## Contents

Acknowledgments | vi Maps | viii–ix

Introduction: the shock of the new | 1

- 1 Different paths on an open road: economic and social change | 15
- 2 In praise of ethnic cleansing? National struggles | 45
- 3 Peeling away the past: nostalgia and punishment | 75
- 4 Portraits of hubris: democratic politics | 100
- 5 A new Europe: the East in the West | 128

Conclusion: the edge of history | 159

Notes | 163

Index | 171

# Index

acid rain, 27 Afghanistan, Russian invasion of, agriculture, in European Union policy, 151-2 AIDS, 39 Albania, 7, 16, 29, 30, 46, 73, 74, 87, 89, 101, 102, 140, 158, 160; elections in, 104; standard of living in, 42 Albanian National Army, 74 Albright, Madeline, 137, 145 Alia, Ramiz, 87 Alliance of Free Democrats (Hungary), 104 Amnesty International, 75 Antall, József, 50-1, 94, 104, 106, antisemitism, 53, 90, 94 antiwar demonstrations in Europe, 157 Antonescu, Ion, 92-3 Arbour, Louise, 78 Ashdown, Paddy, 117 Aspin, Les, 136 assassinations of political leaders, 122

Badinter Commission, 139
Baker, James, 129
Balcerowicz, Leszek, 20, 24
Baltic Republics, 54, 69, 102, 106, 108, 124, 129, 131; transition in, 23
Băsescu, Traian, 117
Bass, Gary, 78
Be Active, Be Emancipated (B.a.b.e.) (Croatia), 37

Belarus, 161, 162 Belka, Marek, 158 Berisha, Sali, 87, 160 Boban, Mate, 64, 65 Boross, Péter, 112 Bosnia-Hercegovina, 3, 7, 61-7, 72, 101, 117, 139, 141, 158, 160, 161; elections in, 104; returning Muslims stoned, 98 Bosnian war, 29, 56, 60, 96, 117, 140, 142-3; rape as weapon of war, 37, 64; refugees from, 42 brain drain, from Bulgaria, 36 Brazauskas, Algirdas, 110 Brezhnev doctrine, 5 Brus, Helena Wolińska, 90 Bujak, Zbigniew, 88 Bulgaria, 9, 16, 21, 47-8, 72, 107, 133, 134, 158, 160; and NATO, 144, 155; brain drain from, 36; debt of, 18; success of former communists in, 113; transition in, 21; Turkish minority in, 54 Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, 104 Bush, George H.W., 80, 129

Catholic Church, as property owner, 97
Ceauşescu, Elena, 9, 82
Ceauşescu, Nicolae, 9, 18, 33, 46, 49, 82, 86, 116; fall of, 102
Chamberlain, Neville, 141
Charter 77 (Czechoslovakia), 5, 8
Chernobyl reactor leak, 38
China, 46
Chirac, Jacques, 154

Bush, George W., 154

Christodoulos, Archbishop, 152 Christopher, Warren, 141 churches, role of, 29-30 citizen vouchers, 21 citizenship, reconsideration of, 43 Civic Democratic Party (Czechoslovakia), 109 Civic Forum (Czechoslovakia), 108, 109 civil rights, 146, 147 civil society, 95; strength of, 32 class, loses mobilising force, 34 Clinton, Bill, 137, 140-1, 144, 146 Cold War, 75, 136 collaboration, 81, 83, 84, 85 Committee to Help the Poor (Hungary), 5 communism: collapse of, 16, 19, 52, 75; expropriation under, 96; internationalism of, 46; movement away from, 127; nostalgia for, 41 communist leaders, prosecution of, 86, 87 communist parties: confiscation of property of, 97; land holdings surrendered, 96; return to power, 98 communist past: nostalgia for, 3, 75-99; punishing crimes of, 112 communist society: inability to adapt, 4; mobility within, 3 communists, return of, 109-14 Constantinescu, Emil, 116 corruption, 40 Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA/ COMECON), 17 Croatia, 3, 29, 30, 73, 76, 93, 94, 95, 96, 104, 106, 113, 114, 117-18, 125, 138, 140, 158, 160; and Iraq war, 156 Croatian Democratic Union, 126

