Virtually No-preconditions
- elite must agree on the boundaries of the state
  o otherwise civil or int’l war results
- democratization is not dependent on economic growth
  o transitions at all income levels
  o *consolidation* is near certain above $6,055 per capita GNP in 1985 US$ using PPP system
- Liberalization *usually* precedes democratization, but the time-frame may be limited
  o In Czechoslovakia, no appreciable liberalization prior to 1989 revolutions
- Political actors – state and regime elites and opposition elites – matter
  o Agents rather structures
  o Predictive failure of structural theories (oops)

How states transited to democracy
- Focus on the *process* rather than the underlying causes
  o Calculations of actors matters
  o Do reformers expect that civil society will liberalize within regime limits or independently?
  o Do opposition groups believe that reformers will repress or bargain with them?
- Alliances between regime elite and opposition
  o Regime elites: hardliners and liberalizers
  o Opposition: radicals and moderates
  o Radicals will demand more concessions than even liberalizers will want to concede
    - Need to use more forceful strategy
    - Require mass support against hardliners
“Pacted” Transitions
- Regime and opposition elites negotiate how to “transit” to democracy (a pact)
  o Assures regime and state elites
  o Power-sharing arrangements may be created
  o Provides path to competitive elections
  o E.g., Spain, Poland, S. Africa

Transitions that Failed
- many of the post-Soviet states have not transitioned to democracy or have failed to fully “transit”
  o communism as an empirical political system is dead ….
  o but new regimes are more authoritarian than democratic
  o personalistic patrimonial rule in Central Asia, Belarus
  o Internal movement strong
  o International support via IOs and NGOs & other states
- Russian transition has reversed
  o Does int’l politics “break” the Third Wave
  o US was ambivalent about Yeltsin’s electoral manipulation

Conclusions about transitions to democracy
- difficult to develop clear causal theory
- multiple pathways to democracy
- limited conditions for democratization
- difficult to predict
- highly dependent on actors and their strategies