Index

1956 Uprising. see Hungarian Uprising

Ackerman, Bruce, 22
agenda setting, 21, 27, 28, 101, 196, 227, see also Transitional Justice
Bill (TJB) game
Alejo del Río, Rito, 223
Alfonsin, Raúl, 38
Alliance of Free Democrats (SzDSz), 80–1, 130, 133–4, 180–6 see also Alliance of Young Democrats (FiDeSz), Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party (Fidesz-MPP)
Alliance of Young Democrats (FiDeSz), 128–9, 130–4, 180–6 see also Alliance of Free Democrats (SzDSz), Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party (Fidesz-MPP)
amnesty promises eventually broken by liberal parties, 16–20, 28, 36, 212, see also credible commitments during transition from authoritarianism; lustration; transition to democracy
strategic reasoning behind, 53, 210
ancien régime defined, 5
Antall, József, 13, 82–3
anticommunist parties. See under parties, types of
Argentina, 38
armed conflict and civil war, settlements following, 91, 37, 215–26
authoritarian institutions, 207–10 see also regime types; single-party authoritarianism
and tenure, longevity of regime, 43, 215
Backer, David, 113
backward induction 167, see also Subgame Perfect Nash Equilibrium
Bartoncik, Roman, 66
Beke, László, 1
Benoit, Ken 106, see also under survey data
Blind Chance (film by Krzysztof Kieślowski), 6–7, 139, 214
Boylan, Delia, 209
Brownlee, Jason, 207–8
Budapest Uprising. see Hungarian Uprising
Calda, Milosz, 69
Čarnogurski, Ján, 199
case study method. see interviews of elites
Ceausescu, Nicolai, 36
Charta 77 movement, 62
Chile, 38
Choi, Suzanne, 116
Christian Democratic People’s Party (KDNP), 180–6
Civic Forum (OF), 67–8
civil war and armed conflict,
settlements following, 37, 91,
215–26
classified or secret files, handling of,
13–16, 19, 43–4, 65–76, 81, 83, 86,
92, 116–18, 154, 164, 181, 188–91,
194–5, 216–24, 231–2, see also
declassification
Colombia
as a broader application of the
skeletons in the closet model,
216
Justice and Peace Law (JPL), 216
communist parties. See under parties, types of
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC), 63, 93
communists, former 14 see also parties;
types of; post-communists; social
democratic
Confederacy for Independent Poland (KPN), 138–9
crackdowns following anticommunist
protests or movements, 71–3, 79,
93, 135–8, 157 see also martial law,
in Poland; Soviet Union,
influence of
“normalization” following the
Prague Spring, 25, 63
credible commitments during
transition from authoritarianism,
36–41, 42–57, 91–5, 209–12, 226,
see also amnesty promises
eventually broken by liberal
parties; skeletons in the closet
model; Transition with Secret
Information (TSI) game
Czech Republic, 3, 12, 27,
193
Czechoslovakia, 3, 25–7, 211
transition to democracy, 62–70, 91,
93
David, Roman, 116
declassification, 3–12, 14–16, 22–7, 40,
65–76, 83, 105, 164, 185, 188–9,
see also classified or secret files;
handling of
decomunization, 23, 68, 77, 159, 167,
201, see also lustration, as opposed
to decomunization
democratic institutions, 9, 10, 68, 97
Democratic Left Alliance (SLD),
186–92
Democratic Union (DÚ, Slovakia), 198
Democratic Union (UD, Poland), 76
dissident movements, types of. See also
infiltration of dissident
organizations
clandestine conspiracy, 138–44, 159
open opposition, 135–8, 143–4
dissidents, former 15, see also
opposition, former; parties, types of,
anticommunist, liberal or
liberal opposition
Dzurinda, Mikuláš, 199
East Central Europe (ECE), 25, 27, 29,
35–41, 43, 74, 88, 91–5, 99–101, 110
, 130, 150, 155, 163, 179, 193, 201,
203, 206, 210–12, 226–8
East Germany, 195; see also Germany;
economics of religion; see religious
markets theory
Ekiert, Grzegorz, 63, 93
Electoral Action Solidarity (AWS), 19,
148, 154, 186–192, see also
Solidarity (Independent Trade
Union)
Elster, Jon, 22, 95, 226
Estonia, 204
European Union (EU) membership,
155
Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party
(Fidesz-MPP), 180–6, see also
Alliance of Free Democrats
(SzDSz); Alliance of Young
Democrats (FiDeSz)
Index

