Index

8888 Uprising 278, 280, 284  
9/11 attack, Afghanistan regime change after 301–3  
Abdallah, Ould 55  
ABMA see All Burma Monks’ Alliance (ABMA)  
ADA see Avoidance of Discrimination Act (ADA)  
Adamides, C. 210  
Addis Ababa agreement 185  
Adelman, Jeremy 133  
Afghanistan  
post-9/11 campaign in 9  
regime changes 4, 329, 330, 342  
Afghanistan, intervention in 297–300  
9/11 attack and 303  
economy 301–2, 308  
five-step plan for statebuilding 300  
international policy 305  
military intervention 303–7  
national budget 307  
Pakistan influence 306  
political implications 308  
political transition 303–7  
regime change intervention after 9/11 301–3  
security forces 308  
social implications 308  
Soviet intervention of 1979 297–8  
Taleban regime 297–9  
United States and 303–7  
African Union Peacekeeping Mission (AMIB) 58  
Afwerki, Isaias 239, 241, 243, 244, 251, 252  
Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud 131  
Ahtisaari, Martti 172, 173  
Ahtisaari Plan 172, 174  
Akuffo 258  
al-Bashir, Omar 186, 187, 190  
Al-e-Ahmed, Jalal 121  
Al Mahdi, Sadiq 186  
al-Quaida 299, 300  
al-Turabi, Hasan 186, 187  
Albright, Madeleine 298  
Algerian Liberation Front 240  
All Burma Monks’ Alliance (ABMA) 280  
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) 32  
AMIB see African Union Peacekeeping Mission (AMIB)  
ancien régime 125  
ANEBA see Association Nationale des Étudiants Burkinabé (ANEBA)  
Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1899) 189  
Annan, Kofi 171  
Anthias, F. 209  
Arab–Israeli War (1973) 113  
Arab Revolts in 2011 22  
Archer, M. 31, 32  
Armed Forces Revolutionary Council 258  
Armstrong, David 127  
Arusha Peace Agreement 55–66  
Ashanti territory, colonisation 256–7  
Ashdown, Paddy 36  
Association Nationale des Étudiants Burkinabé (ANEBA) 227  
Aung San Suu Kyi 18, 275–7, 280, 282–4, 286, 287, 290, 291  
Austin, Beatrix 9  
authoritarian government, Burundi as 59–60, 63, 66  
authoritarian regime 14  
Myanmar 14  
authoritarian rules 22, 143
authoritarianism 11, 64
autocratic monarchy 72
autocratic regimes 11
Avoidance of Discrimination Act (ADA) 258
Baganwa 50, 51
Bagaza, Jean-Baptiste 51
Bahr, Egon 94, 95
Bakhtiar, Sharpour 119, 120, 122
Balai Citoyen 229, 230
Bambara, Serge 229
Ban Ki Moon 197
‘Bangkok process’ 281, 283
Bashingantahe 52, 66
Bashir 22
Battle of Kosovo (1389) 165, 166
Bazargan, Mehdi 122–4
Belaid, Chroki 142
Belgian colonial authorities 52
Belgrade Talks 171
Ben Ali, Zine Abidine 137, 139–47, 156, 337
Beni Amer group 241
Ben Jafar, Mustafa 142
Bertelsmann Transformation Index 249
BGF see Border Guard Force (BGF) plan
Bhandari, Ram Kumar 328, 342
Bin Laden, Osama 299
Boahen, Adu 263
Bojičić-Dželilović, V. 39
Bonyads 132
Border Guard Force (BGF) plan 285
Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), political transition 27–8
1992–95 War in 29, 32–3
citizen movement 40
cultural changes 41
Dayton Agreement 29, 43
discourses of exclusion 32–4
economic changes 39–40
ethnic school system 41
ethnopolitics 28, 31
ethno-religious identities 31
first post-war elections 29
Fragile States Index 44
inequalities in groups 39
international state-building or state-failing 35–7
migration 40
political changes 37–9
political discourses 30–31
political parties 32
regime changes 330, 339–43
Serbian aggression 33
social changes 40–41
structural selectivity 30–32
unemployment rate 39
war and its consequences 167–8
Bosniak–Croat conflict 36
Bosniak–Croatian war (1992–94) 33
Bosniak–Serbian conflict 36
Bouazzizi, Mohammed 140, 141, 144, 145, 328, 337
Brahmi, Mohamed 142
Branch, A. 196
Brandt, Willy 94, 329
British colonial policy 209
British constitutional system 209
British Military Administration 240
Brobey, V. 269
Broz Tito, Josip 164
Brubaker, R. 29
Bryant, R. 211, 213
Buddhism in Myanmar 280
Burkina Faso
Africa-wide wave of protest 230–31
Association Nationale des Étudiants Burkinabé 227
Balai citoyen 329
changing governments 225–6
civil society pressure 226–8
constitutional referendum (1970) 225, 227
protests by 228–30
history of strikes 225–6
international and regional context 230–31
Kaboré, Roch Marc Christian 230, 233
military coups 225–6
regime change 231, 328, 329, 344
and transition process 224
revolutionary regime 225
Union Générale des Étudiants
Burkinabé 227

