

## Index

---

- Abdrakhmanov, Serik 119  
 Abildin, S. 119–20  
 accountability  
   and consolidation of democracy 16,  
   19, 119  
   of prime minister 43  
   and separation of powers 23, 27, 28,  
   46–7, 61, 79, 155, 211–12  
 Afanas'ev, Yuri 42  
 Agrarian Party of Ukraine 79, 86, 87,  
   103 n.79  
 Akaev, Askar 122  
 Alash party, Kazakstan 112  
 Albania, semi-presidentialism 217 n.2  
 Aldamzhanov, Gazziz 120  
 Aliev, Gaidar 18  
 Antall, József  
   and consolidation of democracy 17  
   popularity 221 n.30  
   as prime minister 208–9, 212–13, 214  
 Austria  
   and party system 11  
   and semi-presidentialism 12, 217 n.2  
 authoritarianism  
   collapse 15–16  
   and former Soviet republics 32  
   persistence 17, 216  
   safeguards against 41  
   transition from 195, 199–200, 202–3,  
   206  
 autonomism, political effects 6  
 Azat (Freedom) party, Kazakstan 111  
 Babych, Valerii 82, 83  
 Badz'o, Yurii 68  
 Bagehot, Walter 28  
 Baimakhanov, 120–1  
 Balcerowicz, Leszek 137  
 Bartoszcze 134  
 Baturin, Yuri 52  
 Baylis, Thomas A. 17, 18, 19, 20, 219  
   n.21  
 Belarus  
   executive presidency 39  
   prime minister and president 18–19,  
   216  
 bi-cameralism 229  
   Czech Republic 185–6  
   Kazakstan 109, 110, 119, 123  
   Poland 131, 142  
   Russia 8  
 Bielecki, Jan Krzysztof 136, 137–8, 139,  
   154  
 Bierut, Bolesław 131  
 Bihari, Mihály 203  
 Boross, Péter 213  
 Bosnia, multiple presidency 4  
 Bour, Alfred 233  
 Bruszt, László 207, 221 n.33, 222 n.40  
 budget, parliamentary control 25  
 Bulgaria  
   and presidency 229, 231–2  
   vice-president 57  
 Bulianda, Olaksandr 105 n.110  
 Bunce, Valerie 190  
 Burlatsky, Fedor 41  
 cabinet government 28, 34  
   and parliamentarism 196  
   and presidentialism 43  
   and semi-presidentialism 16, 215  
 cabinets  
   Czech Republic 170, 184  
   Czechoslovak Federation 178  
   Hungary 207–8, 209–16  
   Kazakstan 123  
   Poland 137–8, 139, 141, 142, 145–8,  
   149–50  
   Ukraine 75–7, 78–81, 85–6, 89, 91,  
   93–4  
 Čalfa, Marián 172, 176  
 Carey, John 3, 89, 90, 137, 147, 225,  
   226, 228  
 censure, parliamentary power 89

- Center Alliance, Poland 137, 139, 156, 234
- Chechnya, war 52, 54, 55, 59, 61, 116
- checks and balances 16, 21–4, 46–7, 112, 131, 155, 186, 212, 229
- Cherniak, Volodymyr 78
- Chernomyrdin, Viktor 54–5, 60–1
- Chirac, Jacques, and cohabitation 16
- Chornovil, V"iachesav 71, 75
- Christian Democrats (KDNP), Hungary 204, 208, 214–15
- Chubais, Anatolii 52
- Churchill, Winston S. 29
- Cimoszewicz, 134
- Ciosek, Stanisław 230
- Civic Democratic Party, Czech Republic 179, 185, 186, 187, 189
- Civic Forum 172, 175–6, 200, 235
- civil service, and parliamentary system 29, 30
- civil society, and Havel 182, 186–7
- clans, in Kazakstan 116–17, 118, 125
- coalition  
 and president 11, 12, 138  
 and prime minister 10, 18
- cohabitation  
 France 16  
 Hungary 214  
 and party system 10  
 Poland 154  
 potential for conflict 8, 9, 18–19  
 Russia 8
- Colton, Timothy J. 20
- Commonwealth of Independent States 2
- Communist parties, and postcommunist power bases 18, 197–9, 229–31
- Communist Party of Bulgaria 231–2
- Communist Party of Czech Republic 187
- Communist Party of Czechoslovak Federation 172
- Communist Party of Hungary 201, 202, 230–1
- Communist Party of Kazakstan 107, 111, 112, 116, 122, 126–7
- Communist Party of Poland 131, 138, 229–30
- Communist Party of Russia (CPSU), and Yeltsin 7, 49–51, 55, 59, 61
- Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU)  
 and constitution 86, 87, 90  
 revival 79, 94  
 and Russia 32, 68–9, 70, 75
- confidence votes  
 Czech Republic 170
- Hungary 208
- Kazakstan 110, 112  
 Poland 145–6, 148, 153
- Congress of National-Democratic Forces, Ukraine 78
- Congress of People's Deputies  
 Russia 44–7  
 Soviet Union 40, 41–3, 198
- consent, popular, and presidentialism 61
- conservatism, Poland 135
- consolidation, democratic 1–2, 135, 162, 218 n.11  
 and political elites 15, 16–17  
 and political institutions 15–20, 27–31, 171–2, 195–6, 201, 230–1
- constitution, Belorussian 39
- constitution, Czech Republic, 1992 169, 170–1, 184, 185–6
- constitution, Czechoslovak Federation 1960 169  
 1992 177, 235
- constitution, French 225–6, 233–4
- constitution, Hungarian  
 and president 210–11, 231  
 reform 202–3, 204–8
- constitution, Kazak  
 1993 106, 107, 108–9, 111, 115  
 1995 107, 109, 115, 120–1, 124
- constitution, Polish 9  
 1952 131, 142  
 April 1935 130–1  
 interim 141–8, 152–3, 155, 164, 234  
 March 1921 130–1, 233
- constitution, Russian  
 1936 39  
 draft of 1993 32, 38, 45–7, 48, 57, 59, 81, 91  
 and role of legislature 8, 9
- constitution, Ukrainian 95  
 1978 67  
 1996 32, 67, 87–8, 89–90  
 draft 1993 77, 79, 86
- constitution, USA 5, 26
- Constitutional Court  
 Czechoslovak Federation 178  
 Hungary 211–13, 214–15  
 Kazakstan 108, 110–11, 120–1, 124, 127  
 Poland 151–3  
 Ukraine 88, 89–90, 91
- constitutions, and presidents 225–8, 229, 232–6
- Coty, René 5
- culture, political, and institutions 32

