

# Table of Contents

List of Tables	ix
Preface and Acknowledgements	xii
<b>I Meanings of 1989: Present Significance of the Past</b>	
1 Between Past and Future, <i>Agnes Heller</i>	3
2 On Two Models of Exit from Communism: Central Europe and the Balkans, <i>Jacques Rupnik</i>	14
3 1989 as Rebirth, <i>Karol Soltan</i>	25
4 1989 and the Future of Democracy, <i>Jeffrey C. Isaac</i>	39
5 Habits of the Mind: Europe's Post-1989 Symbolic Geographies, <i>Sorin Antohi</i>	61
<b>II Winners and Losers in the Great Transformation</b>	
6 Independence Reborn and the Demons of the Velvet Revolution, <i>Adam Michnik</i>	81
7 Between Idealism and Realism: Reflections on the Political Landscape of Postcommunism, <i>Martin Palouš</i>	100
8 Postsocialisms, <i>Valerie Bunce</i>	122
9 Fighting for the Public Sphere: Democratic Intellectuals under Postcommunism, <i>Vladimir Tismaneanu</i>	153
<b>III Vulnerabilities of the New Democracies</b>	
10 Privatization as Transforming Persons, <i>Katherine Verdery</i>	175
11 Gendering Postsocialism: Reproduction as Politics in East Central Europe, <i>Gail Kligman and Susan Gal</i>	198
12 The Morals of Transition: Decline of Public Interest and Runaway Reforms in Eastern Europe, <i>Kazimierz Z. Poznanski</i>	216
13 Counterrevolution, <i>István Rév</i>	247

14	The Handshake Tradition: A Decade of Consensus Politics Bears Liberal Fruit in Hungary—But What Next?, <i>Miklós Haraszti</i>	272
15	Politics and Freedom, <i>Ivan Vejvoda</i>	280
<b>IV The New Europe: Prospects for Cooperation and Conflict</b>		
16	Electocracies and the Hobbesian Fishbowl of Postcommunist Politics, <i>Karen Dawisha</i>	291
17	The Europe Agreements and Transition: Unique Returns from Integrating into the European Union, <i>Bartłomiej Kaminski</i>	306
18	Nationalism in Postcommunist Russia: From Resignation to Anger, <i>Ilya Prizel</i>	332
19	Chinese Bridges to Postsocialist Europe, <i>Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom</i>	357
20	Mickiewicz and the Question of Sacred Territory, <i>Irena Grudzińska Gross</i>	383
<b>V Past, Present, Future</b>		
21	Conclusions, <i>Timothy Garton Ash</i>	395
	Contributors	403
	Name Index	405

## Name Index

- Ackerman, Bruce 37, 58  
Adams, John Quincy 293  
Adams, Walter 176, 193  
Adamszky, Géza 268  
Adenauer, Konrad 333  
Adorno, Theodor W. 57  
Akhiezer, Aleksandr 343, 355  
Alexander III, Russian Tsar 336  
Alexii II, patriarch of Moscow and all Russias 348, 349  
Anagnost, A. 213  
Anderson, Benedict 207  
Anderson, David G. 194  
Anderson, K. 329  
Anderson, Perry 150  
Anderson, Richard Jr. 148  
Andreescu, Gabriel 116, 121  
Antall, József 275  
Anthias, F. 214  
Antohi, Sorin 61, 72, 171, 403  
Antonescu, Ion 265  
Apor, Péter 271  
Appel, Hilary 193  
Appiah, Kwame Anthony 59  
Arato, Andrew 37, 156  
Arendt, Hannah 60, 120, 153, 163, 170, 286, 287, 333, 403  
Armstrong, George M. 195, 196  
Aron, Raymond 40, 58, 159, 170  
Ash, Timothy Garton 60, 75, 101, 121, 156, 159, 165, 169, 170, 171, 389, 392, 395, 403  
Asherson, Neal 156  
Baban, A. 215  
Babiczki, Zoltán 248  
Bakić-Hayden, Milica 72, 77  
Balcerowicz, Leszek 23, 85, 87, 88, 237  
Baranczak, Stanisław 155  
Barber, L. 328  
Barmé, Geremie 366, 367, 374, 375, 380, 382  
Barnes, R.H. 74, 194  
Bartholdy, Kasper 147  
Bassiuni, M. Cherif 270  
Batalov, Eduard 355  
Baudrillard, Jean 57, 60  
Bawn, Kathleen 304  
Benda, Vaclav 18  
Benjamin, Walter 51, 60, 284  
Berezovskii, Boris 350  
Berger, Peter L. 193  
Bergsan, Henri 396  
Berisha, Sali 15  
Berkeley, George S. 250, 269  
Berkesi, András 255  
Berkowitz, Peter 245  
Berle, Adolf A. 195  
Berman, Marshall 164, 170  
Bernstein, Eduard 398  
Bernstein, Michael André 251, 269, 271  
Bibó, István 20, 24, 74  
Bickers, Robert 381  
Bienen, Henry 151  
Blackhurst, R. 329  
Blair, Tony 35  
Block, Robert 59  
Bobrzyński, Michał 81, 83  
Bock, G. 213  
Bonnell, Victoria E. 215, 379  
Bonner, Yelena 158  
Borodai, Aleksandr 356  
Borusewicz, Bogdan 169  
Bowles, Paul 379