Burundi, political transition
Arusha Peace Agreement 55–66
as authoritarian government 59–60, 63, 66
in colonial period 50
coup d’état (1996) 52–4
democratic elections
in 1993 53
in 2005 56, 57
ethnic violence 49, 60
ethnicity 57, 61, 64
international community 63–4
limited change for common citizens 64–6
period of 1966–83 53
post-colonial period 52
power-sharing successes 57–8
reintegration of refugees 64, 66
returning refugees 65
violence 56, 60–62, 64, 66
Bush, George W. 299, 303
Busia, Kofi Abrefa 258
Buyoya, Pierre 51, 53, 55–6, 61

Carter, Jimmy 115
Central Eastern Europe 92–4
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 112, 299
CfP see Congress for the Republic (CIP)
Chahed, Youssef 143, 149, 153
Chand, Netra Bikram 81
Chinese Foreign Direct Investment 286
CHRAJ see Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ)
citizen–soldier model 245–7
civil society organisations (CSOs) 52, 56, 57, 60, 64, 231, 269
‘clash of civilisations’ 188
Clinton, Hillary 298
CNDD see Conseil National Pour la Défense de la Démocratie (CNDD)
CNDD-FDD system 54, 56–9, 61–3
‘cold peace’ 27
Cold War 13, 115, 127, 281
colonialism 21
COMECON see Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON)
Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) 266
Committee of Constitutional Experts 262
Communist Party of Burma (CPB) 276
Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN-M) 74, 75
Communist Party of Nepal – Unified Marxist–Leninist (CPN-UML) 76, 77, 79
Compaoré, Blaise 223–32, 328
Compaoré, Simon 230
competitive street mobilisation 146
Comprehensive Ceasefire Agreement 56
Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) 72, 76, 80, 183, 191, 195
Article 3 of 78
Confédération Générale des Travail du Burkina 226
Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) 107
Congrès pour la Démocratie et le Progrès 229
Congress for the Republic (CIP) 142
Conseil National Pour la Défense de la Démocratie (CNDD) 54, 55
consociational democracy 203
Constantinou, C. M. 210
constitution-based transition process 146
Consultative Assembly 262, 264
Convention de Gouvernement 55
Convention People’s Party (CPP) 257
regime changes 258
Cooper, Andrew Scott 115
cordon sanitaire 91
Council for Islamic Revolution 122
Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) 108
counterinsurrection policy 282

coup d'état 52–4, 328, 329

Čović, Dragan 34

CPA see Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)

CPB see Communist Party of Burma (CPB)

CPN-M see Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN-M)

CPN-UML see Communist Party of Nepal – Unified Marxist–Leninist (CPN-UML)

CPP see Convention People's Party (CPP)

Croatian Democratic Union of BiH 28

Crowe, Hillary 9

CSCE see Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE)

CSOs see civil society organisations (CSOs)

cultural changes, Bosnia and Herzegovina 41

‘culture of silence’ 259, 268

Cyclone Nargis 281

Cypriot Army 204

Cyprus

Northern see Northern Cyprus political violence in 17

Danquah, J. B. 256

Daoud, Mohammad 4

Dayton Agreement of 1995 17, 29–30, 167, 339

Dayton Conference 167

DDR see demobilisation and reintegration (DDR)

de Chickera, Amal 83

de Waal, A. 196

decision-making process 143, 149

Declaration of Independence in 2008, for Kosovo state 172–3

Declaration on the Causes, Character and Consequences of the Deadly Armed Conflict in BiH (1992–1995) 33

decolonization, 50, 203, 224

Ghana 256

demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) 194

democracy 16

‘Democracy Now’ movement 101
democratic elections, in Burundi 53, 56, 57

Democratic League of Dardania (LDD) 175

Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) 166, 176

Democratic Movement of Kosovo (LDK) 175

Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) 172, 175–6
democratization 11, 53, 54

Demokratie Jetzt 101
demonetization 277

Denktash, Rauf 209

derg regime 341

Diallo, Salif 229

Diendéré, Gilbert 232, 233

displaced 64

Dodik, Milorad 34, 36

Dorraj, Manochehr 132

Duffield, M. 196

Dunn, John 113

East Berlin, communist rule in 95

East German regime 329

East Germany see German Democratic Republic (GDR), regime transition
economic changes, Bosnia and Herzegovina 39–40
economic changes, in Ghana 266–7

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) 233
economic inequalities 267

economic reconciliation, Essebsi, Beji Caid 152, 153

ECOWAS see Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
education system reforms 178

Egemen, S. 208

Eide, Kai 171, 172

electoral authoritarianism 224

elite negotiation vs. street politics 146–9
Index

355

Forces Nationales de Libération (FNL)
54, 56, 64
forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie (FDD)
Federación de Bosnia y Herzegovina
(FBiH) 29, 34, 36, 38
Feinberg, W. 41
financial dependency 212
FM see Freedom Movement (FM)
FNL see Forces Nationales de Libération (FNL)

Fadaiyan-e-Khalq 124
FBiH see Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH)
Federal Constitution of 1946 164
Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) 94, 336
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 17, 20, 328
Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) 29, 34, 36, 38

Eritrea–Ethiopia Boundary commission 244, 247
Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) 240–41
Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) 238, 239, 241–2, 248, 250, 340
Eritrean People’s Revolutionary Party (EPRP) 241

esprit de corps 58

Essebsi, Beji Caid 141–3
economic reconciliation 152, 153
Essid, Habib 143, 149
Ethiopia
Derg regime in 328
and international community 239
Ethiopian dictatorial rule 244
Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) 242
Ethiopian Red Star campaign 242
ethnic divides 58
ethnic identity 51
ethnic polarization 50
ethnic politics 76
in Afghanistan 302–3
ethnic school system 41
ethnic violence 49, 60
ethnicytized policies 64
ethnicity 57, 61, 64
ethnoinational identities 42, 339
ethno-political conflicts 49
ethno-religious identities, in BiH 31, 38
European integration 38
exogenous factors, regime changes 323–5, 329–31, 346