## 242 Index

- Czech Republic 168–91  
 and consolidation of democracy 17  
 and NATO membership 188  
 and parliamentary system 5, 33  
 prime minister and president 170,  
 171, 183–7, 189  
 privatization 118  
 and regions 184–5  
 and semi-presidentialism 39, 168, 217  
 n.2, 235  
 and Senate 185–7  
*see also* Havel, Václav; parliament; party  
 system
- Czechoslovak Federation  
 break-up 179–80, 189–91  
 and president 168, 169–81, 188–9,  
 200, 235  
 and prime minister 169, 176  
*see also* Havel, Václav; parliament; party  
 system
- Dahl, R. 134
- De Gaulle, Charles 11, 216, 226, 233
- decree, rule by, Kazakstan 106
- democracy  
 consolidation 1–2, 15–20, 135, 162,  
 218 n.11  
 delegative 88  
 factors in 22  
 and free elections 2  
 parliamentary *see* parliament  
 presidential *see* presidentialism  
 transition to 195, 199–201, 202–8,  
 228–32, 236
- Democratic Block, Ukraine 68
- Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), Poland  
 135, 139, 148, 149–50, 153–4, 157,  
 161–2, 164
- Democratic Union, Poland 135, 138–9,  
 141
- diarchy, Russia 7–8
- dictatorship, personal 42–3
- Drach, Ivan 75
- Dubinín, Sergei 60
- Duma *see* parliament, Russian; Ukraine,  
 presidential advisory council
- Duverger, Maurice 137, 217 n.2
- dyarchy, competitive 95
- Ebert, Friedrich 11
- economic policy *see* reform, economic
- Einaudi, Luigi 5
- elections  
 and democracy 2, 4  
 direct 5, 18, 29, 198–200, 217 n.2,  
 226–7, 234; Bulgaria 232; Czech  
 Republic 181, 235; Hungary  
 204–6, 208–9, 214, 230–1; Poland  
 132–3, 137, 143, 147; Ukraine  
 68–9, 89
- electoral systems 6, 138, 148
- indirect 5, 18, 33, 198–9, 201,  
 226–7, 234; Bulgaria 232;  
 Hungary 204–5, 208, 234;  
 Kazakstan 110; Russia 40–2;  
 Ukraine 79
- parliamentary 39, 50  
 and polarization 82–3  
 presidential 6, 18, 29, 33, 38, 107  
 Russia 42, 44–5, 48, 226
- elites  
 and consolidation of democracy 15,  
 16–17  
 Kazak 126, 128  
 Poland 135, 137, 141, 155, 162, 164  
 Russia 57  
 Ukraine 70
- Elster, Jon 2, 31, 225–36
- Esemberlin, Kozykorpesh 123
- Estonia 61 n.1, 200–1
- exceptionalism, USA 5
- executive  
 and Czech Republic presidency 171  
 and Czechoslovak Federation  
 presidency 169  
 and Hungarian presidency 202, 204,  
 211, 215–16  
 and Kazak presidency 122, 128  
 and Polish presidency 137, 142, 144,  
 147, 151–2  
 and prime minister 24, 48, 80, 196,  
 204  
 and Russian presidency 38–9, 41–2,  
 44–7  
 and separation of powers 15, 21–6,  
 28–31, 46  
 in socialist states 198  
 and Ukrainian parliament 90, 95  
 and Ukrainian presidency 69, 75,  
 78–80, 83, 85–6, 88, 95
- Falandysz, Lech 151, 155
- federalism  
 Russia 8  
 USA 5
- Fedorov, Boris 60
- Filatov, Sergei 64 n.75
- Finer, Herman 24
- Finland, and party system 3, 11
- Fokin, Vitol'd 78–9, 105 n.110

