

# Table of Contents

*Nicolas Hayoz, Daniela Koleva, and Leszek Jesień*  
Introduction: Paths of Ambiguous Transformation  
after 20 Years . . . . . 9

## Part 1: Ambiguities of Unfinished Transformations

*Leszek Jesień*  
A Sketch on Europeanization with the EU in Focus:  
Poland 1989–2004–2009 . . . . . 27

*Zhidas Daskalovski*  
The Influence of EU Conditionality and Europeanization  
on the Consolidation of Macedonia . . . . . 49

*Blagovesta Cholova and Daniel Bochsler*  
From Big Political Change to Permanent Change  
of Governments. The Logic of 20 Years of Political Party  
Competition in Central and Eastern Europe . . . . . 85

*Nicole Gallina and Nicolas Hayoz*  
Beyond Democracy: The Relevance of Informal Power  
in Eastern Europe . . . . . 119

*Valentina Dimitrova-Grajzl*  
Trust, Path Dependence and Historical Legacy:  
The Second Decade after Transition . . . . . 143

*Arben Hajrullahu*  
The Missing 'Functional Elite' and the Challenge  
of Democratization . . . . . 167

<i>Mentor Agani and Remzije Istrefi</i> The Promise of 1989 – Kosovo’s Lost Treasure . . . . .	177
<i>Benedikt Harzl</i> Nationalism, Democracy and Independence Revisited: The Cases of Kosovo and Abkhazia . . . . .	203
<i>Ghia Nodia</i> External (F)actors in Democratization: Lessons From the Georgian Experience . . . . .	229
<i>Giga Zedania</i> Societal Values in Georgia: Twenty Years Later . . . . .	253
<i>Christian Giordano</i> Mythologies of Postsocialism: The Legends of <i>Revolution</i> and <i>Transition</i> Twenty Years after the Fall of the Berlin Wall . .	273
Part 2: Confronting the Past	
<i>Irina Novikova</i> Baltic <i>Lieux de mémoire</i> of the 1990s to Early 2000s: Nostalgia, Trauma, Change. . . . .	295
<i>Tomas Kavaliauskas</i> Different Meanings of May 9th, Victory Day over Nazi Germany for Russia and the Baltic States . . . . .	319
<i>Stefan Dietrich</i> (Re)writing History in the 1990s: Croatia and World War II Politics of Remembrance in Croatia – from the 1990s to the Present Day . . . . .	337
<i>Andriy Portnov</i> Post-Soviet Ukraine and Belarus Dealing with “The Great Patriotic War”. . . . .	369

---

*Christophe von Werdt*  
“Cossacks into State-Builders” – Constructing Historical  
“Cossack-Statehood” in Ukraine: A Case Study . . . . . 383

*Krzysztof Brzechczyn*  
The Forgotten Legacy of Solidarność and Lost Opportunities  
to Build a Democratic Capitalist System Following the Fall  
of Communism in Poland. . . . . 395

*Daniela Koleva*  
Hope for the Past? Postsocialist Nostalgia 20 Years Later . . . . 417

*Martin Pogačar*  
Traces of Yugoslavia: *Yuniverse* Beyond Nostalgia . . . . . 435

*Jan Čulík*  
Current Czech Opinion of the pre-1989 and post-1989  
Regimes: Disillusionment with Politics,  
Regardless of Party Political Allegiances . . . . . 461

*Jasmina Husanović*  
Recasting Transitions after The Fall:  
Global Governance of Trauma and the Politics  
of Life in Bosnia and Herzegovina. . . . . 495

Part 3: Texts in Changing Contexts: Values and Meanings

*François Rugg*  
High Heels and Blue Jeans.  
What Are the Visible Signs of Democracy? . . . . . 521

*Nenad Miscevic*  
Nation, Border and Territory –  
Reflecting on Croatian Experiences . . . . . 537

<i>Jan Woleński</i> From Controlled Liberalism to Real Pluralism The Development of Philosophy in Poland at the End of the Communist Era . . . . .	559
<i>Maciej Urbanowski</i> Between a Valley of Joy and a Valley of Nothingness The Year 1989 and Polish Literature . . . . .	573
<i>Ioana Both</i> How to Tell the Truth with Words: Romanian Post-Communist Literature . . . . .	589
<i>Michael Müller</i> Essay and Travelogue. Two Literary Genres that Have Been Rediscovered during the Debate on the Yugoslavian Collapse . . . . .	609
<i>Judit Friedrich</i> Blaming versus Healing: Facing Communist Informers of the Past, and a Literary Example in Péter Esterházy's <i>Revised Edition</i> . . . . .	629
<i>Alexander Kiossev</i> Crimes Against Everyday Life, or On the Patho-Anthropology of Socialism. . . . .	647
The Authors . . . . .	669

---