- Boym, Svetlana 366, 367, 372, 375, 380  
 Boy-Żeleński, Tadeusz 387  
 Bozóki, András 169  
 Brada, Josef 176, 193  
 Bradeanu, Salvator 195  
 Brader, Ted 146  
 Brady, David 304  
 Brătianu, D. 64, 74  
 Brenner, J. 212  
 Brezhnev, Leonid 227, 334  
 Bridenthal, R. 213  
 Broch, Hermann 19  
 Brock, James W. 177, 193  
 Brodsky, Joseph 49, 50, 60, 281, 286  
 Brown, David 354  
 Brown, W. 211  
 Broz, Josip Tito 17, 260  
 Brudny, Yitzak 354  
 Bunce, Valerie 108, 120, 122, 146, 148,  
     149, 150, 151, 152, 403  
 Burawoy, Michael 192, 197  
 Burchell, G. 212  
 Burke, Edmund 103, 120, 297  
 Bush, George 161  
 Butler, W.E. 185, 195, 196
- Calhoun, Craig 371, 381  
 Callaghy, Thomas M. 151  
 Callan, Eamon 354  
 Campeanu, Pavel 185, 195, 196  
 Camus, Albert 40, 58, 170  
 Canetti, Elias 155  
 Canovan, Margaret 354  
 Carter, E. 214  
 Carter, Jimmy 84, 358  
 Catherine the Great 63, 336, 343  
 Ceaușescu, Nicolae 17, 198, 203, 208,  
     212, 215, 334, 354, 361  
 Chaadaev 73, 74  
 Chabod, Frederico 75  
 Chernomyrdin, Viktor 343  
 Chirot, Daniel 169, 360, 379, 381, 382,  
     392  
 Chock, Phyllis Pease 194  
 Chubais, Anatolii 343
- Churchill, Winston 11, 62  
 Cichy, Michał 169  
 Cirtautas, Arista 169  
 Claessens, Stijn 323, 331  
 Clinton, Bill 35, 342  
 Cohen, Jean 37  
 Cohen, Lenard 304  
 Collier, J. 211  
 Comisso, Ellen 193  
 Connell, R.W. 211  
 Connolly, C. 214  
 Connolly, William E. 59  
 Constant, Benjamin 283, 284, 285, 287  
 Constantinescu, Emil 15  
 Corrin, C. 215  
 Cox, James H. 149  
 Cox, William 64  
 Crawford, Beverly 147, 149  
 Cromwell, Oliver 31  
 Cross, Sharyl 75, 93, 249, 250, 253, 254,  
     305, 355  
 Crowley, H. 214  
 Crowley, Stephen 150  
 Csanádi, Mária 152, 373, 382
- d'Entreves, A.P. 38  
 Dahl, Robert 150  
 Dahrendorf, Ralf 14, 18, 24, 37, 58, 77,  
     103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 118,  
     120, 121, 170  
 Daiyun, Yue 358, 379  
 Dalecki, Jacek 170  
 Dallymayr, Fred R. 269  
 Danto, Arthur 269  
 Daskalova, K. 214  
 Davis, Deborah 214, 270, 381, 382  
 Dawisha, Karen 147, 148, 291, 304, 403  
 de Coppet, Daniel 194  
 de Coulanges, Denis Numa Fustel 193  
 de Custine, Marquis 63  
 de Séur, Comte 63  
 de Soto, H. 213  
 de Tocqueville, Alexis 280, 283, 285, 287  
 Dear, Michael 381  
 Demszky, Gábor 153, 400