## Index

243

- For Kazak's Future party 122  
 foreign policy  
   Czech Republic 183, 235  
   Kazakstan 106, 109  
   Poland 150  
 fragmentation, and separation of powers 26  
 France  
   Fifth Republic, and  
     semi-presidentialism 3–4, 6, 8, 11,  
     16, 29, 90, 197  
   president and prime minister 226  
   studies of presidents 5  
 Free Democrats (SZDSZ), Hungary 203,  
 205, 206–8, 209, 211, 213–14, 231
- Gaidar, Yegor 45–6, 54, 60, 78  
 Gamsakhurdia, Zviad 200  
 Georgia; presidentialism 200, 216  
 Geremek, Bronisław 139, 154, 229  
 Germany  
   studies of presidents 5  
   *see also* Weimar Germany  
 Göncz, Árpád 5  
   and parliament 210, 211, 213–15  
   and party system 12  
   as political dissident 17–18  
   and presidential power 33–4, 147,  
   208–13, 216, 227  
   and prime minister 210–14  
 Gorbachev, Mikhail  
   and glasnost 115  
   and presidency 6–7, 38, 39–45, 198  
   and Ukraine 68, 71  
   and Yeltsin 49–50, 53, 226  
 government, local  
   Czech Republic 184–5  
   Kazakstan 106–7, 109, 110, 124–5,  
   128  
   Poland 142  
   Ukraine 85–6, 87  
 Grishin, Viktor 49  
 Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Hanna 158, 161  
 Grósz, Károly 203  
 Gwyn, William B. 22–5, 27
- hakims*, Kazakstan 107, 110, 124–5  
 Hanak, Jiří 176  
 Hardin, Charles M. 26, 30  
 Havel, Václav  
   and parliament 169, 170, 172,  
   177–80, 183–4, 188  
   and party system 12, 187–8  
   personal prestige 5, 17–18, 33, 172–3,  
   179, 189, 235–6  
   as political dissident 17–18, 172, 174,  
   181  
   as president of Czech Republic 168–9,  
   171, 180–9, 235  
   as president of Czechoslovak  
   Federation 168, 169–81, 188–90,  
   218 n.5, 235  
   and presidential power 177–8, 216  
   and prime minister 170, 171, 176,  
   183–7, 189  
 Hetmans 88–9  
 Heuss, Theodore 5  
 Higley, John 16–17  
 Hindenburg, Paul, and party system 11  
 Horbulin, Volodymyr 85  
 Horn, Gyula 213–14  
 Horváth, Balázs 209  
 Hrushevs'kyi, Mykhailo 89  
 Hryn'ov, Volodymyr 70–1  
 Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)  
   203–4, 206–8, 210–12, 213–15  
 Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP)  
   206–8, 213–14, 231  
 Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party  
   (MSZMP) 202–7  
 Hungary 201–17  
   collective presidency 202  
   and consolidation of democracy 17,  
   230–1  
   consolidation of state power 209–13  
   and parliamentary system 5  
   presidential election 1995 214–15  
   and presidential power 33–4, 147,  
   203, 205–8, 210–12, 215–17, 226–7,  
   230–1  
   prime minister and president 210–14,  
   215–16  
   and semi-presidentialism 39, 201–2,  
   215–17, 217 n.2  
   transition to democracy 202–9  
   *see also* constitution; parliament; party  
   system  
 Huntington, Samuel P. 15  
 Hurenko, Stanislav 68  
 Huskey, Eugene 16
- Iceland, and semi-presidentialism 3, 12,  
 217 n.2  
 Iliescu, Ion 18, 200, 224 n.68  
 Ilyushin, Viktor 52, 64 n.75  
 impeachment  
   Hungary 211, 212  
   Poland 144, 150–2  
   Russia 46, 57, 58  
   Ukraine 81, 87, 88

