

## Index

---

Note: Locators with an 'n' refers to footnotes, e.g. 298n64 refers to footnote 64 on p.298.

- Afghanistan 157–58, 160, 184–85, 189n66, 189, 217–18
- Albright, Madeleine 152
- Algeria 40n49, 49, 139, 166, 196
- Andropov, Yuri 27, 56, 188
- Angola 40n49, 221–24
- anti-apartheid  
and the ANC 16, 112  
Eastern Europe and 44, 183–84, 225–26, 234–35, 241–42, 248
- Armenia 178, 192–93, 214
- authoritarian capitalism  
as alternative to Communism 25–27, 56–59, 62–65, 119–21  
as alternative to European model 23, 119–20, 305  
*see also* Chile; South Korea; Soviet Union/Russia, searching for a new economic model; Spain
- Auwersaert, Peter Van der 294
- Babiš, Andrej 277–78, 292
- Babu, Abdulrahman Mohamed 127, 247–48
- Baconschi, Teodor 291
- Badinter Arbitration Commission 210, 212
- Baker, James 73, 209
- Balcerowicz, Leszek 50n86, 58, 60, 64–65, 243–44
- Balkan states  
and EU access 4, 268, 294–95  
EU access and Western Balkans 268, 301  
and EU handling of the conflict 211–12  
looking to Eurasia 301–2, 306  
as not wholly European 149, 198, 208–9  
and self-determination 218  
as true Europe 138
- Baltic states 153, 176, 182, 192–93, 200, 215
- Bandung conference (1955) 131, 177, 216
- Belarus 65, 120, 153, 192, 271
- Blair, Tony 237
- Blandiana, Ana 290
- Bokros, Lajos 58
- Boraine, Alex 112, 234
- Bosnia  
acceptance of refugees from 167, 294  
Islam in 161–63, 169  
Serbian population in 201  
violent conflict and external influences 167, 197, 202–4, 207–8, 212
- Brexit 288, 300
- Brezhnev, Leonid 33, 141, 188
- Brucan, Silviu 47, 99
- Bulgaria  
and China 306  
and democracy 88, 114n172, 114, 245, 279, 310  
economic transformation 35, 44, 52, 56, 68–69  
and EU membership 266, 297  
labour migration from 284  
and Muslim minority in 160, 203  
nationalism in 180–81  
role of elites in transformation 60, 99, 104, 106  
and violence to ensure regime survival 73–74, 105, 108–9
- 'bulldozer revolution' (in Belgrade) 239, 311
- Bush, George HW 109, 213, 238
- Bush, George W 240
- Cambodia 191, 231, 247, 253
- Castro, Fidel 33, 184, 250–51, 255, 256
- Catalonia 215–16
- Caucasus 144, 214
- Ceaușescu, Nicolae  
and Islam 157–58  
paying off Romania's debt 42, 47