- Denitch, Bogdan 58, 215  
 des Forges, Roger 381  
 Descartes, René 36  
 Devan, J. 215  
 di Leonardo, M. 211  
 Dmowski, Roman 82  
 Dobrenko, Evgeny 379  
 Donald, Stephanie 305, 379  
 Drakulic, Slavenka 169  
 Dunn, Elizabeth 188, 192, 194, 195, 197  
 Dushenov, Konstantin 356  
 Dutton, Michael 367, 380  
 Duverger, Maurice 304  
  
 Easter, Gerald 151  
 Eichmann, Adolf 260, 265  
 Eisenstein, Z. 211, 214  
 Ekiert, Grzegorz 146, 147, 152  
 Eliade, Mircea 38  
 Elkin, Mircea 37  
 Elster, Jon 37, 304  
 Enzensberger, Hans Magnus 47, 59  
 Esherick, Joseph W. 380  
 Evans, Harriet 379  
  
 Fanon, Frantz 44  
 Fehér, Ferenc 154, 169  
 Fejtő, Francois 24  
 Feldbrugge, F.J.M. 195, 196  
 Ferrée, M. 211, 213  
 Ficino 36  
 Filaret, Metropolitan of Minsk 348  
 Fink, Carole 211, 379  
 Finkelkraut, Alain 60, 154  
 Fish, Steven M. 127, 131, 146, 148, 149,  
     151, 169  
 Fleming, J. 328, 329  
 Foucault, Michel 73, 201, 212, 282  
 Földesi, Tibor 268  
 Francia Kiss, Mihály 247, 248, 250, 251,  
     252, 253, 254, 256, 262, 264, 265, 268  
 Francia, Béla 256  
 Franičević, Vojmir 149  
 Franyó Ferenc 268  
 Fraser, N. 212  
  
 Frederick the Great 212  
 Freedman, Milton 23  
 Freud, Sigmund 67, 337  
 Frydman, Roman 193  
 Fukuyama, Francis 37, 39, 43, 44, 58, 63,  
     72, 100, 273, 354, 362, 372, 380  
 Fuller, Ellen 381  
 Funk, N. 211, 214  
 Funkenstein, Amos 269  
 Furchart, Vincent 309, 328  
 Fuszara, M. 211, 214  
  
 Gagnon, Valere 147  
 Gaidar, Egor 339  
 Gal, Susan 198, 403  
 Gallagher, C. 212  
 Gandhi, Mohandas 29, 33, 38  
 Garibaldi, Pietro 323, 331  
 Gassert, Philipp 379  
 Gati, Charles 59  
 Gellner, Ernest 21, 24, 38, 170, 207, 228,  
     246, 355, 392  
 Geremek, Bronislaw 86, 161  
 Gevorgian, Vagan 355  
 Gidirinskii, V.E. 356  
 Gierek, Edward 85, 94, 227  
 Ginsburg, F. 212, 213  
 Girard, René 61, 67, 76  
 Gluckman, Max 196  
 Goble, Paul 350  
 Goebbels, Josef 94  
 Goldman, Merle 376, 382  
 Golescu, Dinicu 64, 74  
 Goldstone, Jack 382  
 Gomulka, Władysław 94  
 Goodwin, Jeff 382  
 Gorbachev, Mikhail 84, 85, 113, 161, 227,  
     337, 343, 348, 360, 361, 373, 397  
 Gordon, C. 212  
 Gordon, L. 211  
 Gourevitch, Philip 59  
 Govorukhin, Vladimir 348  
 Gömbös, Gyula 250, 251, 257  
 Göncz, Árpád 168  
 Gregory, C.A. 76, 197