## 244 Index

- Independent Smallholders (FKGP), Hungary 204, 208, 214  
 “institutionalism, new” 20, 27–31  
 institutions  
   and choice of system 31–3, 196–7  
   and consolidation of democracy 15–20, 27–31, 171–2, 195–6, 201, 230–1  
   and separation of powers 24–31, 131  
   and transition to democracy 201–9  
 International Monetary Fund  
   and Kazakstan 121–2  
   and Poland 137  
 Ireland, and semi-presidentialism 3, 12, 217 n.2  
 Islam, in Kazakstan 116, 125  
 Israel, and semi-presidentialism 4  
 Italy, studies of presidents 5  
*Izvestiya* 52–3
- Jaruzelski, Wojciech 131–3, 136–7, 229–30, 234  
 Jasiewicz, Krzysztof 9, 33, 130–65, 234  
 judiciary, and separation of powers 23, 121, 128, 142, 143
- Kaczyński, Jarosław 137, 154–6, 234  
 Kádár, János 202–3  
 Kalmurzaev, Sarubai 123–4  
 Kaltefleiter, Werner 11, 12  
 Kaminski, Bartłomiej 198  
 Karimov, Islam Abduganevich 18, 122  
 Karl, Terry Lynn 15  
 Kazakstan 106–29  
   decrease in presidential power 110–13  
   and direct presidential rule 107, 109, 110–11, 121–6  
   increase in presidential power 107–10  
   and influence of Russia 32  
   and Kazak identity 114–17  
   People’s Assembly 109  
   presidential elections 107, 109  
   presidentialism 106, 109  
   prime minister and president 18, 106, 108–9, 123  
   regional and ethnic blocs 113–14, 117–18, 123, 128  
   and semi-presidentialism 111  
   vice-president 57  
   *see also* Nazarbaev, Nursultan;  
   parliament; party system  
 Kazhegeldin, Akezhan 108–9, 112, 123–4  
 Kekilbaev, A. 119
- Kekkonen, Urho Kaleva 11  
 Khasbulatov, Ruslan 8, 32, 46–7, 95  
 Khrushchev, Nikita, and presidency 39  
 King, Anthony 21  
 Király, Zoltán 203, 207–8, 221 n.30  
 Kirgizia, vice-president 57  
 Kiš, Janos 231  
 Klaus, Václav 17, 173, 176, 179–80, 183–8, 189–90, 235  
 Kołodko, Grzegorz 152  
 Kołodziejczyk, Piotr 140, 152  
 Komarek, Valtr 176–7  
 Korea, vice-president 57  
 Kornberg, Allan 19  
 Korzhakov, Alexander 52–3  
 Kostikov, Vyacheslav 52, 53  
 Kovac, Michal, and prime minister 18, 224 n.68
- Kravchuk, Leonid  
   and chairman of Supreme Soviet 68  
   consolidation of presidential power 71, 75–8, 79, 80–1, 89  
   and nationalism 68–9, 70–1, 75, 76–7, 81, 82–3, 94  
   and parliament 32, 71–80, 81–2, 85, 90, 92–4, 95  
   power base 18, 70, 77–8  
   as president 67–80, 81–3  
   and prime minister 75, 78–81, 93–4
- Kubicek, Paul 88  
 Kuchma, Leonid  
   and constitution 85, 86–8, 216  
   and nationalism 85  
   and parliament 32, 83–5, 86–8, 89, 90, 91, 92–3, 95  
   as president 67, 83–8  
   and presidential elections 81–3  
   as prime minister 78–80, 81, 94  
   and prime minister 83, 86, 93
- Kullberg, Judith 16–17  
 Kunaev, Dinmukhamad 116  
 Kurashvili, Boris 62 n.15  
 Kuroń, Jacek 157–8  
 Kviatkovskaia, Tatiana 108, 111  
 Kwaśniewski, Aleksander 33, 157–62, 163–4, 229  
 Kyrgystan, president 122
- Lad (Harmony) party, Kazakstan 111, 112  
 Landsbergis, Vytautas, as political dissident 17–18  
 Lanovyi, Volodymyr 78, 82  
 Laski, Harold J. 27, 29–31

- Latvia 61 n.1, 201  
 Lazarenko, Pavlo 94  
 Lazarev, Boris 41  
 leadership  
   collective 38  
   personalized 7, 38, 42  
 Lebed, Alexander 12, 52, 55–6  
 Legal Development of Kazakhstan 111–12  
 legitimacy, democratic 4, 131, 136, 165, 216, 227, 230–2  
 Liberal Democratic Congress, Poland 135, 136  
 liberalism, Poland 135  
 Ligachev, Yegor 49  
 Lijphart, Arend 225, 228–9  
 Likhachev, Dmitrii 42  
 Linz, Juan J. 1–14, 15, 19, 82, 95, 133–4, 160–2, 196, 216, 225  
 Lippmann, Walter, and parliamentary system 28  
 Lipset, S. M. 135  
 Lithuania, executive presidency 61 n.1, 91, 200  
 Livshits, Alexander 52  
 Lloyd George, David 29  
 lobbying 30  
 Locke, John, and separation of powers 21  
 Low, Sidney 28  
 Lowi, Theodore 30  
 Lucky, Christian 225  
 Luk"ianenko, Levko 68, 71  
 Luk'yanov, Anatolii 41  
 Lypyns'kyi, V"iacheslav 68  
 McGregor, James 91, 147, 171, 225, 226–7  
 Macierewicz, Andrzej 140–1  
 McIlwain, Charles H. 26–7  
 McKechnie, William Sharp 28  
 Madison, James, and separation of powers 21, 22, 24  
 Madl, Ferenc 215  
 majoritarianism, presidential 82, 95  
 Marchuk, Yevhen 94  
 Markiewicz, Marek 151  
 Markov, Ihor 88  
 Masaryk, Thomas G. 178  
 Masol, Vitalii 94, 105 n.110  
 Mathernova, Katerina 169  
 Mazowiecki, Tadeusz 9, 132–4, 137, 138–9, 148, 154, 157, 224 n.68, 234  
 Mečiar, Vladimír 18, 179–80, 189–90, 224 n.68  
 media  
   Czech Republic 186  
   Hungary 206, 212–13  
   Kazakstan 111, 112  
   Poland 140, 144, 151  
 Medvedev, Sergei 64 n.74  
 Medvedev, Vadim 39–40  
 Meri, Lennart, as political dissident 17–18  
 Mette, Vitali 124  
 Michnik, Adam 154  
 Migranyan, A. 200, 203  
 Milczanowski, 152, 153, 163  
 Milewski, Jerzy 155  
 Milosevic, Slobodan, power base 18  
 minister of state, Ukraine 76  
 minority parties, and  
   semi-presidentialism 4  
 Miodowicz, Alfred 159  
 Mitterand, François 11, 16, 226  
 Mladenov, Peter 232  
 Moczulski, 134  
 Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, and separation of powers 21–2  
 Moroz, Oleksandr 70, 79, 82–3, 87, 93, 95  
 Morozov, Kostiantyn 94  
 Mościcki, Ignacy 130  
 Movement for a Democratic Slovakia 179, 189, 224 n.68  
 Musolf, Lloyd D. 19  
 National Salvation Front, Romania 199–200, 224 n.68  
 National Security Council, Ukraine 85  
 nationalism  
   Hungarian 203  
   Kazak 111, 112, 114–17, 118  
   political effects 6, 7  
   Russian, in Kazakstan 111, 112, 118  
   Slovak 178, 190  
   Ukrainian 32, 68–9, 70–1, 75, 76–9, 81, 82–3, 85, 88–90, 92, 94, 95  
 NATO, and Czech Republic 188  
 Nazarbaev, Nursultan 106–29  
   decrease in power 110–13, 119–20  
   and direct presidential rule 107, 109, 110–11, 121–9, 216  
   increase in power 107–10  
   and nationalism 116  
   and parliament 32–3, 107–13, 118–23, 127–8  
   popularity 18, 106, 119  
   powers 106–7  
   presidential palace 123