Espoo, K. 22

EPRD see Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)
EPRP see Eritrean People’s Revolutionary Party (EPRP)
Eritrea
citizen–soldier model 245–7
current regime in 246
defence budget 247
diaspora 248
Eritrean Liberation Front 240–41
Eritrean People’s Liberation Front 238, 239, 241–2
external relations 247–8
history of 240
ideology 250–51
independence 242
international community 239
militarization 250
People’s Front for Democracy and Justice 243
political culture 242
political economy 248–9
Popular Defense Force 241
regime changes 327, 340, 341, 344, 345
society 249–50
transition from resilience to bare life 244–5

Eritrea–Ethiopia Boundary commission 244, 247
Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) 240–41
Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) 238, 239, 241–2, 248, 250, 340
Eritrean People’s Revolutionary Party (EPRP) 241

esprit de corps 58

‘elite pact’ 264
Emmanuel, K. 191
dependent factors, regime changes 323–8
Enosis 203, 206, 209
EOKA see National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA)
EPLF see Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF)

Essid, Habib 143, 149
Ethiopia
Derg regime in 328
and international community 239
Ethiopian dictatorial rule 244

Essebsi, Beji Caid 141–3
economic reconciliation 152, 153

Fadaiyan-e-Khalq 124

FBIH see Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH)
Federal Constitution of 1946 164
Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) 94, 336
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 17, 20, 328
Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) 29, 34, 36, 38

Feinberg, W. 41
financial dependency 212
FM see Freedom Movement (FM)

Forces Nationales de Libération (FNL)
54, 56, 64
forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie (FDD)

Eritrea–Ethiopia Boundary commission 244, 247
Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) 240–41
Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) 238, 239, 241–2, 248, 250, 340
Eritrean People’s Revolutionary Party (EPRP) 241

esprit de corps 58

Essebsi, Beji Caid 141–3
economic reconciliation 152, 153
Essid, Habib 143, 149
Ethiopia
Derg regime in 328
and international community 239
Ethiopian dictatorial rule 244
Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) 242
Ethiopian Red Star campaign 242
even divides 58
equity of identity 51
ethnic polarization 50
economic politics 76
in Afghanistan 302–3
equity of education 41
economic violence 49, 60
ethnic policies 64
ethnicity 57, 61, 64
ethnoinational identities 42, 339
ethno-political conflicts 49
ethno-religious identities, in BiH 31, 38
European integration 38
economic factors, regime changes 323–5, 329–31, 346

Fadaiyan-e-Khalq 124

FBIH see Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH)
Federal Constitution of 1946 164
Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) 94, 336
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 17, 20, 328
Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) 29, 34, 36, 38

Feinberg, W. 41
financial dependency 212
FM see Freedom Movement (FM)

Forces Nationales de Libération (FNL)
54, 56, 64
forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie (FDD) 54, 55
356 The Elgar companion to post-conflict transition

Ford, Gerald 114, 115
‘Forum on International Support for National Reconciliation in Myanmar’ 281
Fragile States Index 44
Freedom House
project 11
scale, Myanmar 285–6
2016 press freedom index 268
Freedom Movement (FM) 119, 123
French revolution (1789) 21
FRG see Federal Republic of Germany
frodébisation 54
FRODEBU see Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi
Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi (FRODEBU) 53–6
Fukuyama, F. 12

Gaddafi, Muammar al- 4, 12
Gafsa rebellion (2008) 140
Garang de Maibor, John 186, 187, 192
Gauck, Joachim 107
GBV see gender-based violence (GBV)
GDR see German Democratic Republic (GDR)
gender-based violence (GBV) 195
gender, political transitions 18–19
German Democratic Republic (GDR), regime transition 328, 336–8, 343
communist rule in 95, 105
from détente to cooperation 93–6
economic policy 99
economy 104
final political settlement (1946–55) 91
free elections (1949) 101
implications 103–5
narrow-minded party leadership in 97
one-party rule 96
party leadership 98
party rule 92
political system 105
population 104
reform process 94, 101, 102, 107
Round Table experiment 101–2, 106
social policy 99
structure of 104
from uneasiness to ‘refolution’ 96–101
unification ‘regime replacement’ from transition to 102–3
transition from regime change to 105–7
Yalta Conference (1944) 91
German–German Basic Treaty (1972) 95

Ghana
1992 Constitution 266–8
civil and political rights 266
decolonisation 256
ablet factionalism after independence 257–9
military to civilian rule 264
military regimes 258–69
presidential and parliamentary elections (1992) 263
pro-democracy movement 260–62
regime changes 335–6, 343, 344
‘third wave of democratisation’ 259
transition process 259, 262–3
from 1990 to 1992 263–5
cultural changes 268–9
economic changes 266–7
external factors 259–60
internal factors 260–62
political changes 265–6
social changes 267–8
Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) 267
Ghannouchi, Mohammed 141, 146
Gharabaghi, Abbas 123
Giessmann, Hans J. 1–9, 317, 318, 327
Gilbert, A. 35
Global Ceasefire Agreement 56, 58
GLSS see Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS)
Gold Coast 256
colonial rule 256
‘good governance’ concept 260
Goodwin, Jeff 326
Gorbachev, Mikhail 92, 95–7, 103
GoSS see Government of South Sudan (GoSS)
Index