- Greskovits, Bela 146, 147, 246  
 Gross, Irena Grudzińska 170, 403  
 Grossman, A. 213  
 Guetta, Bernard 158, 169  
 Gunther, Richard 304  
 Guobin, Yang 371  
 Gutman, Roy 58  
 Gwertzman, Bernard 379, 380
- Habermas, Jürgen 39, 57, 58, 59, 60, 269,  
 333, 387, 391  
 Haerpfer, Christian 305  
 Haggard, Stephen 151, 152  
 Hahn, D. 211  
 Hall, C. 214  
 Hall, Rodney Bruce 392  
 Hallowell, Irving A. 194  
 Hamilton, Alexander 392  
 Hanagan, Michael P. 381  
 Hanson, Stephen 355  
 Haraszti, Miklós 163, 272, 374, 382, 403  
 Hardt, John 149  
 Harrison, Simon 194  
 Harsanyi, D. 214  
 Hartsock, N. 211  
 Harvey, David 195  
 Havel, Václav 37, 75, 102, 105, 107, 120,  
 153, 154, 156, 162, 164, 165, 166,  
 167, 168, 170, 171, 281, 286, 374,  
 382, 398, 400  
 Havrylyshyn 322  
 Hayden, Robert, M. 72, 77  
 Hayek, Friedrich 36, 222, 223, 243, 245  
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich 61, 63,  
 72, 74, 179, 284  
 Héjjas, Ivan 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253,  
 254, 255, 258, 268  
 Held, David 60  
 Heleniak, Timothy 148  
 Heller, Agnes 3, 154, 169, 398, 403  
 Heller, Michael 186, 189, 190, 191, 195,  
 196, 197  
 Hendley, Kathryn 148  
 Heng, G. 215  
 Herbert, Zbigniew 154, 273, 389
- Herbst, Jeffrey 151  
 Himmler, Heinrich 94  
 Hindley, Brian 313, 329, 331  
 Hirschman, Albert 245  
 Hirschon, Renee 194  
 Hitler, Adolf 20, 94, 163, 250, 251, 253,  
 257, 261, 352  
 Hitler, Alois 250  
 Hitler, Klara 250  
 Hobbes, Thomas 36, 178  
 Hobsbawm, Eric 207  
 Holbrooke, Richard 400  
 Hollós, Ervin 255  
 Holmes, Leslie 193  
 Holmes, Stephen 114, 121, 355  
 Horn, Gyula 74, 275  
 Horowitz, I. L. 207  
 Horthy, Miklós 247, 248, 249, 252, 253,  
 254, 257, 260, 265  
 Hoskings, Geoffrey 335  
 Hoxha, Enver 17  
 Höpken, Wolfgang 270  
 Huang, Philip 381  
 Huber Stephens, Evelyn 305  
 Hume, David 200, 220  
 Huntington, Samuel 21, 24, 39, 58, 63, 73,  
 100, 121, 304, 362, 380
- Ignatieff, Michael 38, 60, 170, 333, 334,  
 354  
 Iliescu, Ion 15, 19  
 Inotai, András 330  
 Ioann, Metropolitan of St. Petersburg 348,  
 356  
 Ionov, Igor 354  
 Isaac, Jeffrey C. 37, 60, 155, 169, 170,  
 403
- Jankowski, Father 91  
 Janosz 89  
 Jaruzelski, Wojciech 85, 94, 398  
 Jefferson, Thomas 49  
 Jellinek, J. 121  
 Jian, Cui 382  
 John Paul II 35, 84, 88, 92

