²⁷ See Jean-Francois Revel, *Revival of democracy*, (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1995), 45

²⁸ See Dahl, *About democracy*, 92-93

²⁹ See Michael Saward, *Democratic theory an indices of democratization*, in David Beetham (Ed.), *Defining and Measuring Democracy*, Sage Modern Politics (36), London, UK: Sage, 16-18

visions. Specifically, the materials were inspected and if they are found to contravene the communist ideology, are totally or partially enforce censorship.

In a democracy, citizens enjoy the right to seek any alternative information sources (magazines, books, newspapers, Internet, etc.) without them find themselves under the control of any political party or government but there are cases in all democratic states in which a part of the media is subservient to politics and is used mostly for influencing political attitudes of citizens.

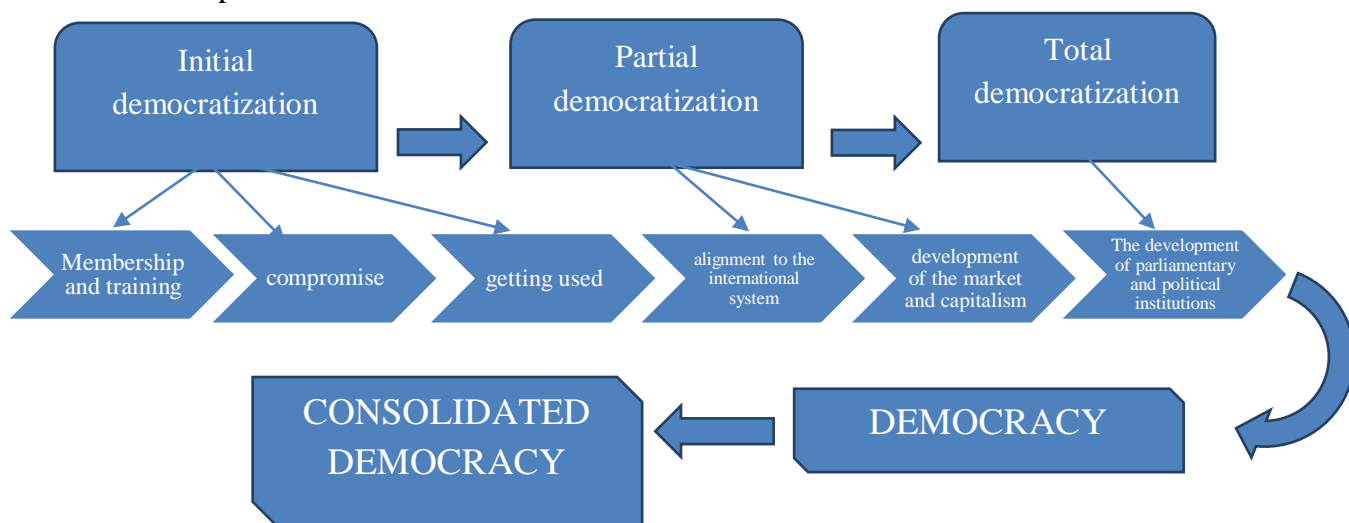
e) *Associational autonomy*

In a state with democratic regime, citizens enjoy the right of association, and democracy is strengthened by the existence of independent associations of all kinds: economic, cultural, political, to Most important for a political status are political associations. This last category includes political parties, public interest action groups, lobbyists, etc. Bo Rothstein gives us a great example that need Association argues. It shows a group of people who live either working or living in the same place in the same area. These people find that their interests are not only individual but collective when it is considered that need the same things, be they natural resources, laws governing conflicts over property, to *"In order to achieve common interests, improve wages and working conditions, reveals the need to establish or regulate the use of natural resources to avoid the tragedy of the commons. So they come together and form a trade union organization or a cooperative economic type whatsoever"*³⁰

f) *The comprehensive Citizenship*

This latter institution encompasses all five institutions described above. Specifically, a citizen of a democratic state benefit simultaneously from the right to choose to be elected to free speech, to inform and to be associated.

In conclusion, we say that these six steps described above depend on each other and avoiding one of them is not possible, otherwise leading to inevitable sudden stopping of the process of democratization. Why support this? We will try to illustrate briefly to remove any doubt about whether we are going through one or more stages of the six above. Looking at each step we concluded that they are closely related in sequence and only works one another, the model developed below:



³⁰ Bo Rothstein, *Political Institutions: an overview*, Robert E. Goodin in Hans-Dieter Klingemann, *Manual of Political Science*, (Iasi: Polirom, 2005), 127

We believe that this model can be followed by a fresh out of state under a totalitarian or authoritarian regime if it wants to implement a democratic regime.

The six steps are mandatory and, as I said, we can not overlook any: a state can not reach a *compromise* if *membership* is not determined or can not get to the stage to *get used to* if you did not obtain a *compromise* between elites on the final outcome of the procedure (democratic) because this step was omitted. Thus, the logic of their walking, we understand that omission, deliberate or not, inevitably lead to a stage stop the process of democratization.