Croatian language, use of, 64-5 Croatian Spring, 89 Croatian war, 56, 59-61 Csurka, István, 50, 112 Czech Republic, 95, 97, 113, 124, 133, 147, 154; compensation problems in, 96-7; EU membership of, 150; flooding in, 30-1; foreign investment in, 23; membership of NATO, 137, 144 Czechoslovakia, 6, 8, 16, 21, 22, 36, 46, 52, 83, 84, 88-9, 101-2, 105, 108-9, 123, 133, 160; accession to EU, 148; break-up of, 56, 115; Chamberlain's view of, 141; dissolution of, 69-72; elections in, 104; Roma people in (attacks on, 50; settlement of, 55); Russian invasion of, 5; Soviet troops in, 129, 130; transition in, 23; troops in Bosnian war, 140; Velvet Revolution, 8, 18, 102, 115

debt: of Eastern European countries, 18; Russian default, democracy, 76, 87, 126; building of, 146-7, 156; scaled rating of, Democratic Party of Albanians, 74 democratic politics, 100-27 passim democratization, 5, 75 demonstrations, 18, 32 Demszky, Gábor, 81 dialogue, as revolutionary concept, 9 Diena newspaper, 159 Dienstbier, Jiří, 140 Dimitrov, Filip, 108 dissidents, 5, 81, 109, 124, 128,

Dayton talks, 67, 68, 143, 144

140, 154–5; ambivalence towards, 108 Djindjić, Zoran, 119; assassination of, 122, 125, 161 Dlouhý, Vladimir, 149 Drakulić, Slavenka, 12, 125 Drasković, Vuk, 119 Dubček, Alexander, 70, 88 Dzurinda, Mikuláš, 116

East Germany, 6 Eastern Europe: barriers to European labour market, 151; cooperation with, 144, 148; emergence of new national entities, 76; identity shift in, 52; seen as backward, 141; terminology of, 1; viewed as different civilization, 123 economic activity, measurement energy supplies, access to, 27 environmental issues, 26-7, 28, 39, 159 Eris, Irena, 41 Estonia, 54, 97, 113; and Iraq war, 156; EU membership of, 150 ethnic cleansing, 60-69,135, 137, 139, 141, 145, 146, 156 ethnopolitics, opposition to, 126 European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), 149 European Parliament, 51 European Union (EU), 12, 60, 62, 160; accession to, 1, 11, 23, 26, 27, 29, 43, 70, 76, 80, 81, 127, 137, 138, 147-8, 159 (referenda on, 152); bureaucracy of, 153; constitution, failure of, 158; enlargement of, 2, 3, 42, 43, 153, 157, 162 (grounded in security issue, 157-8); forces in Bosnia, 67; Yugoslav conflict as a test case, 138-9

feminism, 38

Feral Tribune (Croatia), 118

Fidesz party (Hungary), 86

foreign consultants, influx of, 41

foreign direct investment, inflow
 of, 23

foreign ownership of property,
 restrictions on, 22

Former Yugoslav Republic of
 Macedonia (FYROM), 73

Forza Italia, 115

Freedom and Peace Movement
 (Poland), 6

Freedom House, 101

freedom of religious worship, 113

Funar, Gheorghe, 49

Garton Ash, Timothy, 8
Gebert, Konstanty, 67
gender studies programs, 37
genocide, 63, 66
Gerasimov, Gennadii, 130
German minorities: in
Czechoslovakia, 97 (killing of, 95); in Eastern Europe, 53-4, 108
German unification, 28, 130, 131, 136, 137, 157
Gierek, Edward, 46, 98

136, 137, 157
Gierek, Edward, 46, 98
glasnost, 5
Glemp, Józef, 53
Gligorov, Kiro, 73, 106; attempted assassination of, 122
Goldstone, Richard, 78
Göncz, Arpád, 105–6, 109
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 4–5, 8, 16, 58, 69, 80, 130, 136
Gotovina, Ante, 76–7
green issues, 38, 39
Gross, Jan, 94

Habermas, Jürgen, 157 Habsburg, Archduke Otto von, 47 Habsburg Empire, 70 happenings, 120

Haradinaj, Ramush, 77-8; indictment of, 146 Hárai, Zsigmond, 86 Haraszti, Miklós, 36, 128 Havel, Václav, 8, 50, 70, 71, 80, 82, 83, 100, 101-2, 105, 108-9, 123, 154; loss of popularity, 81; speech to US Congress, 132 Helsinki Accords, 75 Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, 103 Hercegovina, 64 Hohenzollern, Prince Paul, 48 Holbrooke, Richard, 66, 137 Holocaust, 52, 63, 76, 92, 99, 117, 145; compensation for victims of, 96; complicity in, 94; examination of, 75; prosecution of perpetrators, 90 Horn, Gyula, 112 House of Terror, Budapest, 90-1 housing: problem of apartment blocks, 28; shortage of, 3 Howard, Michael, 136 Hoxha, Enver, 87 human rights: movements for, 121; standards of, 95 Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), 50, 104 Hungarian Socialist Party, 112 Hungary, 4, 6, 8, 16, 27, 36, 49, 70, 80, 81, 94, 101, 102, 105-6, 113, 118, 121, 124, 128, 133, 134, 140, 147, 154, 160; 1956 revolution, 6, 11, 90, 112, 132; accession to EU, 148, 150; as puppet state of Nazi Germany, 92; debt of, 18; elections in, 103-4; foreign investment in, 23, 25; hidden economy in, 40; membership of NATO, 137, 144; NATO troops in, 144; Security Police, 90-1; Soviet occupation of, 130-1; Soviet troops in, 129; strikes in, 34; transition in, 19, 20, 21, 23