- Jolly, Margaret 194  
 Jonasdottir, A.G. 211  
 Jones, K.B. 211, 322  
 Jongryn, Mo 304  
 Jordanova, L. 212  
 Jowitt, Kenneth 37, 58, 59, 60, 146, 170,  
     175, 193, 227, 246, 379  
 Judt, Tony 40, 58, 59, 154, 156, 169, 170,  
     270, 271  
 Junker, Detlef 379
- Kabuzan, Vladimir 345  
 Kachman, Don 193  
 Kádár, János 6, 262, 263, 264, 273  
 Kafka, Franz 19, 120, 169  
 Kagarlitsky, Boris 354  
 Kaldor, Mary 120  
 Kállay, Miklós 250  
 Kalmár, Vilmos 247, 252  
 Kaminski, Bartłomiej 37, 306, 329, 330,  
     331, 403  
 Kant, Immanuel 74, 179  
 Kaplan, M. 213  
 Kaplan, Robert D. 45, 59, 121  
 Karadžić, Radovan 43  
 Kardos, György 255  
 Karl, Terry Lynn 150, 152, 245, 246, 342,  
     355, 401  
 Katz, Adam 271  
 Katznelson, Ira 171  
 Kaufman, Michael T. 379  
 Kaufman, Richard 149  
 Kaufman, Robert 151  
 Kavan, Zdenik 120  
 Kavelin, K.D. 332  
 Kawecka-Wyrzykowska, Elzbieta 330  
 Keane, John 156  
 Kelsen, Hans 121  
 Kesić, V. 215  
 Kettner, James H. 305  
 Keynes, John Maynard 45  
 Khakhordin, Oleg 354  
 Király, Béla 269  
 Kiš, Danilo 155  
 Kis, János 37, 161
- Klaus, Václav 18, 23, 37, 60, 68, 107,  
     108, 162, 171, 307, 328, 329  
 Kligman, Gail 198, 210, 211, 212, 214,  
     215, 404  
 Klymakin I. 355  
 Kobrin, Stephen 38  
 Kojève, Alexandre 61, 72  
 Kołakowski, Leszek 163, 170  
 Kolodko, Grzegorz 126, 127, 148, 149  
 Konrád, György 37, 75, 153, 156, 161,  
     162, 163, 165, 166, 168, 169, 170,  
     171, 333, 399  
 Konstantinov, Ilya 347  
 Kopstein, Jeffrey S. 355  
 Kornai, János 187, 197  
 Korponay, István 255  
 Kortunov, Sergei 355  
 Kostova, D. 214  
 Kovács, József 252  
 Kovács, Péter 247  
 Kovalev, Sergey 158  
 Koven, S. 212  
 Kramer, H. 312, 329  
 Krastev, Ivan 154  
 Kraus, Richard 379  
 Kremenyuk, Victor 355  
 Kristeva, Julia 47, 59  
 Krol, Marcin 37  
 Krueger, Ann O. 331  
 Krygier, Martin 147, 152  
 Kubik, Jan 146  
 Kundera, Milan 64, 74, 155, 169, 374,  
     389, 399  
 Kurczewski, Jacek 157  
 Kuroń, Jacek 85, 86, 88, 161, 166, 168,  
     171, 226  
 Kyi, Aung San Suu 398
- Lahusen, Thomas 379  
 Laird, Sam 330  
 Lajtai, Vera 255  
 Lamphere, L. 211, 215  
 Landesmann, Katalin V. 382  
 Landesmann, Stephen 382  
 Lapkin, V. 355

- Laqueur, T. 212  
 Laslett, B. 212  
 Lazar, Prince 383, 384  
 Le Pen, Jean-Marie 47  
 Lebed, Alexander 345  
 Ledyard, John 64  
 Lefort, C. 281  
 Lem, Stanislaw 389  
 Lepenies, Wolf 164, 170  
 Lepper, Andrzej 89  
 Leszkowski, Marek 38  
 Lewis, J. 214  
 Leyds, Colin 354  
 Lijphart, Arend 305  
 Limongi, Fernando 151  
 Linz, Juan 214, 305  
 Lipset, Martin 151, 305  
 Lipset, Seymour 151, 305  
 Livshits, Aleksandr 353  
 Locke, John 36, 177, 178, 179, 193, 194, 195, 220  
 Lovinescu, Eugen 67, 77  
 Lowie, Robert 194  
 Ludendorff, E. F. W. 257  
 Luger, Richard 112  
 Lukács, János 197  
 Lukashenko, Aleksandr 349  
 Luker, K. 213  
 Lukin, Vladimir 345  
 Lupan, Ernest 195, 196  
 Luther, Martin King 29, 33  
 Luzhkov 345, 347  
 Maas, Peter 58, 59  
 MacCormack, C. 211  
 Macierewicz, Antoni 95  
 Macmillan, Harold 333, 355  
 Macpherson, C.B. 178, 193  
 Madison, James 118, 211, 269  
 Magris, Claudio 76  
 Maleck-Levy, E. 211, 213  
 Malinowski, Bronislaw 194, 196  
 Malthus, Thomas Robert 201, 212, 222  
 Maoz, Asher 268  
 Maravall, Jose Maria 151  
 Marcia, Petre 195  
 Marcuse, Herbert 273  
 Marino, Adrian 171  
 Marković, Ante 149  
 Marsh, D. 328  
 Marx, Karl 70, 115, 179, 195, 401  
 Mathews, Jessica 38  
 Maurer, William 181, 182, 195  
 Mauss, Marcel 179, 194  
 Mazower, Mark 392  
 Mazowiecki, Tadeusz 85, 86, 87, 88  
 McCarthy, Thomas A. 269  
 McClelland, K. 214  
 McClure, Kirstie 194  
 McDaniels, Timothy 246  
 Mečiar, Vladimír 21, 279, 400  
 Medvedev, Oleg 356  
 Meier, Charles 58  
 Messerlin, Patrick A. 313, 328, 329, 330  
 Meštrović, Stjepan G. 59, 60  
 Mészár, Gyula 264  
 Mežnarić, Silva 214, 215  
 Mialo, Ksenia 345  
 Michel, S. 212  
 Michelet, Jules 64  
 Michles, Roberto 356  
 Michnik, Adam 17, 18, 24, 37, 75, 81, 107, 153, 156, 161, 165, 166, 170, 171, 226, 273, 286, 287, 385, 390, 396, 397, 398, 402, 404  
 Mickiewicz, Adam 383, 385, 386, 387, 388, 391, 392  
 Mihăieş, Mircea 169  
 Mihajlović, Draža 265  
 Miles, James A.R. 380  
 Millar, J.R. 211, 287  
 Miller, P. 212, 381  
 Miller, Robert P. 381  
 Milor, Vedat 193  
 Milošević, Slobodan 41, 42, 43, 101, 383, 390, 391, 400  
 Miłosz, Czesław 155, 388, 389, 392, 399  
 Minow, Martha 60  
 Minzhu, Han 379  
 Mises 222

