

might be that it is not only under communism that social legislation is forged in the twilight of party offices. The book is, however, valuable for its reflective insights and is also an abundant source of information. It definitely deserves a wider audience than can be addressed in its French version.

*Jiří Večerník*

**Jean-Michel de Waele: *L'émergence des partis politiques en Europe centrale***

Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles 1999, 354 pp.

This important book is a revised version of the doctoral dissertation the author defended at the Free University in Brussels. It deals with the emergence and further development of political parties and party systems in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and also, after the division of the latter, in the separate countries of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The book is based both on thorough research of theoretical literature, and on a serious understanding of the individual countries involved in the research. One of its strongest traits (and what distinguishes it from the majority of publications devoted to this subject in English) is that the author is fully aware of the relatively fast and substantial transition over the course of only several years which the parties and party systems in these countries have had to undergo. The author is loosely inspired by the idea, stressed in particular by Terry Lynn Karl and Philippe Schmitter, that the means behind the transition are able to considerably influence the resulting type of democracy that emerges. However, the author correctly points out that transition typologies worked out in other contexts (southern Europe, Latin America) cannot be precisely applied to the countries of Central Europe. He also correctly includes analysis of the influence of the differences between the 'communist legacies' of the individual countries.

De Waele distinguishes between three types of political transition: (1) negotiated transition, which includes, among others, Poland (this corresponds to what Guy Hermet referred to as 'managed transition'), (2) implosion transition,

which includes East Germany and Czechoslovakia, and finally (3) forceful transition, an example of which is Romania. Unlike some Western political scientists who know very little about Central and Eastern Europe (e.g. Schmitter), de Waele has not contented himself solely with working on data drawn from the Eurobarometer polls and from the elections in the individual countries, but has thoroughly submersed himself in the historical and social development of these countries, and has accurately grasped (as has the Polish sociologist Jerzy J. Wiatr) that Czechoslovakia, and the Czech Republic especially, should not be tossed into the same category as Poland.

The author has also attempted to periodise the formation and stabilisation of parties in the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe: (1) the formation of anti-communist fronts for democracy (in the Czech lands - Civic Forum), (2) the break-up of these umbrella political institutions, (3) parliamentarisation (this phase being characterised by the formation of parliamentary groups or clubs over the course of the legislative term and not as a result of the elections, which leads to strong volatility), and finally (4) the consolidation of the party system (in the Czech lands it is possible to speak of the beginning of this phase from the time of the 1996 parliamentary elections).

De Waele has also devoted a great deal of attention to the issue of cleavages. Unlike some other authors, who do not sufficiently distinguish between temporary 'issues' and more lasting 'cleavages', this book has avoided this mistake. The author recognises the following cleavages: (1) urban/rural, (2) maximalist/minimalist (this term has been borrowed from D.-L. Seiler and involves the matter of a liberal/social division; at the beginning it is related to the rhythm of economic reform and gradually it crosses over into the classic right-left dimension of owners/workers), (3) centre/periphery, (4) authoritarianism/democracy (this cleavage is particularly strong in Slovakia).

In the conclusion to this valuable book, the author emphasises that the lessons of failure to be had from post-party organisations such as Civic Forum in the Czech lands are important even for Western democracies in connection with what is usually and exaggeratedly referred to as the 'par-

ty crisis'. Parties remain an essential means for democracy. What if some of the traits of these parties formed after the break-up of post-party organisations in Central and Eastern Europe were actually to prefigure and anticipate the development of parties in established, Western democracies?

*Miroslav Novák*

**Dirk Taenzler (ed.): Der tschechische Weg. Transformation einer Industriegesellschaft**  
Frankfurt/Main; New York, Campus Verlag  
1999, 244 p.

Once again a new book in German is contributing to the transformation literature of East Central Europe and, in this particular case, of the Czech Republic. This allows us to ask what the special contribution of this treatise is within the range of the sociological, political and economic literature that has already dealt extensively with the topic of Czech society's modernisation through transformation.

The recession in 1997 challenged the success of this modernisation by revealing the contradiction between shock therapy and the neglected reforms of socio-economic institutions. On the basis of the book's essays the editor, Dirk Taenzler, intends to demonstrate that the crisis must not be reduced to the political failures of the last ten years. In contrast, it results from the interaction of the political strategy, the economic power structures, and the socio-cultural behavioural patterns that have their origins in the pre-socialistic beginnings of Czech modernisation and industrialisation.

The book contains ten essays written by sociologists, historians and economists, who trace the Czech path over three stages, as affected by modernisation on the one hand, and stagnation on the other:

- 1) industrialisation before 1918 and the formation of an informal network of banks, businesses and the state during the First Republic
- 2) economic centralisation into huge sector units during socialism, which led to the development of their autonomous organisational culture

3) restructuralisation, or the preservation of socialist economic structures in their interdependence with neo-liberal macro-politics after 1989.

Each essay deals with a partial problem of the economic and social relations according to a defined period of time. In addition, the essays complement each other, and read as a whole, they create the innovative idea of the book. Each article analyses the development of traditionally resistant behavioural patterns and political-economic organisation structures. In this way the book conveys a basic comprehension of the reasons why the Czech transformation from a socialist to a capitalist society evolved the way it did and not in a different way.

One formal problem of the book is that a few essays (Clark and Soulsby; Keilhofer) are based on macro-theory, and the others are orientated strictly around empirical cases (Taenzler and Mazálková-Hollerová). As the majority of the authors are micro-orientated, their macro-economic conclusions often remain limited. Therefore, an analytical linking of the empirical cases to continuities and determinations in social behaviour and economic structures would have been helpful.

The three parts of the book (I. industrialisation and the First Republic, II. socialism and company transformation, III. the results of the transformations according to economic growth and social structure) reveal chronologically the sequence of economic systems, but the second part deals with more than the planned economy. Here, the authors look at the organisational culture of socialist companies from the viewpoint of its consequences for the restructuralisation of the combined collectives.

However, in the first part the authors (Eduard Kubu, Christoph Boyer and Peter Heumos) strictly concentrate on the analysis of the political and economic culture of the First Republic without connecting their results to the present situation. Nevertheless, while reading Kubu's essay it becomes conspicuous that the economic restructuralisation since 1989 correlates with the structures that Kubu has already stated relating to the First Republic. (Owing to the traditional networking of universal banks and industry the bank cartel influenced the financial and