- relations with Third World 125–26, 125n1, 147
- trial and execution 98n99, 108, 219–21, 220n6
- and violence for regime survival 83, 105, 107
- Central American Peace Accords (1987) 100
- Central Europe 146–54, 167–68, 171, 268, 277
- Central European University (CEU) 93n79, 309
- Centre National d'Études et d'Analyses pour la Planification (CENEAP) 49
- Chalker, Lynda 229
- Charta 77 (Czech opposition movement) 83, 85, 87, 122, 134, 165
- Charter 08 (manifesto of Chinese intellectuals) 263
- Cherishchi, Gamid 144
- Chernobyl 86, 135
- Chile
- liberal authoritarianism 27, 57, 62, 64, 98, 119, 227
  - 'Solidarity with Chile' proclamation 90 *see also* Pinochet, Augusto
- China
- authoritarian economic reform 27, 35, 56–57
  - debt and foreign investment 39, 42
  - and democratization 16, 258–61
  - opposition in 263
  - relations with Eastern Europe 8, 55, 72, 214, 305, 307–9, 308n173
  - and reaction to '1989' 261–63
  - and violence as a means to regime survival 101–7, 109
  - see also* Tiananmen Square protests
- Chissano, Joaquim Alberto 220, 220n6, 224
- CIDC (Comité Internacional para la Democracia en Cuba) 243
- Civic Forum (Czech political movement) 6n15, 68, 114
- Clinton, Hillary 271, 299
- Clinton, William J 5, 124, 152, 213, 238
- Club Dzielania (Polish think tank) 56
- CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance/Comecon) 35, 49, 69, 121, 130
- Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance/CMEA) 35, 49, 69, 121, 130
- Comité Internacional para la Democracia en Cuba (CIDC) 243
- 'Commandos' (Polish student movement) 84–85
- 'common European home'
- Gorbachev's use and promotion of 16, 140–43, 171
  - and Russia 3, 145–46, 268–69
  - Third World criticism of 127, 144–45
- Commonwealth of Independent States 194, 269
- Communist Party of the Soviet Union *see* CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union)
- conditionality
- acceptance of 61, 123–24
  - criticism and opposition 69, 277, 298–99
  - debt and 62, 308
  - economic 117, 236
  - for EU accession 117–19, 275, 294
  - using 1989 to impose political 16, 66, 226–31, 263–64
- Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) 121–22, 133–37, 180
- Conflict Armament Research (Belgian NGO) 51
- consenso* model of transition 17, 80, 95, 101
- 'Copenhagen criteria' 118
- Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA/Comecon) 35, 49, 69, 121, 130
- CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) 81–82, 104, 181
- see also* Russian Communist Party
- Crimea, Russian invasion of 303
- Croatia
- as defender against Islam 293
  - and its diaspora 204–6
  - radical nationalism 162, 178, 200, 201, 204–6
  - recognition of its independence 211–12
  - role of elites in nationalist struggle 152n98, 203
  - and Serbs 204, 206–7
  - see also* Tudman, Franjo
- CSCE (Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe) 121–22, 133–37, 180
- Cuba
- eastern European support for opposition 242–43, 256
  - migrant workers from 19, 40, 164–65
  - opposition in 220, 242–43, 263
  - resistance to reform 70, 250–51, 252n124, 254–57
- CVM (co-operation and verification mechanism) 297
- Czechoslovakia/Czech republic
- arms exports 51, 242

## 366 Index

- Czechoslovakia/Czech republic (cont.)  
 building management expertise/  
*prognostika* 59–60  
 and Cuba 242–43  
 and democracy 22, 114n172  
 deregulation and privatisation 66  
 dissident movements in 83, 85  
 and economic reform 21, 25, 34–36, 44  
 and Islam 156, 290  
 migration 164–65, 287–88, 296  
 Prague Spring/Soviet invasion 33–34, 42  
 rethinking 1989 266–67, 278  
 role of elites in transition 12, 110, 114–15  
 and self-determination 19, 173, 175  
 and South Africa 183–84  
 turn towards Eurasia 304, 306  
 and use of violence for regime survival  
 73–74, 105–6  
*see also* Central Europe
- Dahrendorf, Ralf 21, 62  
 Davidson, Basil 250n115  
 Declaration on the Granting of  
 Independence to Colonial Countries  
 and Peoples (1960) 177, 179  
 Declaration on the Guidelines on the  
 Recognition of New States in Eastern  
 Europe and in the Soviet Union 210  
 democracy  
 criticism of liberal 75–76, 123–24,  
 248–49, 250n115, 271, 276–77  
 direct 22, 74, 110, 115, 117  
 Eastern Europe' transition to liberal  
 74–75, 109–10, 121–22  
 economic reform and 98–100  
 elite-negotiated peaceful transition to 88,  
 91, 94–96, 100–1, 110  
 elites defend true socialist 76–83, 80n23  
 'excessive' 112  
 lack of popular participation in 112–16,  
 114n172  
 'low intensity' 75, 117  
 multiple notions of 74, 110  
 neo-authoritarianism and failed 119–21,  
 278–79  
 role of dissidents in establishing 83–87  
 Western support for/promotion of 91–94,  
 97–98, 111–12, 116–19, 238–40  
 'democracy industry' 116–19, 124, 265  
 demographic decline 23, 283–84, 284n71  
 Deng Xiaoping  
 crushing resistance and opposing  
 democracy 101–2, 105, 257, 259  
 economic reforms 57, 219, 258–60  
 strong man leader 214
- Dieng, Amady Aly 248  
 direct democracy 22, 74, 110, 115, 117  
 'discourse power' 306  
 dissidence *see* opposition  
 Dobozi, István 49  
 Drakulić, Slavenka 283  
 Dubček, Alexander 68, 99, 114–15, 241–42  
 Dzielski, Mirosław 25–27, 56, 63
- East Asian tigers 39, 50, 71  
 Eastern Europe  
 global history and transformation in  
 5–10, 14–20  
 and inbetweenness 8–10, 23–24, 139–40,  
 294, 298–99, 308  
 myth of a closed region 7–8, 27–31,  
 53–54, 221  
 as semi-periphery 14–15, 138–40, 150,  
 154, 268  
*see also* peripheralisation, Westernisation  
 and the fear of (re-); 'true Europe'
- Economic Commission for Europe (UN  
 agency) 49  
 EEU (Eurasian Economic Union) 302–3  
 elites  
 defining European culture 136  
 distanced from population 75–76,  
 112–19  
 role in negotiated transition 12n37,  
 12–14, 60–61, 74–76, 110, 115–16  
 END (European Nuclear Disarmament)  
 87, 134  
 Eörsi, István 115–16, 249  
 Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip 276, 298, 301–2  
 Estonia 66, 71, 104, 200, 215, 269, 272  
 Ethiopia 40n49, 189, 224–25  
 ethnic cleansing 204, 215–16  
 EU Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) 154,  
 300–1  
 Eurafrica 20, 130, 133, 170–71  
 Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) 302–3  
 Eurasianism 145–46, 269, 304–6  
 'Europe 2' 306  
 European Bank for Reconstruction and  
 Development 228  
 European Community (EC)/Union (EU)  
 accession to 4, 154, 267–68, 272, 275,  
 300–1  
 and Africa 20, 130, 133, 170–71  
 as defender of European values 121,  
 128n14, 128–29, 238  
 and democracy 97–98, 116–18  
 economic aid to Eastern Europe 49–50,  
 281  
 migration and populism 3, 284, 287–94