## 246 Index

- Nazarbaev, Nursultan (*cont.*)  
 and presidential party 119, 122, 127  
 and prime minister 106, 108–9, 112, 123  
 neo-communism, Poland 148–54  
 Niiazov, Saparmurad 18, 122, 218 n.7  
 nomenklatura 229  
   Kazakstan 112, 118  
 nominations, Russia 45  
 Non-Party Bloc for Support of Reforms (BBWR) 148–9, 156  
 North, Douglass C. 16, 27  
 Norton, Philip 19  
 Nosov, Vladyslav 100 n.11  
 Nurtazin, Marash 111
- Offe, Claus 15  
 Okoński, Zbigniew 152, 153  
 Olcott, Martha Brill 12, 32–3, 106–29  
 Olechowski, Andrezej 157  
 Oleksy, Józef 153, 163–4  
 Olson, David M. 19  
 Olszewski, Jan 139–41, 142, 154–6, 164  
 O’Neil, Patrick 12, 33–4, 195–217, 226  
 opinion, public  
   Bulgaria 232  
   Czech Republic 186, 188  
   Hungary 210  
   Kazakstan 121  
   Poland 234  
 opposition *see* parliament, Czech Republic; parliament, Hungarian; parliament, Kazak; parliament, Polish  
 Opposition Roundtable (EKA), Hungary 204–5  
 organizations, quasi-governmental 25  
 Osiatyński, Wiktor 229  
 Otan-Otechestvo “Fatherland” coalition 112, 118
- Pakulski, Jan 16–17  
 parliament, Czech Republic 170–1  
   elections 1996 187–8  
   opposition 184, 186  
   and power of dissolution 170–1, 182, 186  
   and president 170, 183–4, 186, 187–9  
 parliament, Czechoslovak Federation  
   power of dissolution 169, 178, 235  
   and president 169, 172, 177–80, 189–91, 235  
 parliament, Hungarian  
   coalitions 208, 213–14, 216  
   elections 1990 204–7  
   elections 1994 213  
   opposition 203–12, 213–15, 230  
   and power of dissolution 206, 208  
   and president 203–7, 210–11, 213–16, 230–1  
 parliament, Kazak 32  
   consolidation 111  
   and Constitutional Court 120–1, 124  
   and dissolution 107, 110–11, 121–2, 127–8  
   opposition 111–12, 118–19, 125, 129  
   and president 32–3, 107–13, 118–23, 127–8  
   and prime minister 112  
   professionalism 119  
   regional and ethnic blocs 113–14, 123–6  
 parliament, Polish  
   confrontations with 9  
   elections 1991 134–5, 138  
   elections 1993 134–5, 148–54, 156, 162  
   opposition 131, 139–40, 153, 229–30  
   power of dissolution 144–7, 148, 153  
   and president 9, 33, 130–2, 136–41, 142, 144–8, 149–54, 229–30, 234  
 parliament, Russian 7–8  
   and chairman of Supreme Soviet 40  
   and dissolution 38, 47, 48, 54, 59, 80, 107  
   and executive presidency 39, 41–2, 44–8, 54, 59–60, 85, 86  
   and party system 12  
 parliament, Ukrainian  
   election 1994 81–3  
   and party system 92, 95  
   and power of dissolution 86, 87, 88, 90–1  
   and president 32, 70, 71–80, 81–2, 83–94, 95–6  
   and continuity of office 9  
   and democracy 2–3, 19–20  
   and heads of state 5–6, 12, 18–19  
   and party systems 12, 92  
   power of censure 89  
   and president 106, 227–8, 234  
   and presidentialism 1–2, 19, 27–31, 219 n.21  
   and prime minister 10  
   and separation of powers 22–3, 24–6  
   *see also* bi-cameralism  
 parochialism 30  
 party system  
   and consolidation of democracy 15, 18, 195, 226