- Mittler, Barbara 381  
 Mizsei, K. 330  
 Mladić, Ratko 43  
 Modzelewski, Karol 161  
 Molnár, Erik 270, 271  
 Mongin, Olivier 169  
 Monnet, Jean 309  
 Montaigne 36  
 Montesquieu 13, 64  
 Moore, Barrington 17, 24  
 Mostov, J. 215  
 Moynihan, Daniel Patrick 44, 59  
 Mueller 211, 214  
 Murat, Sultan 384  
 Murphy, Kenneth 193  
 Murrell, Peter 139, 148, 150, 176, 193  
 Musial, Stanislaw 91  
 Musil, Robert 19  
 Mussolini, Benito 356  
 Muzra, Kara 340  
 Myers, Fred 179, 194  
 Nagy, Imre 248, 268  
 Nano, Fatos 15  
 Nazarbaev 350  
 Nehru, Jawaharlal 333  
 Nell, Philippe G. 318, 330, 331  
 Nelles, U. 213  
 Neumann, Iver B. 74  
 Nevskii, Aleksandr 348  
 Niegosh, Petr Petrović 386  
 Niethammer, Lutz 72  
 Nimsch, M. 213  
 Nixon, Richard 358  
 Noica, Constantin 171  
 Nuti, Mario D. 149  
 O'Donnell, Guillermo 151, 305  
 Offe, Claus 304  
 Oks, Daniel 323, 331  
 Olszewski, Jan 95  
 Orano, Paolo 356  
 Orbán, Viktor 277, 278  
 Ost, David 147, 149  
 Ostry, Sylvia 329  
 Page Moch, Leslie 381  
 Pajić, Zoran 121  
 Palach, Jan 359, 360  
 Palastri, Rossana 323, 331  
 Palouš, Martin 100, 120, 395, 397, 404  
 Pangle, T. 287  
 Panunizo, Sergio 356  
 Parekh, Biku 38  
 Parker, A. 215  
 Parkin, R.J. 194  
 Parrott, Bruce 147, 304  
 Patapievici, H.R. 169  
 Paunescu, Daniela 195  
 Pavelic, Ante 265  
 Peng, Li 361, 362  
 Pereira, Luiz Carlos Bresser 151  
 Perlez, Jane 170  
 Perry, Elizabeth J. 150, 379, 381  
 Petchesky, R. 213, 214  
 Petőfi, Sándor 387  
 Petrović, Nastas 280, 281, 286, 384, 386  
 Pfaff, Steve 371  
 Phillips, A. 211  
 Phizacklea, A. 214  
 Pickowicz, Paul 374, 382  
 Pico della Mirandola 36  
 Pilkington, H. 214  
 Piłsudski, Józef 82  
 Pintér, István 120, 260  
 Pithart, Petr 171  
 Pleșu, Andrei 168, 171  
 Pocock, J.G.A. 38  
 Pohl, Gerhard 329  
 Pokrovskii 266  
 Polanyi, Karl 246, 342, 355  
 Pomfret, J. 328  
 Popper, Karl 36, 223, 243, 245, 246  
 Powers, Denise V. 149  
 Poznanski, Kazimierz Z. 216, 246, 404  
 Pozsgay, Imre 264  
 Prakash, Gyan 72  
 Preston, Christopher 328  
 Preuss, Ulrich 37, 304  
 Primakov, Sergei 345, 349  
 Prizel, Ilya 332, 354, 391, 392, 404

