Democracy is not just a matter of constitutions, parliaments, elections, parties, and the rule of law. In order to see if or how democracy works, we must attend to what people make of it, and what they think they are doing as they engage with politics, or as politics engages them. This book examines the way democracy and democratization are thought about and lived by people in China, Russia, and eleven other countries in the post-communist world. It shows how democratic politics (and sometimes authoritarian politics) works in these countries, and generates insights into the prospects for different kinds of political development. The authors explore the implications for what is probable and possible in terms of trajectories of political reform, and examine four roads to democratization: liberal, republican, participatory, and statist. The book will be of interest to students and scholars of comparative politics, political theory, and post-communist studies.

**John S. Dryzek** is Professor of Social and Political Theory in the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University. He has also taught at the Universities of Oregon and Melbourne. He is the author of a number of books on environmental politics and democracy, most recently *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond* (2000), and *Democracy in Capitalist Times* (1996).

**Leslie Templeman Holmes** is Professor of Political Science at the University of Melbourne. His recent books are *Post-Communism* (1997) and *The End of Communist Power* (1993). In August 2000, he was elected President of the International Council for Central and East European Studies (ICCEES) for a five-year term.
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POST-COMMUNIST DEMOCRATIZATION

Political discourses across thirteen countries

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Australian National University

and

LESLIE TEMPLEMAN HOLMES
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Preface

If we want to know what democracy means in practice, then we must look at what people make of it, in new, old, and proto-democracies alike. This study maps the way democracy and democratization are thought about and lived by people in the post-communist world – including the people for whom the idea of democracy has negative associations. We seek not just to understand how democratic politics is or is not conceptualized and practiced in these countries, but also to generate insights into the prospects for democratic development and institutional change. Thus we relate an account of the discursive field of democracy in each society to its histories and contexts (up to and including late 2000, when the final version of the typescript was completed), and explore the implications for what is probable and possible when it comes to trajectories of political reform. Political development and discourses of democracy (and authoritarianism) interact: discourses help determine what is possible and likely in political development, which in turn can change the terms of discourse.

In these pages we develop and test no general theory of democratization – such a theory is probably as elusive as Macintyre’s (1973) general theory of holes. We are interested in explanation, and are happy both to deploy and to develop theory in its service. But we are also interested in interpretation and reconstruction. We believe that there is such a thing as human agency in institutional redesign, which means rejecting any kind of determinism, be it the cultural determinism of a country’s past or the theoretical determinism of law-like generalizations about democratic development. The discourses of democracy we identify in each country constitute both constraints upon and resources for those interested in different kinds of political reform. They contain interpretations of the past, and possibilities for the future.
This project was anticipated in 1989 by John Dryzek as he observed the “Autumn of the People” in Central and Eastern Europe at the same time as he was developing the basic methodology in a study of the United States (Dryzek and Berejikian, 1993). A move to the University of Melbourne in 1995 facilitated cooperation with post-communist specialist Leslie Holmes, and funding was soon secured. The project began in earnest in Budapest in September 1996 with the recruitment of project assistants for the various countries we wanted to cover—and more! We thank the Political Science Department of the Central European University for hosting that first meeting, and also for facilitating subsequent meetings of project participants. At CEU, Gabor Toka smoothed our path initially, and Zsolt Enyedi was invaluable in helping us recruit participants and giving them a sense of what this sort of empirical research entailed. In October 1998 we gathered all our Europe- and North America-based participants in a workshop at the Robert Schuman Centre at the European University Institute in Florence. We thank the Schuman Centre for its hospitality, and especially Monique Cavallari for helping to organize the Florence workshop.

All the fieldwork was carried out by our project assistants: Tigran Melkonian and Arseny Saporov for Armenia; Igor Severine for Belarus; Gallina Andronova, Antoaneta Dimitrova, and Maria Spirova for Bulgaria; Stanislava Benesova for Czechia; Otar Kipshidze and Giorgi Papuashvili for Georgia; Calin Goina for Moldova; Anna Giedryś and Piotr Kazmierkiewicz for Poland; Zoltan Szasz Alpar, Bogdan Chiritoiu, Bogdan Nica, and Mihály Szilágyi-Gal for Romania; Pavel Ananienko, Nikolai Cherusot, Tatiana Rogovskaja, and Alexander Vistgoff for Russia; Stefan Auer for Slovakia; Victor Hohots and Kyrilo Loukerenko for Ukraine; Sinisa Nikolin and Vladimir Sotirovic for Yugoslavia. The obstacles to the field research were sometimes quite challenging, and we thank all our assistants for their persistence and skill in bringing the fieldwork to a successful conclusion.

Beyond the individuals we have already mentioned, we thank Jeffrey Berejikian, Steven Brown, Graeme Gill, Robert Goodin, Åse Grøndland, Bruce Headey, Claus Offe, Tony Phillips, Denise Powers, Richard Rose, and Janos Simon for advice and support. We also thank the four anonymous reviewers selected by Cambridge University Press. The book is better for their advice. The research was supported by Australian Research Council large grant number A79601177. The logistics of organizing a thirteen-country study at very long distance were formidable. The project was made possible by e-mail links to all the countries in this study, and John Dryzek spent many hours in front of a computer in the middle of the night, occasionally getting a sense of what life must have been like for a Cold War spymaster as he pondered cryptic communications from distant places. But his family could hardly tell any difference. In Melbourne, Wendy Ruffles was
always helpful and cheerful in organizing financial transactions to far-flung places.

Aside from the Florence workshop, portions of the research were presented at the International Conference on Communist and Post-Communist Studies at the University of Melbourne in 1998, the Politics Department at Monash University, the Political Science Department at the University of Minnesota, the Political Science Program in the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University, and the School of Public and International Affairs at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.
A note on authorship credit

The research assistants who helped to draft chapters are listed as full co-authors for the appropriate country chapter. In addition, for useful inputs during the course of our writing we would like to thank Vladislav Sotirović for the Yugoslavia chapter, Gallina Andronova for the Bulgaria chapter, and Piotr Kazmierkiewicz for the Poland chapter. The Chinese study had a history somewhat different from the other chapters, in that it was designed and executed by Yali Peng (with advice from John Dryzek). The China chapter was first published under Yali’s name in Modern China (Peng, 1998); the version that appears here was revised by John Dryzek and Leslie Holmes to make it consistent with the approach of this volume.