- and control of parliament 28–9, 30, 59–60
- Czech Republic 181–2, 188–9
- Czechoslovak Federation 175, 188 and electoral system 12
- France 6
- Hungary 203–8, 209–11, 213–15
- Kazakhstan 11–12, 118–19, 122, 127
- Poland 9, 134–5, 138–9, 149, 152, 156, 161–2
- Russia 7, 12, 39–42, 54, 59–60 and semi-presidentialism 10–13, 17–18, 78
- and separation of powers 26
- Ukraine 88, 92, 95
- USA 5
- Parys, Jan 140
- Pavlov, Aleksandr 124
- Pawlak, Waldemar 141, 149–50, 152–3, 157–8, 164
- People's Congress Party of Kazakhstan 122, 127
- People's Party of Ukraine 71
- Perry, William 121
- Pertini, Sandro 5
- Petrushevych, Yevhen 89
- Piłsudski, Józef 130–1, 149, 156, 165, 233
- Pliushch, Ivan 82, 83, 93, 95
- pluralism, political 20, 32, 111, 127, 134–5, 206
  - limited 203
  - polarized 162
- Poland 130–65
  - collective presidency 131, 229
  - decommunization 139–40
  - presidential elections 1990 133–5
  - presidential elections 1995 95, 134, 151, 154–60
  - presidential power 164, 199, 227, 229–30, 234
  - prime minister and president 18, 61, 136–7, 139–41, 143, 145, 147, 150, 154–5, 164, 224 n.68
  - semi-presidentialism 9, 91, 137, 147, 164–5
  - see also* parliament; party system; Wałęsa, Lech
- policy, in parliamentary system 30
- Polish Peasant Party (PSL) 134–5, 141, 149, 150, 154
- Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) 199
- populism
  - Hungary 203
  - Poland 134–5, 156
- Portugal, and semi-presidentialism 3, 12, 197
- powers, fusion 28–31
- powers, separation 15, 20–7, 28–9, 196–7
  - and common interest 23
  - critiques 26–7
  - and efficiency 23, 28
  - formalist approach 24
  - functionalist approach 4
  - holistic approach 25
  - and institutions 24–7
  - legalist approach 24–5
  - Poland 142
  - and pressure groups 30–1
  - Ukraine 90, 95
  - and Yeltsin 24, 59
  - see also* accountability; checks and balances; rule of law
- Pozsgay, Imre 203, 204, 206, 230–1
- prefects, presidential, Ukraine 76, 77, 78–9
- premier presidential system 3
- president
  - and exercise of power 19–20
  - as head of state 5–6, 12, 18–19, 48, 67, 75, 78–9, 89, 169, 196, 202, 205–6, 212
  - and legislature 16, 23, 24–6
  - and party system 10–13, 17–18, 30, 39–42, 59–60, 78, 156, 161
  - pre-election popularity 17–18
  - symbolic power 174–5, 235
  - and tailor-made constitutions 232–6
- president/parliamentary system *see* semi-presidentialism
- presidentialism
  - advantages 57, 199–201
  - comparative studies 5–6, 17, 19–20, 225, 226–8
  - and democracy 1–3
  - disadvantages 57–61, 127–9, 196–7
  - and extended term 122
  - and fixed term 4, 33, 42, 45, 48, 69, 109, 131, 154, 165, 182, 196, 214
  - historical comparisons 88–9
  - and parliamentary systems 1, 19, 27–31, 57
  - relationship with political parties 7, 9, 17
  - sources 197–201
  - see also* Kazakhstan; Russia; Yeltsin, Boris