- protectionism 31, 39  
 response to populism 296–98, 299n132  
*see also* conditionality; NATO
- European Festival of Friendship (1977)  
 137
- European Nuclear Disarmament (END)  
 87, 134
- Europeanisation  
 activists' role in imagining 134–35  
 early visions for 121–22  
 encouraging mobility and cultural  
 cooperation 132–34  
 giving meaning to, post-1989 128–30  
 as move away from violence and  
 authoritarianism 99, 175  
 and race 144–45, 148–49, 164–66, 169–70  
 as rediscovery of shared culture 126, 136,  
 150  
 and relations with Third World 126–28,  
 164, 170–71  
 and socialism 140–42  
 and Westernisation 137–40, 171–72,  
 268, 273
- Europeanness  
 anti-colonial 18–19, 129–30, 135–40,  
 137n49, 140n57, 157  
 and Central Europe 146–54  
 and Christianity 159, 293–94  
 claiming to be the essence of 131  
 defining 268, 273  
 Eastern Europe emphasising its distinct  
 137–40  
 populist interpretations of 266–67  
 Russia and 142–46  
*see also* Islam
- 'Evil Empire', Soviet Union as 2, 173, 181
- Fascism* (book by Zhelev) 88
- Ferrer, José Acosta 256
- Fiat (vehicle company) 32–33
- FIDESZ (Hungarian Civic Alliance)  
 right-wing policies and positions 275,  
 277, 279–81, 285, 305  
 'Stop Soros' campaign 289, 309
- Foreign Policy Research Institute 111
- Fortress Europe 20, 126–28, 127n8,  
 128n14, 164–70  
*see also* Islam
- Forum 16+1 initiative 72, 306–7, 308n173
- Foucault, Michel 306
- Franco, Francisco 25n1, 43n60, 44, 64, 71,  
 76, 80, 97, 98n99
- Frank, Andre Gunder 116
- Freedom and Peace (WiP, Polish  
 opposition group) 22, 87, 110–11, 134
- G77 (Group of 77) 43, 125
- Gaidar, Yegor 55, 61–62, 68, 244
- GDR (German Democratic Republic)  
 and civil society 115, 134–35  
 early global economic links 29–30,  
 31n16, 34–36, 54  
 foreign debt 42–43  
 and Iran 156  
 lack of consumer goods 46  
 and migration 164–66, 283  
 nationalism 181  
 relations with Global South 44  
 and self-determination 179, 201n105  
 and violence for regime survival 73–74,  
 105
- gender relations  
 and Muslim migration 288  
 rejecting Western liberal 284, 286
- genocide 169, 196–97, 204, 287, 294
- German Democratic Republic *see* GDR  
 (German Democratic Republic)
- Global South, early Cold War relations  
 130–32, 134–35
- González, Felipe 62, 81–82, 142, 215
- Good bye Lenin* (film) 29
- Gorbachev, Mikhail  
 advice from Khomeini 191  
 and China 27, 57, 73, 103, 259, 261  
 and Cuba 250–51, 255  
 and democratisation in other socialist  
 countries 100, 106, 236n64  
 faith in socialism 141–42, 188–89  
 liberalisation policies and its  
 consequences 114, 119, 191–92  
 and perestroika 68, 85, 102, 188, 233,  
 250  
 rethinking human rights 80n23, 80–82
- Group of 77 (G77) 43, 125
- Havel, Václav  
 about NATO membership 186n51  
 on Central Europe 151–52  
 as Communist puppet 278  
 guiding peaceful transition 201  
 promoting 1989 values 121, 242, 266  
 support for US invasion in Iraq 2, 243  
*The Power of the Powerless* 256, 263
- Hayek, Friedrich 26, 63
- Helsinki Process/Accords  
 criticism of 137–40  
 European reconciliation and security 9,  
 19–20, 121, 132–36
- Holocaust 289, 291–92, 291n104
- HSWP (Hungarian Socialist Workers'  
 Party) 76, 104n130, 105