Fighting Solidarity (SW) 139, see also Solidarity (Independent Trade Union)
Finke, Roger, 54–6
framing, see agenda setting
Freedom Union (UW), 186–92

game theory, 159, 180, see also rational choice theory; Transition with Secret Information (TSI) game; Transitional Justice Bill (TJB) game
Gandhi, Jennifer, 207–8
Garlicki, Andrzej, 58
Garton Ash, Timothy, 70
Geddes, Barbara, 37–9, 215
Germany, 204
Gibson, James, 106, 114–16, see also under survey data, Legal Values Survey
Gilowska, Zyta, 10
Green, Ken, 209
Grupa Krakowska, 6
Grzymała-Busse, Anna, 93, 122, 214
Havel, Václav, 65–6
Holmes, Stephen, 23
Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), 13–14, 79–83
Hungarian Justice and Life Party (MIÉP), 180–6
Hungarian Socialist Party (MSzP), 83, 180–6
Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party (MSzMP), 79, 81
Hungarian Uprising, 1, 25, 78–9, 90
Hungary, 3, 12–15, 25–7
lustration adopted by post-communists preemptively, 164, 180–6
transition to democracy, 77–83, 90
voter demand for lustration, 103–4
Huntington, Samuel, 22
Husak, Gustav, 64–5
Iannaccone, Laurence R., 54–6
infiltration of communist parties, 54, 63, 82
as paralleling infiltration of Colombian government, 218
infiltration of dissident organizations, 13, 40, 43–57, 64, 70–87, 94, 136–7, 233, see also dissident movements, types of institutions, see authoritarian institutions; democratic institutions;
interviews of elites, 132–5, 141–2, used as aggregate data, 68–91
used as analytic narratives, 60–83
Italy, 7
Jaruzelski, Wojciech, 39, 71, 230
Kaczyński, Jarosław, 16–19, 76, 129–30
Kaczyński, Lech, 16–19, 129–30
Kadar, János, 79
kidnapper’s dilemma 42–3, see also Simple Transition Game (STG); Transition with Secret Information (TSI) game
Kiesłowski, Krzysztof, 6–7, see also Blind Chance (film by Krzysztof Kiesłowski)
Klingemann, Dieter Hans 107, see also under manifesto data
Komorowski, Bronislaw, 75
Kwaśniewski, Aleksander, 14–16, 35, 164
Labor Union (UP), 186–92
Laborers’ Defense Committee (KOR), 6, 135–8
Latvia, 3
Laver, Michael, 106, see also under survey data
Law and Justice (PiS) Party, 16–19, 128–30

295
Legal Values Survey (LVS, Gibson). 
See under survey data 
legislators, data on their characteristics, 150–3 
literal parties. See under parties, types of 
Lithuania, 3–4 
lustration by post-communists and “strategic collaboration,” 200–2 
Little Conspirator, The (manual), 8, 55, 141
lustration, 2, 43, 73–7, 82–3, 92, 94, see also amnesty promises eventually broken by 
liberal parties; puzzles in explaining peaceful transitions from authoritarianism; skeletons in the closet model; Transitional Justice Bill (TJB) game 
adopted by post-communists preemptively, 22, 20–2, 162–205, 213, 227–8, see also under Hungary; Lithuania; Poland; Slovakia 
and the rise of untainted parties, 124, 127, 213, 227 
as opposed to decommunization, 23, 201, see also decommunization; court overturning of laws or amendments, 14, 17, 83, 96, 184, 195 
delays and timing of, 22–7, 40, 44, 79, 97–126, 162–3, 210–14, 227 
initially mild but increasingly harsh forms adopted, 126 
normative arguments regarding, 153–4 
role of voter demand and saliency, 99–125, 205 Hungary, Poland, Slovakia; see also under rational choice theory, weaknesses of the Downsian model for predicting implementation of lustration; transitional justice, role of voter demand and saliency 
Macierewicz, Antoni, 15–16 
Magaloni, Beatriz, 208–10 
Mancuso, Salvatore, 223 
manifesto data, 107, 128, 146–8, see also types of evidence used 
Manifesto Data Project (Klingemann), 107 
Markowski, Radoslaw, 156 
martial law, in Poland, 25, 39, 71–3, 89, 136–7, 139, 230, see also crackdowns following anticommmunist protests or movements 
Mazowiecki, Tadeusz, 74, 76 
Mečiar, Vladimír, 193–5, 197–9 
Medgyessy, Peter, 10, 103 
Menem, Carlos, 38 
Mikke, Janusz Korwin, 14 
Miller, William, 106, see also under survey data 
Moczulski, Leszek, 139 
Moravčík, Jozef, 198 
Morawiecki, Kornel, 139 
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), 193, 195, 197–9 
Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland (ROP), 186–92 
Mussolini, Benito, 7 
Nagy, Imre, 78 
Nash equilibrium, 35–6, see also Subgame Perfect Nash Equilibrium 
NATO membership, 155 
Nemeth, Miklos, 13 
Nino, Carlos, 22 
norms. see lustration, normative arguments regarding; rational choice theory, norms and promises not sufficient explanations; skeletons in the closet model
Northern Ireland
as a broader application of the skeletons in the closet model, 225–6