## 248 Index

- pressure groups, and separation of powers 30–1
- Price, Don K. 28–30
- prime minister  
 and cabinet government 28, 43, 196, 208  
 direct election 4  
 and executive 24, 48, 80, 196  
 and parliament 19  
 and party system 10, 12  
 and president 18–19, 33  
 and semi-presidentialism 16, 18
- prime minister, Czech Republic 170, 171, 183–7, 189
- prime minister, Czechoslovak Federation 169, 176  
 deputy 176
- prime minister, Hungary  
 and executive power 204, 208, 215–16  
 and president 209, 210–14, 215–16
- prime minister, Kazak  
 deputy prime ministers 124  
 and parliament 112  
 and president 18, 106, 108–9, 123
- prime minister, Polish 9, 18, 61, 136, 137  
 deputy 137, 149–50, 152  
 and president 18, 61, 136–7, 139–41, 143, 145, 147, 150, 154–5, 164, 224 n.68
- prime minister, Russian 8, 12, 18  
 and general secretaryship 38  
 and parliament 60–1  
 and president 42–3, 45, 48, 57, 59–60
- prime minister, Slovak 18, 61
- prime minister, Ukrainian 75, 78–9  
 and deputy prime minister 76, 80, 94  
 and president 18, 75, 78–81, 83, 86, 89, 91, 93–4
- prime ministerialism 19
- privatization  
 Czech Republic 118  
 Kazakstan 117–18, 122–3, 127  
 Poland 147–8
- Przeworski, Adam 15
- Putnam, Robert D. 15
- Pynzenyk, Viktor 94
- quasi-presidentialism *see*  
 semi-presidentialism
- rational choice analysis 31
- Rechtsstaat* 23
- referenda 228  
 Czechoslovak Federation 169, 177–8, 180, 235  
 Hungary 205–7, 208–9, 214–15, 231  
 Kazakstan 107, 109, 128
- Poland 144
- Russia 7–8, 32, 46–7, 54, 56, 200
- reform, economic  
 Czech Republic 185  
 Czechoslovak Federation 168, 176–7, 179  
 Kazakstan 108, 112, 117–18, 122–3, 125–6, 127–8  
 Poland 132, 137, 147–8, 150  
 Russia 56, 57  
 Ukraine 78–9, 80–1, 82–3, 85, 87, 90, 93–4, 95
- Remington, Thomas 19
- representation, proportional 6, 138, 148, 228
- Republican Party, Czech Republic 173, 187
- Reschová, Jana 189
- Respublika, Kazakstan 111–12, 118, 119, 122
- Riggs, Fred W. 5
- Rokkan, S. 135, 228
- Roman, Petre 224 n.68
- Romania, and presidency 199–200, 224 n.68
- Roundtable Accords 131, 137, 202, 205, 207–8, 229–31, 234
- Rukh (Ukraine) 71, 75, 80, 102 n.58
- rule of law 22–3, 125, 156–7, 163
- Russia 38–61  
 April 1993 referendum 7, 32, 46–7, 54, 56  
 and consolidation of democracy 17  
 and continuity of office 8–9  
 coup attempt 1991 45, 54, 70  
 December 1993 referendum 8, 47  
 dual power structure 7–8, 9, 16  
 and emergence of presidential government 39–47  
 general secretary and president 40–1, 43, 50, 57  
 and Kazakstan 113–14, 115, 123–6  
 March 1991 referendum 200  
 and president 44–5, 54–61, 91, 200  
 Presidential Council 52  
 Security Council 52, 55  
 and Ukraine 79, 82, 87, 94  
 and union republics 41, 43–4  
 and Yeltsin as president 47–56, 80  
*see also* Gorbachev, Mikhail; parliament; party system; prime minister; Soviet Union; Yeltsin, Boris
- Rutskoi, Aleksandr 8
- Ryurikov, Dmitrii 52
- Ryzhkov, Nikolai 38, 66 n.111
- Sakharov, Andrei 40

- Sarnecki, Pawel 25–6  
 Sartori, Giovanni 3, 4, 8, 15, 134–5  
 Schärf, and party system 11  
 Schmitter, Philippe, C. 15  
 secessionism, political effects 6  
 Sejm *see* parliament, Polish  
 semi-parliamentarism *see* semi-presidentialism  
 semi-presidentialism  
   advantages 61, 216  
   definition 217 n.2  
   and democracy 2, 19, 196  
   difficulty of assessment 3–4  
   disadvantages 81, 215–16  
   and party systems 10–13, 18, 78  
   *see also* Czech Republic; Hungary;  
   Poland; Ukraine  
 Shaikenov, Nagashbay 121  
 Shakhnazarov, Georgii 39–41  
 Shevardnadze, Edvard 18, 216  
 Shpek, Roman 94  
 Shugart, Matthew 3, 89, 90, 137, 147,  
 225, 226, 228  
 Shushkevich, Stanislav, and parliament  
 18–19  
 Skach, Cindy 17, 20, 168, 219 n.21  
 Skoropads'kyi, Pavlo 89  
 Sládek, Miroslav 173  
 Slovakia  
   prime minister and president 18, 61,  
   224 n.68  
   and semi-presidentialism 39, 217 n.2  
 SNEK (presidential party), Kazakstan  
 119, 122, 127  
 Soares, Mario 12  
 Social Democratic Party (CSSD), Czech  
 Republic 187–8  
 Social Democrats (MSZDP), Hungary  
 204–5  
 socialism, Poland 135  
 Socialist Party of Kazakstan 111, 120,  
 122, 127  
 Socialist Party of Ukraine 70, 79, 82,  
 86, 87, 94  
 Solidarity movement 9, 130–2, 133–5,  
 138, 140, 162, 199  
   and support for Wałęsa 148, 149,  
   155–6, 159  
 Soskovets, Oleg 60  
 Soviet Union  
   and Gorbachev presidency 6–7,  
   38–45, 198  
   and presidentialism 198, 200  
   and Ukraine 68–9, 70–1  
 speakership  
   Kazakstan 119  
   Poland 164  
   Russia 40, 46  
 stability, and presidentialism 33, 57,  
 196–7, 216  
 Stalin, I. V., and presidency 39, 43  
 Stark, David 207, 221 n.33, 222 n.40  
 state, expansion 25–6  
 state of emergency, declaration 46, 109,  
 136, 143, 228, 235  
 Stepan, Alfred 2, 15, 17, 20, 168, 219  
 n.21  
 Suchocka, Hanna 141, 147–8, 157  
 Sukhanov, Lev 51  
 Suleimenov, Olzhas 119, 122  
 sultanism 14  
 Sultanov, K. 120  
 Świtoń, Kazimierz 141  
 Symonenko, Valentin 78, 93  
 Tabachnyk, Dmyto 85  
 Tabigat (Green party), Kazakstan 111  
 Taburians'kyi, Leopold 71  
 Talanchuk, Petro 82, 83  
 Taras, Raymond 25–34  
 Teitgen, Pierre-Henri 233  
 Tereshchenko, Sergei 112, 118, 123–4  
 Tkachenko, Oleksandr 70  
 Tleuberdin, Altai 124  
 Tocqueville, Alexis de 15  
 trade union, and presidential affiliation 78  
 Tucker, Robert C. 20  
 Turkmenia *see* Turkmenistan  
 Turkmenistan  
   direct presidential rule 39, 122,  
   127–8, 218 n.7  
   Halk Maslahaty (Council of Elders)  
   109  
 Tymiński, Stanisław 133–5, 161  
 tyranny, and accumulation of powers 21,  
 22  
 UK, and separation of powers 28–9  
 Ukraine 67–99  
   and 1991 presidential election 70–5  
   avoidance of confrontation 9, 95–6  
   consolidation of presidential power  
   67, 71, 75–7, 83–8  
   constitutional agreement 1995 86–8,  
   89, 91, 93  
   emergence of presidential government  
   68–9  
   Law on the Election of the President  
   69  
   Law on the Presidency 1991 69, 76  
   presidential advisory council 76, 79  
   presidential election 1991 70–5, 97  
   presidential election 1994 81–2, 84,  
   94, 96, 98, 99