Huntington, Samuel, 123 Husák, Gustáv, 9, 102

Iliescu, Ion, 50, 116, 126
illegal labor, 38
Implementation Force (IFOR),
143
independent economic activity,
40-1
Independent Smallholders
(Hungary), 104
industrial sector, 26
inflation, 20, 23, 24
informers under communism, 83
intelligentsia, effacing of, 36
Internal Macedonia Revolutionary
Organization - Democratic
Party of Macedonian National
Unity, 74
International Criminal Tribunal

International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), 77, 78–9; model for war crimes tribunal, 78 investment, foreign, 41 Iraq: embargo of, 18; failure of reconstruction, 160; invasion of Kuwait, 18; war, 128–9, 154,

157 Islam, 30, 65, 66; conversion to, 61

Izetbegović, Alija, 62, 66, 106

Jaruzelski, Wojciech, 6, 8, 87-8, 105

Jasenovac concentration camp,
94

Jedwabne (Poland), murder of Jews, 94, 99

Jews, 62, 91; alleged conspiracy of, 49, 50; elimination of, in Holocaust, 52; expropriation of, 97; expulsion of, 52; in Hungary, 53; in Romania, 92; loss of property of, 96; murdered in Jedwabne (Poland), 94, 99; renaissance of Jewish culture, 53; Slovak, deportation of, 93 see also antisemitism Jiu Valley (Romania), mine closures in, 125 John Paul II, visits to Eastern Europe, 152

Kádár, János, 46, 112
Kaplan, Robert, Balkan Ghosts, 140-1
Karadzić, Radovan, 62, 65, 78, 143
Kaufman, Jonathan, 53
Kavan, Jan, 83-4
Keraterm concentration camp, 63
Klaus, Václav, 21, 71, 109, 133, 152
ključ system (Yugoslavia), 62
Koženy, Viktor, 21
Kohl, Helmut, 60, 130
Konrad, György, 154
Kosovo, 3, 67-8, 73, 77-8, 101, 145, 158, 161; bombing of,

refugees from, 29 Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), 68, 73, 77

146; war in, 68, 144-6; war

Kostunica, Vojislav, 121, 122 Kováč, Michal, 115, 116 Kováč Jr, Michal, abduction of, 115

Kožený, Victor, 21 Krajina, 60, 61, 118; ethnic cleansing in, 64; liberation of, 77

Krzemiński, Adam, 157 Kučan, Milan, 58–9, 104, 106, 109 Kundera, Milan, *The Joke*, 46 Kurón, Jacek, 34, 35 Kwaśniewski, Aleksander, 94, 111

Landsbergis, Vytautas, 106, 110 Latvia, 11, 54, 113, 139; accession to EU, 159 Le Meridien hotel, Budapest, 128
Le Pen, Jean-Marie, 45, 51
League of Communists
(Slovenia), 57, 58
"Letter of Eight", 154
Lithuania, 21, 54, 69, 110, 139;
accession to EU, 28; relations
with Poland, 135; transition in,
23

Lukanov, Andrei, assassination of, 122 Luković, Milorad, 122 lustration, 82–6, 108, 109

Maastricht, Treaty of, 150 Macedonia, 7, 29, 72-4, 101, 106, 134, 139, 146, 158, 160; elections in, 104; ethnic violence in, 72-4; success of former communists in, 113 Macierewicz, Antoni, 85 majority-ethnicity parties, 126 malnutrition, among children, 28 market economy, 15, 16 Marković, Ante, 23, 24 Marshall Plan, 22; second, 19 Marxism, rejection of, 5 Marxism-Leninism, exhaustion of, 4 Masaryk, Tomáš, 70, 100, 123 Mazowiecki, Tadeusz, 8, 82, 85, 103, 107, 140 Mečiar, Vladimír, 71, 93, 115-16, Medgyessy, Péter, 86, 99, 154

Medgyessy, Péter, 86, 99, 154 media, independent, 121 Memorial group (Russia), 92 memory, shortage of, 98 Mesić, Stipe, 118 Michael of Romania, King, 47–8, 93