‘Goulash Communism’92 187, 190, 197
Government of South Sudan 16
Government of South Sudan (GoSS) 187, 190, 197
Greek Cypriot community 202–8, 215, 329
Guerrero, Javier Gill 115
Güryay, E. 212
Gyanendra 75
Gyimah-Boadi, E. 269
Haile Selassie 240, 241
Halliday, Fred 117, 125, 127, 131
Hansen, L. 43
Harper, Mary 252
Harrington, Chatherine 83
Hatay, M. 211
hegemonic political discourses 32
Helsinki Process 94
Heurteaux, Jérôme 138
High Representative (HR) for Bosnia and Herzegovina 36
Hindu caste system 71
Hobsbawn, E. 10
Holbrooke, Richard 168, 169
homo islamicus, notion of 148
Honecker, Erich 100
horizontal inequalities 39, 62, 73, 326, 327
Horn, Gyula 97
human development, concept of 331
Human Development Index 64, 331
human trafficking 244
Huntington, S. P., ‘third wave democratization’ 3–4, 14, 265, 275–86
democratic quality of rulers 287
issues in democracy 287
transition process analysis changing policies 280–81
decaying legitimacy 280
democratic contagion 278–9
economic development and crises 279–80
poor government performances 280
religious changes 280
Hutu 49–57
military 60
rebel-movements 62
returnees 65
‘Hutu-emancipation’ 50
ICC see International Criminal Court
ICTY see International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
identity politics 344–5
IGAD see Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
ILO see International Labor Organization (ILO)
Imbonerakure 60
IMF see International Monetary Fund; International Monetary Fund (IMF)
Imperial State of Iran 111
income inequalities 266
indirect rule strategy 189
institutional changes 64, 66
institutionalization of divides 58
Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) 187, 247
Interim National Election Commission 262–3
‘internal colonialism,’ Madesh region 77
Internal Security Forces (ISF) 147
international community 58, 111
Ethiopia and 239
role of 63–4
international community involvement 168–9
International Criminal Court (ICC) 21, 22
International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) 30, 33
international justice regimes 11
International Labor Organization (ILO) 157
International Monetary Fund (IMF) 20, 63, 148
International Relations (IR) 112, 129
358  The Elgar companion to post-conflict transition

International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) 305, 306
international social system 112
international state-building or state-failing 35–7
international system 127
Inzko, Valentin 40
Iran hostage crisis (1979–81) 338
Iranian Revolution 16–17, 111, 115, 117
Iran–Iraq War 131
Iran, transition in 111–12
Arab–Israeli War (1973) 113
Arab Sunni neighbours 128
demise of moderates 125–7
economy 114
external factors 113–16
foreign policy 128
Imperial State of Iran 111
international impact 127–31
Islam, need of 118–22
Islamic Republic of Iran 111, 123, 127
oil revenues 113
provisional government 122–4
regime changes 338–9, 343, 344
social movements vs. monarchy 116–18
US foreign policy 113–15
veleyat-e faqir 123
ISAF see International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)
ISF see Internal Security Forces (ISF)
Islamic Republic of Iran 111, 123, 126, 127, 129, 132
Islamic Revolutionary movement 125
Islam, in Iran 118–22
‘Islam’s second globalisation’ 113
Ivanić, Mladen 33
Iyob, Ruth 245
Izetbegović, Alija 33
Jalal, Ayesha 111
Jaleh Square, Tehran 112
jana andolan 73, 75, 76
Jebali, Hamadi 142
Jeffries, R. 260, 264
Kaboré, Roch Marc Christian 233
Kafando, Michel 224, 232
Karzai, Hamid 300
Kasapović, M. 29
Kaymak, E. 208
Keen, D. 196
Khamenei, Ali 131
Khin Nyunt 282, 283
Khomeini, Ruhollah 118–28, 130, 131
Khomeini, Ayatollah 344
Kiir, S. 183, 187, 189, 190, 340
KLA see Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)
Klein, Naomi 330
‘kleptocracy’ 19
Knopf, K. A. 183
Kohl, Helmut 103
komitehs 125
Koshtunica, Vojislav 172
Kosovo
1990 referendum in Serbia 166–7
autonomy 165
challenges in 166
civil resistance 166
Declaration of Independence in 2008 172–3
Democratic League of Dardania 175
Democratic Movement of Kosovo 175
Democratic Party of 172, 175–6
education system 165
international community involvement 168–9
London Conference (1912–13) 163
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 169–70
ongoing transition 177–8
Ottoman Empire 163, 166
political autonomy of 164
political elites, central role of 173–7
Rambouillet Conference (1999) 169
regime changes 330
riots in 2004 and statehood solution 170–71
self-determination in 165
Self-Determination Party 176–7
Serbian repression 164–6
as territory 163, 166
UN Security Council Resolution 1244 169–70
Vienna talks and Ahtisaari proposal 172
War and its consequences in Bosnia-Herzegovina 167–8
Kosovo Force (KFOR) 170
Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) 167, 168
Kosyrev, Andrej 4
Krause, Günther 103
Krenz, Egon 100, 101
Küçük, Fazıl 204
Kufuor, John 263, 267, 268
Kurzman, Charles 117, 118, 121, 125
Lacher, H. 208
Lagu, Joseph 185
Lambrakis, George 124
Lamizana, Sangoulé 225
Larayedh, Ali 142, 147
Lawson, George 113
LDD see Democratic League of Dardania
LDK see Democratic League of Kosovo
Lemarchand, R. 58
‘less successful’ regime change 339–41
liberal democracy 71, 79, 269
liberal economic policy 227
liberal ideology 75
liberal peace 11, 71, 72, 75, 82
liberalisation 92
liberation movement 185, 243, 244, 250
Lijphart’s consociational model 57
Limann, Hilla 258
LMIC see low and middle-income country (LMIC)
Local Government Act of 1988 (PNDC Law, 207) 261
Locke, John 326
lower middle-income country (LMIC) 266
Loya Jirga 300
Lyam, P. 183
Mac Ginty, R. 1–9, 317, 318
Machar, Riek 190, 192, 340
Madhesi 77, 81, 82
Mahdavi Khani, Mohammad-Reza 125
Maier, Charles S. 98, 102
Makarios (Archbishop) 204, 206, 207, 209
Mamphilly, Z. C. 196
Mandela, Nelson 55
Manich Msamah 152, 153
Manji, F. 230
Maoist
conflict 73, 76
insurgency 73, 74, 328
People’s Liberation Army 77
‘People’s War’ 72
Maoist Party 76, 79
Marxist Fadaivyan-e-Khalq 124
Marzouki, Moncef 142
Massoud, Ahmed Shah 297, 298
Mauriac, François Charles 93
Mbaza, Fouad 142
MBDHP see Mouvement Burkinabé des Droits de l’Homme et des Peuples (MBDHP)
MEC see Myanmar Economic Corporation (MEC)
media environment 268
MEK see Mojahedin-e-Khalq (MEK)
Menkhaus, K. 42
Merkel, Angela 107
MFJ see Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ)
Micombero, Michel 51
militarisation 195
military-political patronage system 193
military regime 184–5
Milosević regime 1
Milosević, Slobodan 165, 166, 168, 169
Min Aung Hlaing 280, 284
Ministry of the Interior (MoI) 143, 147
Mitteleuropapolitik 93
mobilization 205, 206
Mogho Naba 232
MoI see Ministry of the Interior (MoI)
Moi aussi j’ai mis le feu à un poste de police 151, 152
Moin, Baqer 125
Mojahedin-e-Khalq (MEK) 124