- Prokhanov, Aleksandr 346  
 Prunier, Gerard 59  
 Przeworski, Adam 136, 146, 150, 151  
 Pusić, Vesna 150  
 Qiong, Song 380  
 Rácz, Jenő 252  
 Radishchev, Alexander 343  
 Rae, Douglas 305  
 Rai, S. 214  
 Raiser 126, 128, 147, 148  
 Raiser, Martin 126, 147  
 Rajnay, Ákos 255  
 Rakowski 227  
 Rapaczynski, Andrzej 193  
 Rapp, R. 212, 213  
 Rasputin, Valentin 356  
 Ratzinger, Joseph, Cardinal 35  
 Ravenhill, John 151  
 Reagan, Ronald 84, 338  
 Reghini, Ionel 195, 196  
 Remington, Thomas 305  
 Rendall, J. 214  
 Renne, T. 215  
 Rév, István 247, 358, 363, 379, 398, 404  
 Revel, Jean-Francois 39, 58  
 Richter, Sándor 329  
 Rieff, David 42, 48, 56, 58, 59, 60  
 Roeder, Philip 138, 148, 150  
 Rokkan, Stein 305  
 Rollo, Jim 328, 329, 330  
 Rorty, Richard 33  
 Rosaldo, M. 211, 215  
 Rose, Richard 305  
 Rosenbaum, Arthur 381  
 Rosenberg, Tina 60, 162, 170  
 Roth, Josef 19, 155  
 Roth, Phillip 155  
 Rothschild, Emma 38  
 Rudka, A. 330  
 Rudolf, Prince 250  
 Rueschemeyer, Dietrich 214, 305  
 Rueschemeyer, M. 214  
 Rupnik, Jacques 14, 24, 58, 75, 77, 156, 404  
 Russo, M. 215  
 Rybakov, Anatolii 343  
 Sachs, Jeffrey 23  
 Said, Edward W. 72  
 Sakharov, Andrei 158, 166  
 Sándorffy, Ottó 268  
 Sanfrey, Peter 126, 128, 147, 148  
 Sartori, Giovanni 305  
 Sartre, Jean-Paul 44  
 Schamis, Hector 149, 152  
 Schell, Orville 380  
 Schiff, Maurice 328, 331  
 Schlesinger, Arthur 58  
 Schmitter, Philippe C. 150, 151, 152, 168, 171  
 Scholz, S. 211  
 Schröder, Gerhard 35  
 Schuman, Robert 309  
 Schumpeter, Joseph 222, 245  
 Scott, J. 211  
 Seddon, David 149  
 Seliger, Bernhard 315, 330  
 Sells, Michael A. 58  
 Seton-Watson, Hugh 22  
 Shambaugh, David 380  
 Sharlet, Robert 354  
 Shelley, Percy 165  
 Shklar, Judith 60  
 Shlapentokh, Vladimir 355  
 Shugart, Matthew Soberg 305  
 Sienkiewicz, Henryk 388, 392  
 Siim, Birte 212  
 Siklova, Jirina 170  
 Silaev, Ivan 340  
 Šimečka, Martin 154  
 Singer, Isaac Bashevis 155  
 Skach, Cindy 151  
 Slagstad, Rune 37  
 Smith, Adam 193, 221, 222  
 Smith, Alasdair 329  
 Smith, Steven 305, 381  
 Smolar, Aleksander 23, 37, 168, 171  
 Smolin, Mikhail 356  
 Soja, Edward 381