O'Donnell, Guillermo, 23, 35
Olechowski, Andrzej, 10
Olszewski, Jan, 19
open rules, of parliamentary decision making. see agenda setting;
Transitional Justice Bill (TJB) game, closed rule versus open rule procedure
opposition, former, 2, 12, 17, 40, 75, 83, 95, 102, 114, 127, 162, 209, 233 see also dissidents, former; parties, types of, anticomunist, liberal or liberal opposition
Orban, Victor, 133
Ost, David, 153
pactified transitions model, 28, 164, see also Simple Transition Game (STG)
original names, translations, and abbreviations listed, xxiii–xxv
parties, data on their age, 148–50, 255, see also types of evidence used
parties, types of
anticommunist, 29, 53, 59, see also dissidents, former; lustration, and the rise of untainted parties; opposition, former
communist, 14
liberal or liberal opposition, 13, 29, 53, 59, 86 see also dissidents, former; opposition, former
populist or illiberal, 153–8
post-communist, 29, 53, 59, see also lustration, adopted by post-communists preemptively
social democratic, 2, 211
Party of Independent Smallholders (FKgP), 180–6
Party Policy in Modern Democracies (PPMD, Benoit and Laver). See under survey data
People’s Party (SL), 66
Perfect Bayesian Equilibrium (PBE). See under Transition with Secret Information (TSI) game
Peruvian Truth Commission, 6
Petacci, Claretta, 7
Pinochet, Augusto, 38
Poland, 3, 12, 14–20, 25–7, 151
characteristics of legislators, 150–3
lustration adopted by post-communists preemptively, 163–4, 179, 186–92
transition to democracy, 64–5, 70–7, 89–90
voter demand for lustration, 104
Polish People’s Party (PSL), 143, 158, 186–92
Polish United Workers’ Party (PZPR), 39, 71
post-communists. see communists, former; lustration, adopted by post-communists preemptively; parties, types of, post-communist, social democratic
Pozgay, Imre, 35, 81
Prague Spring, 63–4, 93
procedures. See under transitional justice, Transitional Justice Bill (TJB) game
Przeworski, Adam, 35, 97, 207
puzzles in explaining peaceful transitions from authoritarianism; 11–22, 210–15, 227
first puzzle, 11–16, 28, 210–12, see also credible commitments during transition from authoritarianism; infiltration

297
of dissident organizations; skeletons in the closet model
second puzzle, 16–20, 28, 212–13, see also amnesty promises
eventually broken by liberal parties; lustration, delays and timing of; initially mild but increasingly harsh forms adopted
third puzzle, 20–2, 29, 213, see also lustration, adopted by post-communists preemptively
Pyjas, Stanislaw, 6, 135
Rákosi, Mátyás, 78
rational choice theory, 21, 95, see also game theory; pacted transitions model; Simple Transition Game (STG); Transition with Secret Information (TSI) game; Transitional Justice Bill (TJB) game
norms and promises not sufficient explanations, 161
weaknesses of the Downsian model for predicting implementation of lustration, 119, 156, see also lustration, role of voter demand and saliency
Red Army, 1 see also Soviet Union, influence of
regime types, 37, 40, 215–16
authoritarianism, 216 see also authoritarian institutions; hegemonic party, 208–9
military junta or dictatorship, 7, 37–41, 206
personistic dictatorship, 37–41
single-party authoritarianism, 39–41, 208 see also authoritarian institutions
religious markets theory, 126
as a lens for viewing types of opposition organizations, 54–6
Romania, 3, 92, 211
Romaszewski, Zbigniew, 75
roundtable (RT) negotiations, 4, 12–17, 23, 35–6, 46, 49, 58–96, 97–8, 129, 134, 137–8, 159–60, 206, 210, 213, 226, 228, see also transitions to democracy
Schmitter, Philippe, 23, 35
secret files. see classified or secret files, handling of
Sejm (the Polish parliament), 15–16, 75, 151, 191
signaling model. See under Transition with Secret Information (TSI) game
Sikkink, Kathryn, 25
Simple Transition Game (STG), 33–41, 218–19, see also game theory; rational choice theory as a representation of existing views of pacted transition, 16–19 see also pacted transitions model fails to explain transition from single-party authoritarianism, 36–41
parallels kidnapper’s dilemma, 43
skeletons in the closet model, 11–20, 42, 92–7, 127, 211–12, 215–29, 232–3, see also infiltration of dissident organizations; lustration; rational choice theory; roundtable (RT) negotiations, broader implications of, 215, see also under Colombia, Northern Ireland
normative implications of, 213–14, 230–3
Slovak National Party (SNS), 157
Slovakia, 3, 12, 27, 157
inheritance of harsh lustration law from Czechoslovakia, 192–200
transition to democracy, 94
voter demand for lustration, 16, 102–3
Index

social democrats, 16, see also communists, former; parties, types of, social democratic