Index 359
monarchy of Iran, social movements vs. 116–18
Morrison, J. S. 196
Morsi, Mohamed 16
Mossadeq, Mohammad 118, 119
Motahhari, Morteza 127
*Mouvement Burkinafô des Droits de l’Homo et des Peuples* (MBDHP) 227
*Mouvement pour la solidarité et la démocratie* (MSD) 63
*Mouvement pour le Peuple et le Progrès* 230
Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ) 261–3
MPRM see Muslim People’s Republican Party (MPRM)
MSD see *Mouvement pour la solidarité et la démocratie* (MSD)
Mubarak, Hosni 15, 16
Muhamad Nur, Ramadan 241
mujaheddin 4, 297, 298, 300
mujaheddin movement 298
Müller, Tanja R. 246
multidimensional poverty 72
multi-layered patron-client networks 50
multiparty liberal democratic system 261
Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt 142, 149
Muslim People’s Republican Party (MPRM) 126
*Mwami* 49, 52
Myanmar Economic Corporation (MEC) 279
Myanmar’s transition 2015 elections 285
Buddhism 280
changing policies 280–81
communal violence 290
decreasing legitimacy 280
democratic contagion 278–9
economic development and crises 279–80
economy 288
ethnicity 276
foreign investor in 278
Freedom House scale 285–6
Huntington, S. P., ‘third wave democratization’ see Huntington, S. P., ‘third wave democratization’ 289
insurgencies 289
international relations changes 286
National Convention 279, 283
National League for Democracy 275
peace 289
Polity IV index 285
poor government performances 280
poverty 279, 288–9
process analysis 278–85
regime change 285–6, 343, 344
religious changes 280
Rohingya 290
*Tatmadaw* 276, 280, 281–5, 287, 289–91
unemployment rates 288
Najibullah, Mohammad 4, 298
‘Nakfa Syndrom’ 245
*Nalbantoğlu, Burhan* 209
National Charter, Eritrea 243
National Commission for Democracy (NCD) 261, 262
National Constituent Assembly (NCA) 142, 146–7, 149
National Convention (NC), Myanmar 279, 283
National Front (NF) 119, 123
National Health Insurance Scheme 267
National Islamic Front (NIF) 186
National League for Democracy (NLD) 275, 283, 287, 289, 290
National Liberation Movement (NLM) 257
National Media Commission 266
National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) 203
National Salvation Front (NSF) 142
National Service, Eritrea 250, 251
nationalism 205, 206
Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) 285
NATO see North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Index