## 368 Index

## human rights

- alternative visions of 110, 121, 123
- challenges to Communist states' 17, 78
- and the European Community/Union 98, 117–18
- focus on Western interpretation of 19, 89, 91, 94–95, 133
- linked to aid 229
- populism and 284, 293
- re-thinking socialism and 78–80
- and self-determination 179–80, 201, 217
- socio-economic justice or individual civil-political 74–75, 83, 87–88

## Hungary

- acceptance of refugees 287–88, 293–94, 296
- and authoritarian economic reform 21, 98
- early relations with South Korea 35, 45, 71, 100–1
- and the EU 49–50, 118, 277, 281
- illiberal turn in 72, 286, 290, 297–98
- and immigration 285, 289
- increasing debt 39, 39n47, 41
- and Islam 155n109, 155–56, 159
- market socialism 35, 43, 46, 54–55, 60, 64, 77
- open borders 134, 168
- protecting European civilisation 136, 136n46, 140, 142, 146–47
- and reforming socialism 52, 58, 79, 81–83, 278
- and South Africa 184, 241, 248
- towards democratic pluralism 11, 76, 81, 104n130, 104–5, 113–14, 279
- turn towards the East and China 258–59, 305–6
- see also* FIDESZ (Hungarian Civic Alliance)

## IMF (International Monetary Fund)

- conditionality 62, 66, 226–27, 236
- criticism of 47, 123–24, 265, 273, 277
- and debt 39–42
- and democracy 26, 97, 227–31
- impacts of conditionality 199, 225, 308
- influence 38, 47–48, 52, 61–62
- need for alternatives to 247
- inbetweenness of Eastern Europe 8–10, 23–24, 139–40, 294, 298–99, 308
- India 196, 236–37
- Iran 155–56, 156n112, 159, 253
- Iraq
  - conflicts with US 2, 122, 240
  - relations with Eastern Europe 40, 40n49, 51, 243–44

## Islam

- as Europe's constitutive other 163–64
- increased separation 156–57, 157n118
- protecting Europe against 169, 287–88, 290–91, 293–94
- refugees from the Yugoslav crisis 167
- rise of radical 157–60
- shared history with Eastern Europe 155–56
- see also* individual countries
- Izetbegović, Alija 162, 162n143

Jaruzelski, Wojciech 10, 26–27, 76, 83, 102, 188

Kaczyński, Jarosław 22, 120n199, 265–66, 280–81, 286, 292

Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah 156, 163, 191, 219, 253

Klaus, Václav 60–61, 64, 66, 112

Kornai, János 55, 58, 61, 64

Law and Justice Party *see* PiS (Law and Justice Party)

Le Pen, Marine 276, 300

LGBTQ rights 284, 286, 293

Lomé Agreements 226, 230

'low intensity democracy' 75, 117

Lukashenko, Alexander 120–21

Maastricht Treaty 117, 152, 167

marginalisation *see* peripheralisation

market socialism and marketisation

before 1989 52–54, 58–59

and China 257–63

criticism of 46

and democracy 20–21, 25–27, 53

failure of 39–45, 231, 236–37

role of elites 52, 60–61

*see also* neoliberal capitalism

Mediterranean Europe 48n79, 138–40, 155

Merkel, Angela 282, 287, 300, 304

Michnik, Adam 2, 84–85, 95, 109, 111, 122, 173, 243, 266

## migration

- acceptance of non-European 294–95
- after fall of Berlin Wall 66
- East-West 166–67, 282–84
- from non-European countries 167–68, 284–85
- increased resistance to non-European 289–90
- policies contributing to 46, 160
- populist rhetoric 23, 291–95