## 250 Index

- Ukraine (*cont.*)  
 prime minister and president 18, 75,  
 78–81, 83, 86, 89, 91, 93–4  
 semi-presidentialism 67, 88–91  
*see also* constitution; Kravchuk, Leonid;  
 Kuchma, Leonid; nationalism;  
 parliament; party system; Russia  
 Ukrainian People's Republic 89  
 Ukrainian Republican Party 68  
 Union of Democratic Forces (UDF),  
 Bulgaria 231–2  
 United States  
 and Kazakhstan 121  
 and presidentialism 5–6  
 and separation of powers 21–2, 25–6,  
 28–9  
 and War Powers Act 59  
 Uzbekistan, presidential rule 122, 127–8
- veto, parliamentary, Ukraine 90  
 veto, presidential 25  
 Czech Republic 170, 182, 183, 235  
 Czechoslovak Federation 169  
 Kazakhstan 110, 112  
 Poland 136, 138, 147, 150–1, 153  
 Russia 42, 59  
 Ukraine 69, 70, 81, 86, 90, 93
- vice-president  
 abolition of post 8  
 and balanced ticket 7, 8  
 and continuity of office 8–9  
 Russia 43, 57  
 Ukraine 70<sup>a</sup>
- Vile, M. J. C. 21  
 Vondra, Alexander 183
- Wachowski, Mieczysław 155  
 Wajda, Andrzej 165  
 Wałęsa, Lech  
 and consolidation of democracy 17,  
 216  
 and parliament 9, 33, 136–41, 142,  
 144–8, 149–54  
 as political dissident 17–18, 132  
 as president 130–1, 142–8, 163–5,  
 227, 234  
 and presidential elections 1990  
 133–5, 230  
 and presidential elections 1995 151,  
 154–60, 164  
 and prime minister 18, 61, 136–7,  
 139–41, 143, 145, 147, 150, 154–5,  
 164, 224 n.68  
 support for 155–9
- Weimar Germany  
 and party system 11  
 and semi-presidentialism 3–4  
 West Ukrainian People's Republic 89  
 White, Stephen 8, 32, 38–61, 219 n.13,  
 226  
 Wilson, Andrew 9, 32, 67–99  
 Wilson, Woodrow, and parliamentary  
 system 28  
 Wolchik, Sharon 12, 33, 168–91, 235  
 Workers' Movement, Kazakhstan 112  
 World Bank, and Poland 137
- Yanaev, Gennadii 43  
 Yavlinsky, Grigorii  
 and consolidation of democracy 17  
 and presidential elections 56  
 Yeltsin, Boris  
 advisers 51–3  
 background and early life 47–9  
 and democratic parties 7, 12  
 ill health 53, 55, 58  
 and parliament 7–8, 12, 39, 41–2,  
 44–7, 59–60, 80, 85, 86, 107  
 as parliamentary chairman 50–1, 54  
 political career 49–51  
 and political parties 54–5  
 popularity 18, 32, 50, 53–6  
 as president 38–61, 69, 87, 216, 226  
 and presidentialism 32, 43–4, 46–56,  
 57–61  
 reported alcoholism 58  
 second term in office 55–6  
 and separation of powers 24, 59  
 and vice-president 8, 57  
 Yemets', Oleksandr 76  
 Young Democrats (FIDESZ), Hungary  
 204, 205, 206, 211, 214–15  
 Yugoslav Federation, and democracy 2  
 Yukhnovskiy, Ihor 71  
 Yushchenko, Viktor 94  
 Yuzkov, Leonid 89–90
- Zeman, Milos 187–8  
 Zhelev, Zhelio, as political dissident  
 17–18, 232  
 Zhirinovskiy, Vladimir 55, 133  
 Zhivkov, Todor 231–2  
 Zieleniec, Josef 183  
 Zieliński, Tadeusz 158, 161  
 Ziuganov, Gennadii *see* Zyuganov,  
 Gennadii  
 Zviahil's'kyi, Yukhym 80, 93–4  
 Zyuganov, Gennadii 55–6, 58, 87