NC Convening Commission (NCCC) 283
NCA see National Constituent Assembly (NCA); Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA)
NCCC see NC Convening Commission (NCCC)
NCD see National Commission for Democracy (NCD)
nkadyaye, Melchior 53–5, 61
Ne Win 277
neoliberalism 139
neo-patrimonial governance 61
see also authoritarian government
Nepal, political transition
2013 elections 77
after civil war 70–72
constrained change 78–81
democratic ideology in 80
end of king’s power 75
ethnic politics 76
ethnicities in 70
failure of constituent assembly 76
failure of liberalism 80–81
governance 75
as ‘imperial progressives’ 72
Maoist insurgency 73, 74
Maoist ‘People’s War’ 72, 82
new constitution promulgation 77, 80–81
panchayat system 72–3
peacebuilding process 71, 72, 75, 80, 82
political history 72–5
political parties 79–80
political shifts and developments, 1950–present 85–7
population 72, 74, 77
regime change without regime change 76–8
regime changes 342, 343
roots of future conflict 80–81
Nepali Congress (NC) 76
Nepali federalism 81
New Generation movement 151
NF see National Front (NF)
NGOs see non-governmental organisations (NGOs)
Nidaa Tounes 142, 149
NIF see National Islamic Front (NIF)
Nimeiri, Muhammad 185, 186
Nimeiri regime 185
Nixon Doctrine 113
Nizigama, Gabriel 67
Nkrumah, Kwame 257, 258, 271
Nkurunziza, Pierre 56, 57, 59, 60
NLM see National Liberation Movement (NLM)
non-governmental organisations (NGOs) 74, 184, 197
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 1, 304, 306
airstrikes 169–70
Northern Cyprus
conflict
main actors in 205
proximate and structural causes of 205–7
role of external actors in 209–10
winners and losers of 207–8
financial dependency 212
global trends of transitions 210–11
Greek Cypriot community 202–8
gross domestic product 213
influence of structural factors 207
National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters 203
post-1974 political system 212
transition process development 207
Turkish Cypriots community 202–8
Turkish military intervention 202
Turkish Resistance Organization 203
violent conflict in 209
NSF see National Salvation Front (NSF)
Nyaba, P. A. 188
Nyerere, Julius 55
OAU see Organisation of African Unity (OAU)
Office of the High Representative (OHR) 30, 37
OHR see Office of the High Representative (OHR)
OLS see Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS)
Önder, Fazıl 206
OPEC see Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS) 196, 330
Oquaye, M. 260
Organisation of African Unity (OAU) 51, 55
Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) 168
Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) 115
OSCE see Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)
Ostpolitik 94, 95, 329
Ottoman Empire 163, 166, 203
Ouédraogo, David 227
Ouédraogo, Jean-Baptiste 225
Pahlavi dynasty 111, 115, 122
Palipehutu-FNL 54, 56
Panayiotou, A. 205, 206, 209
panchayat system 72, 73
Parti pour la Liberation du Peuple Hutu 54
‘patrimonial militarized tribalism’ 187
PDK see Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK)
peace accords 11
peacebuilding 35, 36, 210
Nepal 71, 72, 75, 80, 82
Peace Implementation Council (PIC) 30
Pendle, N. 189
People Power movement, Philippines 278
People’s Democratic Party 184
People’s Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) 243, 249
People’s Liberation Army 77
People’s Movement 73–5
People’s War 72, 81, 82
perestroika reforms 96
permanental transition 14–15
perpetual transition 28
personal leadership quality, regime changes 344
PFDJ see People’s Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ)
PGO see Provisional Government of Iran (PGOI)
Pinaud, C. 195
Platzeck, Matthias 107
PNDC see Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC)
political changes
Bosnia and Herzegovina 37–9
Ghana 265–6
South Sudan 191–3
political culture 246
political economy, Eritrea 248–9
political education 244
political liberalization 227
political movement 185
political system 96
political transitions 10–11
in Afghanistan 303–7
aftermath and legacy of 20–22
biases 12–14
Bosnia-Herzegovina 17
Burundi see Burundi, political transition
Cyprus 17–18
economy of 16, 19–20
gender 18–19
geo-politics 12
Ghana 20
legitimiser of new forms of division 16–18
Myanmar 14–15
Nepal see Nepal, political transition
new forms of division 16–18
‘permanent transition’ 14–15
political change 15–16
and regime change 11
South Africa 21
South Sudan 16
UN Resolution 1325 (2000) 18
political violence 61
Polity IV data 347
Polity IV index 285
Index 363

'post-conflict' transition 184
post-war status quo 27
Pöttering, Hans-Gert 173
power-sharing 346
Burundi 57–8, 62, 66
Preventive Detention Act 258
prima facie 300
primus inter pares 305
provisional government of Iran (PGOI) 122–6, 128
Provisional National Defence Council (PNDIC) 258–9, 261, 264, 335
Law 253 of 1991 262
Public–Private Partnership law 148
Pupavac, V. 18

Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin (1971) 95
quasi-protectorate 38