- Milošević, Slobodan  
defender of civilisation 162, 201–3  
protests against 239, 311
- Mozambique  
abandoning Marxism-Leninism 222–24,  
226  
foreign debt 44, 220n6, 227  
migrant labour from 19, 40, 164–65
- National Endowment for Democracy  
(NED) 18, 92–94, 117, 238
- nationalism  
elites' fear of 25, 75, 91, 96, 110  
and Islam 155, 163–64, 168–69, 203–4  
revival of minority 215–16  
secular versus religious 196  
and socialist internationalism 141, 180,  
183  
and victimhood 95–96, 200, 283, 292,  
310  
*see also* individual countries;  
self-determination
- NATO 2, 31, 87, 121–22, 134, 152, 186,  
213, 216, 266–68, 274, 302
- NED (National Endowment for  
Democracy) 18, 92–94, 117, 238
- neoliberal capitalism  
as alternative to failed socialist economies  
28–29, 51–55, 71–72  
consequences of the failure of 276,  
280–81, 308–9  
criticism of 23, 262–63, 275  
early resistance to 66–70  
multidirectional development of 14–16,  
20–21  
role of elites in turn to 60, 62–65  
*see also* Hayek, Friedrich
- NIEO (New International Economic  
Order) 43, 47, 77, 138, 226
- Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)  
anti-colonialism 177, 184–85  
call to erase Third World debt 41  
criticism of 135  
role of Yugoslavia in 8, 32  
and violence 196–97
- non-alignment  
ideal of 87, 129, 134–35, 171, 248, 264  
and Islam 154, 161–62  
*see also* G77 (Group of 77)
- North Korea 40n49, 41, 43, 61, 70, 232,  
247, 250–51, 253–54, 232, 247, 258,  
285
- Open Society Fund/Foundation 92–93,  
234, 289
- opposition  
against authoritarian/totalitarian regimes  
87–91, 95–96, 176–78, 238  
criticism of reformist 12, 22, 26, 96  
in exile 93  
movements in Africa 221–26  
role in negotiated transition 11–12,  
17–18, 83–87, 94–96, 110  
to neoliberal reforms 10–11, 68–70  
*see also* anti-apartheid; Solidarność
- Orbán, Viktor  
anti-Semitism and anti-Islam 289  
illiberalism 4, 155n109, 265–66, 297  
'Marshall Plan for Africa' 292  
populism 22, 279–81  
strong man defender of the faith 294, 300  
turn towards the East 72, 304–5, 307–9
- Otpor! (Resistance!, Serbian student  
movement) 239
- perestroika 85, 102, 188, 233, 250  
and Cuba 250–51, 255
- peripheralisation  
and EU accession 7, 273  
immigration and Eastern European  
282–83  
Islam and a shared sense of 155  
in Soviet Union 144, 192  
Westernisation and fear of (re-) 10, 31,  
37, 45–51, 122, 137, 273–74
- PHARE (Poland and Hungary: Assistance  
for Restructuring their Economies)  
49–50, 118
- Pinochet, Augusto  
criticism of and praise for 25–27, 44, 64  
economic reforms 27, 97, 119–20, 227  
political ouster of 98, 255
- PiS (Law and Justice Party, Poland)  
conservatism 277–78, 280–81, 285, 288,  
292, 295  
electoral success 275  
EU financial aid 281  
and Holocaust 291n104
- Poland  
and authoritarian reform 25–27, 46, 64  
and China 101–2, 258–59, 306  
civil society in 66, 134–35, 279–80  
criticism and opposition to democratic  
reforms 83–87  
and democracy 73, 81–82, 113–14,  
274–75  
early economic reforms 35–36, 52, 54, 60  
EU membership 281  
foreign aid received 49–50, 92, 118, 281  
Martial Law in 89, 91–92, 104