Michnik, Adam, 128, 154, 155, 156 migrants, to EU countries, 42 migration, 25 Miller, Leszek, 154

Milošević, Mirjana, 119 Milošević, Slobodan, 33, 56-7, 58, 59, 62, 66, 67, 68, 69, 86, 93, 106, 114, 117, 118-21, 122, 124, 125, 133, 138, 139, 145, 146, 161; trial of, 78-9 miners, in Romania, 125 minorities, 53, 133, 134; and democracy, 147; Muslim, 134 see also German; Jews; Roma; Turkish: Russian Miodowicz, Alfred, 43 Mladenov, Petar, 105 Mladić, Ratko, 65-6, 78 Mladina magazine (Slovenia), 57 mobility, social, 42 Moldova, 161 monarchism, 47-8 Montenegro, 161 Mostar, bridge of, 65, 99 Mothers Against War (Yugoslavia), 37 Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (MDS), 115 Movement for Rights and Freedoms (Bulgaria), 54, 108 multi-ethnicity, as desired feature, 147

Nagy, Imre, 11 Nano, Fatos, 87, 160 nation states, 52; legitimacy of, 79 nation-building, 12, 144-53 national liberation, theme of, 10 National Salvation Front (Romania), 24, 33, 104, 116 national self-determination, concept of, 56, 63, 138-9 national symbols, choice of, 107 nationalism, 45-74 passim; regional, 10 negotiation: as part of transition, 9; importance of, 7 New Europe, 128-9, 153-8 nomenklaturization, 22

Non-Aligned Movement, 46 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 74, 80, 142; bombing of Belgrade, 120; expansion of, 135–7, 138, 144, 162; membership of, 134, 137 nostalgia for communist past, 98–9 nuclear energy, 27, 28

Oleksy, Józef, 111 Olszewski, Jan, 107 Omarska concentration camp, 63 Orbán, Viktor, 80, 81, 90, 133 Otpor (Resistance) movement, Serbia, 120, 121, 161

Partnership for Peace, 144 Party of Romanian National Unity, 49 Pavelić, Ante, 93, 94 perestroika, 5 Pithart, Petr, 131 pluralism, as revolutionary concept, 9 Podkrepa movement (Bulgaria), 35 Poland, 4, 11, 16, 18, 21, 30, 52, 84, 98, 101, 102, 107, 110-11, 113, 121, 124, 133, 134-5, 147, 154, 158, 160; accession to EU, 148, 150; and Iraq war, 156; and NATO, 155; concern for anniversaries, 80; debt of, 18; effects of Solidarity movement in, 7-8; flooding in, 30-1; foreign investment in, 23; German minority in, 53-4; membership of NATO, 137, 144; national identity of, 95; pyramid schemes in, 30; reexamination of history, 95; relations with Lithuania, 135; relative freedom of, 88; Soviet policy towards, 130; Soviet troops in, 131; strikes in, 34;

transition in, 19, 20, 23; troops in Bosnian war, 140 Polish and Hungarian Assistance for the Reconstruction of Europe (PHARE), 148-9 "Polish plumbers", 12, 151 Poos, Jacques, 138 post-communist era, 2 poverty, cycle of, 28-9 Prague Spring, 6, 84, 89, 130, 132 private property, 124 privatization, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 41 Public Against Violence group (Slovakia), 71 pyramid schemes, 30, 33

Račak massacre (Kosovo), 68 Radio Free Europe, 99, 116 Rakowski, Mieczys<sup>3</sup>aw, 19, 23 Rambouillet negotiations, 145-6 rape, as weapon of war, 37, 38, 64 Raznatović, Želijko "Arkan", assassination of, 122 refugees, 26, 29, 142; economic, 42; from Yugoslav wars, 73; recovery of homes, 143 restitution of property, 96 revolution, as term for events of 1989, 9 Riga, museum, 79 Roma: in Romania, 92; treatment of, 31, 55, 72 (killing of, 50; pogroms against, 55) Roman, Petre, 49 Romania, 7, 16, 24, 33, 38, 52, 82, 89, 94, 95, 104, 114, 116-17, 125, 126, 158, 160; and NATO, 155; as puppet state of Nazi Germany, 92; as source for adoption of children, 40; debt of, 18; membership of NATO, 144; pyramid schemes in, 30; standard of living in, 42; success of former communists in, 113