Solidarity (Independent Trade Union), 70, 74, 230–1, see also Electoral Action Solidarity (AWS); Fighting Solidarity (SW); Solidarity ’80 (S ’80); Student Committee of Solidarity (SKS)

Solidarity ’80 (S ’80), 139, see also Solidarity (Independent Trade Union)

South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), 5–6, 22, 114, 215, 222

Soviet Union
former states of, 204
influence of, 79, 90, 92, 95, 139, 155, 202, see also crackdowns following anticommunist protests or movements, Red Army

Stark, Rodney, 54–6
strategic choices of elites. see lustration, delays and timing of; rational choice theory
strategic collaboration. See under Lithuania

Student Committee of Solidarity (SKS) 136, see also Solidarity (Independent Trade Union)

Subgame Perfect Nash Equilibrium 172–8, see also backward induction; Nash equilibrium; Transitional Justice Bill (TJB) game

survey data. See also types of evidence used
Legal Values Survey (LVS, Gibson), 106, 108–9
Party Policy in Modern Democracies (PPMD, Benoit and Laver), 106–8, 112, 197

Transitional Justice Survey (TJS, Nalepa), 106, 108–10, 245, 117–18 see also interviews of elites

Values and Political Change in Post-Communist Europe (Miller), 245

Sustrova, Petruska, 63

Szeliga, Jerzy, 141

Taagepera, Rein, 200–1

Taylor, Charles, 38

threat, perceptions of political enemies, 115–16
tolerance, political. See threat, perceptions of political enemies,

Transition with Secret Information (TSI) game, 44–57, 58, 220, see also rational choice theory; Simple Transition Game (STG), and Perfect Bayesian Equilibrium (PBE), 49–53

as a signaling model, 44–5, 53, 55–7
empirical implications of, 61
its predictions operationalized and compared with events, 62–91
mathematic proofs to, 235–9

transition justice, 2, 8, see also declassification; lustration; puzzles in explaining peaceful transitions from authoritarianism; skeletons in the closet model

concerns about procedural fairness, 116–18

normative arguments regarding, 165
procedures, 5
role of retributive emotions, 22, 100–1, 104–5, 113, 130
role of voter demand and saliency, 10, 61, 86, 99–125, 166–205, 212, see also under Hungary; Lithuania; Poland; Slovakia; see also under lustration; role of voter demand and saliency

Transitional Justice Bill (TJB) game, see also agenda setting; lustration, adopted by post-communists preemptively; rational choice theory

299
Transitional Justice
  Bill (TJB) game (cont.)
and Subgame Perfect Nash
Equilibrium, 172–8
closed rule versus open rule
procedures, 169, 171–2, 174,
177–8, 182, 187, 202
mathematical proofs to, 259
Transitional Justice Survey (TJS,
Nalepa). See under survey data
transitions to democracy, 62–83, 210,
see also amnesty promises
eventually broken by liberal
parties; roundtable (RT)
negotiations
in Czechoslovakia, 62–70, 91, 93
in Hungary, 77–83, 90
in Poland, 64–5, 70–7, 89–90
Truth and Reconciliation Commission,
see South African Truth and
Reconciliation Commission (TRC)
truth commissions, 5, 23, see also
Peruvian Truth Commission; South
African Truth and Reconciliation
Commission (TRC)
truth revelation procedures, 5–6, 222,
see also declassification; lustration;
truth commissions

Tucker, Joshua, 156
types of evidence used, see interviews of
elites; legislators, data on their
characteristics; manifesto data;
parties, data on their age; survey
data

Urban, Jerzy, 136–7
Urbanek, Karel, 65
Uribe, Álvaro, 223

Values and Political Change in
Post-Communist Europe (Miller),
see under survey data
Vanberg, Georg, 61–2
Végvári, József, 83
velvet divorce, 64, 103, 193
victims in anticommunist protests, see
crackdowns following
anticommunist protests or
movements
Wałęsa, Lech, 17–18, 75, 230–3
Weingast, Barry, 208,
215
Yugoslavia, 92, 204