## 370 Index

## Poland (cont.)

- and migration 168, 285, 287–88, 296
- negotiated transition 95, 104
- pre-transition mobility 130
- role of elites in transition in 11, 21–22, 81, 277–78
- and South Africa 183–84, 248
- support for Afghanistan 185
- ‘Polish Pinochet’ (Miroslaw Dzielski) 25–27, 56, 62–63, 71
- Pozsgay, Imre 82, 104, 142
- Putin, Vladimir
  - authoritarian economic reform 64
  - and hopes for continued reform 269–70
  - reclaiming Russia’s great power status 3–4, 194, 271–72, 302–3
  - as strong man leader 276, 298, 302–4

## race and Europeaness 144–45, 148–49, 164–66, 169–70

## Reagan, Ronald 52, 61, 92, 94, 173, 181

## refugees

- and the 2015 crisis 169, 282–84, 287–88
- acceptance of 294–95
- buffer zones and regulations against 167–68
- Cuban 242
- populism and 23, 284, 288, 290, 293–96
- support for Afghan 185
- from the Yugoslavia crisis 167, 204, 212, 287

## Romania

- conservative positions 286, 296
  - economic reform 34, 51, 60
  - economic/political transition 96–97, 99, 107–9, 114, 114n172, 220n6, 241
  - foreign debt 42, 47
  - and China 103, 258, 260, 306
  - and IMF and EU membership 61, 118, 268, 297
  - and labour migration 283–84, 290–91
  - and Muslim migration 157–58, 290
  - protecting the rule of law 310
  - resistance to economic reform 68–69
  - support for Global South 41, 43, 45, 47, 138
  - turn to the West 124–26, 139, 147–49
  - and violence for regime survival 73–74, 76, 83, 105
- rule of law
- post-socialism 111, 113, 118, 193, 215, 267–68, 296–98, 310
  - socialist 17, 78, 80–81, 113

Russia *see* Soviet Union/Russia

## Russian Communist Party 63, 68

## SEED (Support for East European Democracy) 117

## self-determination

- and anti-colonialism 19, 175–79
  - the dilemma of ethnic nationalism and 205, 208, 210–11, 213–15
  - Eastern Europe and anti-colonial internationalism 182–86
  - Eastern Europe and Soviet imperialism 173–74, 179–81, 186–89
  - and Eastern European ethnic nationalisms 191–94
  - and ethnically mixed federations 175–76
  - impact of 1989 176, 215–18
  - and individual human rights 78
  - origin of concept 174–75
  - and the two Germanys 181–82
  - and violence in Yugoslavia 194–95, 198–99, 201–2
- semi-periphery
- and concept of Mediterranean Europe 138–40
  - developing an alternative to the West 123–24
  - developing the concept of 14–15
  - economic success stories at the 39, 48, 50
  - lessons from Latin America 57
  - and possibility of authoritarian reform 97–101

## Serbia

- acceptance of refugees 294–95
- arms exports 51
- and China 306–9
- and democracy 238–40, 279, 311
- inspiring extremists today 214n156, 216
- and Islam 161–63, 169, 203–4, 216
- nationalist elites and self-determination 200–2, 206–7
- and Russia 302
- the West’s involvement in the conflict 202, 210, 212
- shock therapy 58, 60, 65, 69, 120, 244
- Slovo, Joe 235–36
- Socialist Declaration of Human Rights 79
- Soldatov, Sergei 143
- Solidarność (Polish trade union)
  - anti-authoritarianism/anti-Communism 183–85, 193, 232
  - and China 259
  - and democracy 21–22, 26, 83, 94–95
  - financial aid to 92–93
  - and the IMF 61