Rabbani, Burhanuddin 300
Radio Publique Africaine (RPA) 63
Radjabu, Hussein 59
Rafsanjani, Akbar Hashemi 131
Rambouillet Conference (1999) 169
Rassemblement Constitutionnel Démocratique (RCD) 141, 152
Rawlings, Jerry 258–64, 271, 329, 335
Rawls, John 326
RCD see Rassemblement Constitutionnel Démocratique (RCD)
Reagan Administration 130
resolution 137
of Germany 96–101, 103, 106
reform policy 92, 97
refugees, return and reintegration of 64–6
regime change process, Tunisia 138, 143–4
concepts of 138
elite negotiation vs. street politics 146–9
everyday state formation 149–54
implications of 154–6
micro-politics of mass mobilisation 144–6
political and economic 149
regime changes 1–2
in Afghanistan 4
endogenous factors 6
exogenous factors 6
impact of 6
of political and academic interest 3–7
regime change without 76–8
transitions and 11
in twentieth century 4
regime changes, 14 case studies
Afghanistan 329, 330, 342
Bosnia-Herzegovina 330, 339–43
Burkina Faso 328, 329, 344
divides 343
East German 329
endogenous factors 323–8
Eritrea 327, 340, 341, 344, 345
exogenous factors 323–5, 329–31, 346
German Democratic Republic (GDR) 328, 336–8, 343
Ghana 335–6, 343, 344
Iran 338–9, 343
Kosovo 330
‘less successful’ 339–41
Myanmar 343, 344
Nepal 342
non-linearity of factors 341
outcomes 331–5, 341
less successful regime change 339–41
quality of 332–3, 347
‘successful’ regime change 335–9
overview of cases 319–20, 332–3
quality of (personal) leadership 344
quantitative indicators 321–2
social and personal re-learning 344–5
South Sudan 330, 340, 342
‘successful’ 335–9
systemic nature of 341
Taleban 329
transitional justice 343–4
Tunisia 337–8, 342, 343
unpredictability of factors 341
Régiment de Sécurité Présidentielle (RSP) 223
regime replacement, from transition to
unification 102–3
Rehn, Olli 38
Reid, Richard 239, 245
‘rent-seeking rebellion’ 187
Republic of Cyprus (RoC) 202–4, 206
Republic of Srpska (RS) 29, 33, 34, 38
restorative justice 143
‘re-unification’ 107
Revolutionary Council 125, 126
revolutionary movement 112, 116, 118, 121, 126–8
Riehl, V. 196
right-wing parties 207, 208
Robins, Simon 328
RoC see Republic of Cyprus (RoC)
Rohingya 276, 290, 291, 344
Rolandsen, O. H. 193
Roosby E. 209
Round Table experiment 101–2, 106
Round Table, Poland 336–7
RPA see Radio Publique Africaine (RPA)
RS see Republic of Srpska (RS)
RSP see Régiment de Sécurité Présidentielle (RSP)
Ruay, D. D. A. 188
Rugova, Ibrahim 166, 167, 175
‘rule of the Islamic jurist’ 123
Rwagasore, Louis 50
Rwanda 54, 55
end of colonial period 50
SAF see Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF)
‘Saffron Revolution’ 277, 280, 284, 290
Sall, Macky 230
Sams’ K le Jah 229
Sankara, Thomas 225, 226
Sassanid Empire 120
Saw Maung 277
Schäuble, Wolfgang 103
school system, ethnic 41
Schürer, Gerhard 100
SDS see Serbian Democratic Party (SDS)
Second World War 28
Seeberg, Peter 125
segregation 202
Seifert, Christine 9
Sejdiu, Fatmir 172
‘selective corruption’ 336
Self-Determination Party (VV) 176–7
self-reliance 244
semi-authoritarian regime 224, 228
Sen, Amartya 331
Serbia, 1990 referendum in 166–7
Serbian aggression 33
Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) 28
Serbian political discourse 34
Serbian repression 164–6
Seven Step Roadmap to Democracy (SPDC) 282–3
Shah, Birendra 73
Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi 111–22, 126, 127, 129, 132, 344
Shariati, Ali 121
Sharif, Mazaar-e 298
Shia clergy 112
Shia jurisprudence 111
Shinawatra, Thaksin 281
Sidahmed, A. 184
Sidi Bouzid 140, 141
SIGAR see Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR)
‘Sinatra Doctrine’ 92, 97
Sino-Burmese relations 280, 286
Skocpol, Theda 117, 122, 127
SLORC see State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC)
SLPM-in opposition (SPLM-IO) 190
social changes
Bosnia and Herzegovina 40–41
in Ghana 267–8
social contract 326
social inequalities 267
Social–Liberal coalition 94
social mobilisation 11
social movements 150, 151, 234
vs. monarchy 116–18
social and personal re-learning, regime changes 344–5
‘Social Revolution’ of 1959 50
Socialist Unity Party 92, 97, 107
socio–cultural orientation 17
solidarity movement 92
South Sudan
Addis Ababa agreement 185
civil war 183
civilian and military regimes 184
colonial state, legacies of 188–91
Comprehensive Peace Agreement 183
conflict management in 186
divide and rule strategy 189
indirect rule strategy 189
international and NGO reactions 196–7
Liberation Movement 185
over view 183–4
political changes 191–3
post-conflict transition 184
rebels movements 192
regime changes 340–42
security and identity changes 193–6
southern region of 184
women’s position in 195
Soviet intervention of 1979, in
Afghanistan 297–8
Sovietisation 105
SPDC see Seven Step Roadmap to
Democracy (SPDC)
Special Inspector General for
Afghanistan Reconstruction
(SIGAR) 305
SPLA see Sudan People’s Liberation
Army (SPLA)
SPLM/A see Sudan Peoples’ Liberation
Movement/Army (SPLM/A)
SPLM-IO see SLPM-in opposition
(SPLM-IO)
Srebrenisation of Bosnia 34
State Law and Order Restoration
Council (SLORC) 277, 279
state legitimacy 326
State Peace and Development Council
(SPDC) 277
street politics, elite negotiation vs.
146–9
strengthening civil society 269
successful regime change 335–9
Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) 194
Sudan People’s Liberation Army
(SPLA) 186, 192, 195
Sudan People’s Liberation Movement
340
Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Movement/
Army (SPLM/A) 183, 187, 188,
191, 192, 197
Taliban 301, 307–8
peace negotiations with 306
regime 297–9
Taliban de facto government 303
Tanrısevdi, Kemal 209
Tatmadaw 276, 279–85, 287, 289–91
Than Shwe 277–9, 283, 284
Thaqi, Hashim 172, 175
Thein Sein 277, 278, 280, 283–6, 288,
289
third wave democratization
(Huntington) 275–6
democratic quality of rulers 287
issues in democracy 287
transition process in Myanmar
278–85
Thomas, C. 260, 264
Tito regime 17
TMT see Turkish Resistance
Organization (TMT)
Touré, Amadou Toumani 234
trade union association 226
transition constitution 190
transition justice 21
in Burundi 344
in Tunisia 343
transition process
BiH see Bosnia and Herzegovina
(BiH), political transition
Burundi, political see Burundi,
political transition
GDR see German Democratic
Republic (GDR), regime
transition
Ghana 259, 262–3
from 1990 to the end of
1992 263–5
cultural changes 268–9
economic changes 266–7
external factors 259–60
internal factors 260–2
political changes 265–6
social changes 267–8
Huntington, S. P., ‘third wave
democratization’
changing policies 280–81
declining legitimacy 280
democratic contagion 278–9
economic development and crises
279–80
poor government performances
280
religious changes 280
Iran, see Iran, transition in
Myanmar see Myanmar’s transition
Nepal, political see Nepal, political
transition
transnational civil society 18
transnational violence 22
TRC see Truth and Reconciliation
Commission (TRC)
TRNC see Turkish Republic of
Northern Cyprus (TRNC)
Trump, Donald 306
Truth and Dignity Commission 143
Truth and Reconciliation Commission
(TRC) 64
Tunisia
economic growth 141
free and fair election (2011) 142
Gafsa rebellion (2008) 140
National Constituent Assembly 142
neoliberalism 139
resolution 137
regime changes 138, 143–4, 337–8,
342, 343
elite negotiation vs. street politics
146–9
everyday state formation 149–54
micro-politics of mass
mobilisation 144–6
restorative justice 143
revolutionary movements in 151
rural communities 139
social movements 151
transition process 137