There may be situations, very rarely, in which a State may make an exception to the foregoing.

The best example is the German Democratic Republic (GDR) that after the fall of the Berlin Wall was unified with the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). In the present case we can talk about *assimilation*. What does it mean? Germany was a democracy and benefit both functional structures and a culture of democracy. In this case the GDR had to go through just the first four stages. He realized establishing membership and prepare for unification elites and the general public. According to a survey of Radio Free Europe, "*87% of East Germans and 81% of West Germans wanted unification*"³¹. The compromise was the fact that there were no elite who will want a separate from the Federal Democratic Germany. Weights were however encountered in the fourth stage since there were countries that felt that the unification of the two German cause instability in terms of European³² security. Once these first four steps have been completed, the last two were getting done automatically, finding functional in Germany.

Note that in connection with the sixth stage should not be considered only parliamentary or presidential regimes. We have made reference to the two going on the assumption that history gives us enough data about democratic states who use or have used parliamentary or presidential regimes compared with countries using a different type of regime and did not exclude the possibility that it may not be whether the regime is democratic semi-presidential or are in a constitutional monarchy. Also, the failure of one of the political institutions of the six contained in the last step can lead to a significant slowdown or even cease its democratization. For example, the democratization process can be stopped if officials are not elected or if there is only formal elections, which are not free and fair In both cases, officials would not arrive in power will of the people and therefore we can not discuss in the State concerned of a democratic regime.

We were talking previously about the importance of voting and noticed that it does not represent a guarantee of freedom unless other conditions are met and essential to the functioning of democracy. For example, an elected government "*may well be oppressive invader, vindictive and arbitrary, as a government we can give people choice, regions, cities, as well as a wide range of arts and literature.*"³³ The difference between the two situations is noticeable, as in the first case, citizens are able to produce changes among representatives, given that they are in control: periodic elections, referenda, etc. The second situation can not be considered representative democracy due to the inability of control, the government decision, the population.

We want to mention and to argue that post-totalitarian regimes, Linz and Stepan described are applicable to post-communist world. We base this remark with the sudden end of the totalitarian communist regime. In this situation post-totalitarian regimes can not find applicability for various reasons: 1) the leader is not found as a product of the Communist

³¹ Adrian Pop, *Origins and Patterns of eastern european revolutions*, (Bucharest: Encyclopedic Publishing, 2010), 265

³² Pop, *Origins and Patterns of eastern european revolutions*, 262

³³ Revel, *Revival of democracy*, 37

Party; 2) ideology regime is no longer applied after the time of its collapse; 3) inability to return to the communist regime; 4) encouraging the existence of political pluralism after the disappearance of the totalitarian regime.

	Post - totalitarianism		
	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Frozen</i>	<i>Mature</i>
Pluralism	Absent	Emergent	Tolerated
Ideology	Ossified	Emptied	With technocratic elements
Mobilization	Sporadic, ritualistic	Abandoned	Terminated
Leadership	Bureaucracy - collegial	Bureaucratic- collegial	Of party

Table 1³⁴

Linz and Stepan, through their study found that post-totalitarian³⁵ regimes can be found in the transition process. This is true only if the transition is smooth and starts from a totalitarian regime to a democratic regime goes. In the present regime suffered a fall forced Central and Eastern Europe and the post-totalitarian regimes are described as follows:

initial post-totalitarianism: the two authors consider that this regime is at the beginning of the transition process. Political pluralism is lacking in this case; Type ossified ideology; mobilization is sporadic and ritual; founder leader is not but a product of the party regime.

post-totalitarianism frozen: In this regime, political pluralism is an early form alpha; ideology is the same but confidence in it begins to disappear; mobilization is abandoned; leader of the party is the same product.

mature post-totalitarianism: in this phase of post-totalitarian regime, pluralism is tolerated; party leader are the same but are beginning to be put into question; mobilization is completed.³⁶

In our case, first, that we can not discuss about a product leader of the Communist Party because it has become non-existent or has undergone structural changes, abandoning their own ideology, in some countries may be inappropriate and multi-party system was felt immediately after the fall of the totalitarian regime. Mobilization became nonexistent since the time of the change. The following typology transitions decomunizată world, we discuss three phases of democratization, being the other one in succession, each comprising certain mandatory steps: 1) initial democratization: comprising the steps membership and training, compromise and habituation; 2) partial democratization: the alignment of the international system and capitalism and market development; 3) total democratization: the last step comprises parliamentary institutions and political development.

³⁴ Pasquino, *Course of Political Science*, 291

³⁵ A se vedea Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transitions and Consolidation*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 43-51

³⁶ For a complete analysis see Adrian Gorun, *Introduction in Political Science*, (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, 2003)

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