- Sokolnicki, Michal 82, 83  
Solinger, Dorothy 367, 368, 380  
Soltan, Karol 25, 37, 404  
Solzhenitsyn, Alexander 158, 345, 355  
Sommer, D. 215  
Sontag, Susan 155  
Soros, George 216, 223, 228, 243, 244,  
    245, 246  
Sorsa, Pirita 329  
Spengler, Oswald 73, 339, 355  
Stalin, Joseph 17, 20, 26, 38, 70, 263, 281,  
    348, 352, 366, 367, 379, 389  
Stângu, Lucian 195  
Staniszak, Jadwiga 196  
Stark, David 177, 180, 183, 190, 191, 192,  
    193, 195, 197  
Stepan, Alfred 151, 214, 305  
Stephens, John D. 305  
Stephens, Sharon 194  
Stern, Nicholas 127  
Stern, Radu 75, 169  
Stiglmayer, Alexandra 58  
Stokes, Gale 170  
Stoner-Weiss, Kathryn 146  
Strathern, Marilyn 180, 188, 194, 197,  
    211  
Sullivan, Stacy 391  
Svejnar, Jan 193  
Szabó, László 260  
Szacki, Jerzy 166, 171  
Szálasi, Ferenc 249, 250, 251, 253, 269  
Szoboszlai, György 150  
Szporluk, Roman 347, 356  
Sztaniszak, J. 213  
Sztójay, Döme 251  
Szűcs, Jenő 73, 74, 146, 150, 152  
  
Taagepera, Rein 305  
Tagaev, Mohamed 347  
Taylor, Charles 271, 333  
Taylor, Telford 271, 333  
te Brake, Wayne 381  
Thane, P. 213  
Thatcher, Margaret 334, 338  
Tikhonova, Natalia 355  
  
Timm, Angelika 270, 271  
Tischner, Jozef 28  
Tismaneanu, Vladimir 38, 60, 75, 153,  
    169, 379, 397, 404  
Todorova, Maria 66, 73, 74  
Togliatti, Palmiro 259  
Tolz, Vera 355, 356  
Tong, Yanqi 379  
Toulmin, Stephen 36, 38  
Toynbee, Arnold 73  
Tovias, Andreas 330  
Trznadel, Jacek 389, 392  
Tucker, Joshua A. 146  
Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf 359, 379  
Tudjman, Franjo 22, 42, 207, 215  
Tully, James 194  
Turowicz, Jerzy 91  
Tymiński, Stan 89  
  
Ulanich, Semyon 356  
Urban, Michael 354, 355, 367, 380, 381,  
    382  
  
Vári, Albert 247  
Vejvoda, Ivan 120, 280, 404  
Verdery, Katherine 171, 175, 193, 214,  
    354, 404  
Vetsera, Marie 250  
von Mettenheim, Kurt 151  
  
Wachtel, Andrew 171  
Wakeman, Carolyn 379  
Walby, S. 212  
Walder, Andrew 193, 371, 379, 381  
Wałęsa, Lech 86, 87, 97, 360  
Walicki, Andrzej 73  
Walton, John 149  
Walzer, Michael 38, 59  
Wasilewski, Zygmunt 81, 83  
Wasserstrom, Jeffrey N. 357, 379, 380,  
    381, 404  
Watson, S. 22, 212  
Weber, Max 21, 22, 27, 63, 221  
Wedel, Janine R. 355  
Weschler, Lawrence 60

- Whitehead, A. 214  
Whitehead, Laurence 151  
Wiarda, Howard 305  
Wilentz, Sean 305  
Williams, Nancy M. 194  
Winters, Alan 328, 329, 330, 331  
Witte, Sergei 336, 354  
Wolchik, Sharon L. 211, 287  
Wolff, Larry 72, 73  
Woodward, Susan 58  
Wrzodak, Zygmunt 89  
Wyman, J. 194
- Xiaoping, Deng 358, 360, 373  
Xinyong, Liu 381
- Yaeger, P. 215  
Yanov, Alexander 353, 356  
Yaobang, Hu 359, 360
- Yeltsin, Boris 113, 149, 158, 337, 341, 342, 343, 346, 348, 349, 350, 351  
Yimou, Zhang 374  
Young, James E. 270  
Yuval-Davis, N. 214
- Zadravetz, István 257  
Zagajewski, Adam 389  
Zemon Davis, Natalie 270  
Zevelev, Igor 355  
Zhelev, Zhelyu 166  
Zhirinovsky, Vladimir 91  
Zieba, Maciej 38  
Zielińska, E. 211  
Zielińska, Marta 392  
Zimmerman, Warren 58  
Zirojević, Olga 391  
Žižek, Slavoj 74  
Zyganov, Genadii 91, 339, 348, 356