Turkish Cypriots community 202–8,
215
Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
(TRNC) 202, 211, 213
Turkish Resistance Organization
(TMT) 203, 206, 208
Turko–Egyptian rule (1821–85) 188
Tutsi 49–58
migrants 65
military 60

UAE see United Arab Emirates (UAE)
UGCC see United Gold Coast
Convention (UGCC)
UGEB see Union Générale des
Étudiants Burkinabé (UGEB)
UMEHL see Union of Myanmar
Economic Holdings Limited
(UMEHL)
UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS)
197, 198
UN Nations Missions in Ethiopia and
Eritrea (UNMEE) 244
UN Resolution 1325 (2000) 18
UN Security Council Resolution
1244 169–70
UN Security Council Resolution
1368 310
UN Somalia and Eritrea Monitoring
Group 247
unemployment
Afghanistan 308
Bosnia 39
Myanmar 288
unification, of Germany 91, 102–3,
105–7
Unification Treaty of 1990 103
Union Générale des Étudiants
Burkinabé (UGEB) 227
Union of Myanmar Economic Holdings
Limited (UMEHL) 279
Union pour le Progrès National
(UPRONA) 50–52, 54–6, 65
Union Solidarity and Development
Association (USDA) 278
Union Solidarity and Development
Party (USDP) 283–4
United Arab Emirates (UAE) 247
United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) 256, 257
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 331, 334
United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) 170
United Wa State Army (UWSA) 280–81
UNMEE see UN Nations Missions in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)
UNMIK see United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UPRONA see Union pour le Progrès National (UPRONA)
US foreign policy 113–15
US imperialism 127
US–Iranian relations 111, 129
USDA see Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA)
UWSA see United Wa State Army (UWSA)

van Leeuwen, Mathijs 327
Vandeginste, S. 62
Veleyat-e faqir 123
Veličković, N. 41
Vietnam War 113
violence
Afghanistan 303
Burundi 56, 60–62, 64, 66
communal, Myanmar 290
gender-based 195
political 61
transnational 22
violence-free democratic system 335
‘Voice of the Islamic Revolution’ 123
Wade, Abdoulaye 230
Wandel durch Annäherung 108
War on Terror 13, 310
Weber, Annette 327
West Germany see German Democratic Republic (GDR), regime transition
Woldemikael, Tekle M. 246
World Bank 19, 20, 260, 266, 270, 286
Xi Jinping 286
Yahya, Ahmet 206
Yakinthou, C. 213
Yalta Conference (1944) 91
Yaméogo, Maurice 225
Ylönen, A. 191
Young, J. 192
Young People’s Front for Democracy and Justice (YPFDJ) 248
Yugoslav war 28–9
Yugoslav federation 163–5
Yugoslavia
Belgrade Talks 171
communist regime 164
constitutional order 165
dissolution of 167
Federal Constitution of 163
Zerbo, Saye 225
Zida, Yacouba Isaac 223, 224
‘zones de regroupement et protection’ 54
Zongo, Justin 228
Zongo, Norbert 227, 228, 231, 234
Zougmaré, Chrysogone 231
Zuma, Jacob 55