

PROBLEMS OF
DEMOCRATIC
TRANSITION AND
CONSOLIDATION

*Southern Europe,
South America, and
Post-Communist Europe*

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan

The Johns Hopkins University Press
Baltimore and London

Contents

List of Figures, Tables, and Exhibits vii

Preface and Acknowledgments xiii

PART I

Theoretical Overview

1. Democracy and Its Arenas 3
2. “Stateness,” Nationalism, and Democratization 16
3. Modern Nondemocratic Regimes 38
4. The Implications of Prior Regime Type for Transition Paths and Consolidation Tasks 55
5. Actors and Contexts 66

PART II

Southern Europe: Completed Consolidations

6. The Paradigmatic Case of *Reforma Pactada–Ruptura Pactada*: Spain 87
7. From Interim Government to Simultaneous Transition and Consolidation: Portugal 116
8. Crisis of a Nonhierarchical Military Regime: Greece 130
9. Southern Europe: Concluding Reflections 139

PART III

South America: Constrained Transitions

10. A Risk-Prone Consolidated Democracy: Uruguay 151
11. Crises of Efficacy, Legitimacy, and Democratic State “Presence”: Brazil 166

- 12. From an Impossible to a Possible Democratic Game: Argentina 190
- 13. Incomplete Transition/Near Consolidation? Chile 205
- 14. South America: Concluding Reflections 219

PART IV

Post-Communist Europe: The Most Complex Paths and Tasks

- 15. Post-Communism's Prehistories 235
- 16. Authoritarian Communism, Ethical Civil Society,
and Ambivalent Political Society: Poland 255
- 17. Varieties of Post-Totalitarian Regimes:
Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria 293
- 18. The Effects of Totalitarianism-cum-Sultanism on
Democratic Transition: Romania 344
- 19. The Problems of "Stateness" and Transitions: The USSR and Russia 366
- 20. When Democracy and the Nation-State Are
Conflicting Logics: Estonia and Latvia 401
- 21. Post-Communist Europe: Concluding Comparative Reflections 434

Index 459