- leadership 3  
 and Polish transformation 12, 56, 64, 67,  
 86–87, 94–96, 110  
 Soros, George 92, 112, 234, 259, 289,  
 309  
 South Africa 4, 18, 44, 75, 88, 91–92, 96,  
 111–12, 137, 183–84, 220, 225–26,  
 234–36, 241–42, 248  
 South Korea  
 democratisation in 98–101, 110  
 as model of authoritarian economic  
 reform 27, 56, 64, 71  
*Nordpolitik* 35  
 re-unification with North Korea 254  
 Soviet Union/Russia  
 and China 56–57, 101–2, 260–61  
 collapse 109, 114, 188  
 as creditor 40, 40n49  
 defender of Christianity and the true  
 Europe 131, 271, 304–5  
 economic exchange with capitalists  
 33–35, 44  
 economic reform and resistance 54, 57,  
 64  
 as ‘Evil Empire’ 2, 173, 181  
 hopes of convergence with West 268–71,  
 302  
 imperialism 147, 162, 173, 177–78,  
 186–87  
 links with socialist allies 31–32, 41–42,  
 46, 50–51  
 re-emergence of ethnic nationalism  
 175–76, 192–93  
 reclaiming great power status 3–4,  
 145–46, 269, 271  
 and Russian nationalism 143–44, 181,  
 189–91  
 searching for a new economic model  
 58–59, 61, 68, 119–20  
 turn towards the East 269, 302–4  
 violent repression of opposition/reforms  
 103–4, 193, 272  
 Western financial aid to 117–19, 268  
*see also* Afghanistan; Gorbachev, Mikhail;  
 Putin, Vladimir  
 Spain  
*consenso* model of transition 17, 80, 95,  
 101  
 democratisation 81–82, 98, 98n99  
 economy 44, 46, 48, 64, 71  
 as semi-periphery 138  
 separatism 215  
 TACIS (Soviet Union transformation  
 support programme) 118, 153  
 Third World  
 changing relations with Eastern Europe  
 17, 41, 43–44  
 Eastern Europe as the 7, 64, 139  
 Eastern European countries identified as  
 147–48, 208  
 and Eastern Europe’s Europeanisation  
 33–34, 127–28, 164, 228–29, 248–49,  
 256–57  
 migration and buffer countries 168  
 and Soviet Union 143–44, 187–88,  
 190–92  
 Tiananmen Square protests 257, 260  
 different interpretations of the events  
 73–74, 249  
 responses in Eastern Europe to 17, 57,  
 101–7, 109  
 totalitarianism, global elites against 88–91  
 transition  
 criticism of negotiated 4–5, 72, 74, 88,  
 95–96, 277  
 Eastern Europe as model for negotiated  
 233–35  
 elites promoting negotiated 65, 240–41,  
 243–46, 264–65  
 global influences in negotiated 14–17,  
 62–63, 70–71  
 hardships of 67, 71–72, 278–79  
 and reformist Communist elites 76–78,  
 81–83  
 resistance to 28–29  
 role of dissidents in 11–12, 17–18, 83–87,  
 94–96, 110  
 role of elites in 12n37, 12–14, 60–61,  
 74–76, 110, 115–16  
 transition template/paradigm 19, 91–94,  
 116–19  
 ‘true Europe’  
 Balkan states as 138  
 populists as defenders of 23, 267, 276,  
 291–92, 300  
 Russia as 271, 304–5  
 the West against Eastern Europe as 131,  
 136, 290, 295  
 Tudman, Franjo 201–3  
 Turkey 64, 155, 157n118, 298–99, 301  
 Vianu, Ion 125, 147–48  
 victimhood  
 as basis for solidarity 184  
 mobilisation of concept of 186, 200, 283,  
 291–92, 310  
 Vietnam 18–19, 30, 35, 40, 57, 61, 84,  
 164–65, 188, 237, 247, 251–54  
 Visegrád Group 151–53, 272, 277–78, 306



## 372 Index

- Washington Consensus 11, 16, 28, 52, 124, 127
- WiP (Freedom and Peace, Polish opposition group) 22, 87, 110–11, 134
- World Bank 52, 69, 123, 227, 265
- World Congress of Families 286
- Xi Jinping 261, 306, 308n173, 309
- Yeltsin, Boris 61, 63, 68, 114, 119–20, 187, 194, 215, 254, 268–69
- Yugoslavia  
and Central Europe 152–53  
different lessons learned from 86, 213–18, 258–59  
EU and US handling of crisis in 210–13  
'inbetweenness' 8, 32–34, 133–35, 232  
and Islam 154–55, 160, 163, 167, 169
- market socialism in 28, 35, 39–44, 47, 49, 54, 64, 67  
and Mediterranean Europe 138–39  
and Mujahideen fighters 208–9  
nationalism and dissolution of federation 19, 149, 161, 173, 175–76, 194–204, 208  
and Non-Aligned Movement 185  
open borders policies 41–42, 134, 167  
secession violence/wars 76, 109, 122, 153–54, 167, 178, 209  
support for radical reform and Global South 41, 43, 47  
turn towards the West 135–36, 139–40  
*see also* Croatia; Serbia
- Zeman, Miloš 276–77, 290, 304, 307
- Zhelev, Zhelyu 88
- Zhivkov, Todor 56, 88, 108, 181, 310