Rugova, Ibrahim, 67 Ruml, Jiří, 83 Rumsfeld, Donald, 128 Rupel, Dimitrij, 140 Russia, 1, 158; demand for Polish land corridor, 132 Russian minorities, 53, 54-5, 69 Sachs, Jeffrey, 20 Šahovnica flag (Croatia), 60 Sajūdis Movement for Reform (Lithuania), 106, 110 Sanader, Ivo, 77, 126 Sarajevo: shelling of, 142; war in, Sauter, Peeter, 99 Scott, Brian, 51 Semler, Christian, 154 Serbia, 7, 24, 79, 96, 114, 118-21, 124-5, 145, 158, 160, 161; and Iraq war, 156; Greater, concept of, 58, 66, 67, 139 (end of, 119); transition in, 26 sex industry, 38 Silesia, 54; "Black Triangle", 27 Saxecoburggotski, Simeon (Tsar Simeon II), 47-8 Sládek, Miroslav, 50 Slovakia, 3, 27, 70, 71-2, 93, 94, 114-15, 117, 124, 151; membership of NATO, 144; tax system in, 31; transition in, 26 Slovenia, 41, 57, 106, 124, 138, 147; and Iraq war, 156; EU membership of, 150; membership of NATO, 144; success of former communists in, 113; transition in, 21, 23 smuggling, 40 Snyder, Timothy, 132 Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland, 110-11

social movements, emergence of,

Sokalski, Henryk, 74

Solidarity movement (Poland), 6, 35, 36, 87, 95, 105, 108, 110, 111; decline of, 107; election victory of, 7-8 Soros, George, 146 South Africa, reconciliation process in, 91-2 sovereignty, loss of, 152-3 Srebrenica, 140; genocide, 65-6, 125, 142; Muslim rising in, 61; UN troops involved at, 142 Stabilization Force (SFOR), 143 Stalinism, 92; purges, 84, 89-90 Stambolić, Ivan, 121; assassination of, 122 standard of living, rise in, 31 strikes, 32, 35; general, in Czechoslovakia, 18; in Hungary, 34; in Poland, 34 student protests, 105 Sudetenland, 55, 97 "suitcase trade", 39 Szoborpark, Budapest, 91

taxation, 31, 40 Thatcher, Margaret, 21, 80 "third way", search for, 16-17 Tiananmen Square massacre, 7 Tismaneanu, Vladimir, 49 Tiso, Jozef, 93 Tito, Josip, 10, 46, 52, 57, 98 Torgyán, József, 112 trade unions: communist, 36; disintegration of, 35; statesponsored, 35 trafficking in women and children, 38 Trenchev, Konstantin, 35 Trianon, Treaty of, 133 Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, 92 Tudjman, Franjo, 53, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66, 73, 76, 93, 94, 95-6, 104, 106, 117-18, 125, 133, 139, 140, 145

Tudor, Corneliu Vadim, 49, 117 Turkey, 134 Turkish minorities, 53, 54; Bulgarization of, 54, 86 Tutu, Desmond, 92 Tyminski, Stan, 107

Ugrešić, Dubravka, 125 Ukraine, 135; Orange Revolution, 135, 161; women workers from, 38

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), 6, 46–7, 52, 69, 89; 1991 coup in, 83; breakup of, 18, 56, 132; troops stationed in Eastern Europe, 130 (withdrawal of, 132)

United Nations (UN), 78, 140; peacekeeping forces, 142 (complicit in ethnic cleansing, 64, 65-6, 142)

UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), 140, 142 UNMIK peacekeeping force, 146 UNPREDEP force (Macedonia),

unemployment, 17, 20, 42 Union of Democratic Forces (Bulgaria), 107–8

United States of America (USA), 138, 145, 156, 157; alliance with, 160

Ústí nad Labem (Czech Republic), ghetto wall in, 55

Vance-Owen Plan, 141 Vilnius Group, 154 Visegrad group, 133 Vukovar: ethnic cleansing in, 64; siege of, 60

Wałęsa, Lech, 8, 35, 44, 80, 82, 103, 105, 109, 110, 111–12; loses election, 85 war crimes, 145

# Index | 179

women's rights, 38
Workers' Defense Committee
(Poland), 5

Yugoslav wars, 23, 37, 137–43;
costs of, 147; importance to
European nationalism, 144

Wechsler, Lawrence, 124-5

Wilson, Woodrow, 56, 138-9

women's movements, 37

Wedel, Janine, 19

Yugoslavia, 2, 4, 16, 19, 24, 46, 52, 55, 56–68, 101, 102, 106; break-up of, 56; multi-ethnic constituency of, 57

Zachęta Gallery, Warsaw, 98 Zajedno (Together) movement (Serbia), 119

Zhelev, Zhelyu, 105, 107–8 Zhivkov, Todor, 9, 46, 54, 86–7, 134: fall of, 102