

CONTENTS

Table of abbreviations	17
List of selected actors in Slovenian democratization	19
INTRODUCTION: Defining the Scope, Hypotheses and Methodology	21
I. THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK	
1. Background for the theoretical understanding of democratization	27
1.1. The concept of democracy	27
1.2. Non-democratic regimes	32
1.3. Defining the third wave and how democratization processes in the post-communist countries differed from democratization processes elsewhere	35
1.4. The importance of statehood for democratization	40
1.5. Democratic transition and democratic consolidation	42
1.5.1. Types of democratic transition	48
1.5.2. Tasks of democratic consolidation	55
1.5.3. Challenges to democratic consolidation	56
2. Important impacts of the past	59
2.1. Impacts of the Yugoslav economic system, political system and political developments	60
2.2. Pre-communist cleavages in Slovenian society and political life	66
II. EXPLAINING THE TRANSITION	
3. The Yugoslav context	71
3.1. Failed attempts to democratize Yugoslavia	71
3.2. Role of the Yugoslav National Army	77
4. The Slovenian context	83
4.1. Assets and obstacles	83
4.2. The role of the League of Communists	84
4.3. The role of the "transmission belt"	90
4.4. From the civil society to the democratic Opposition	92
4.5. The role of the Catholic Church	96
5. Impacts of external factors	99

III. FROM TRANSITION TO "CONSOLIDATION"

6. Institutional design and democratic constitution	105
6.1. Theoretical underpinnings and constitution-building	105
6.2. General patterns of constitution-building in Slovenia	107
6.3. Slovenian constitution: transitional Zeitgeist and democratic consolidation	111
6.3.1. Overview	111
6.3.2. The limping bicameral system	113
6.3.2.1. Comparative constitutional overview	114
6.3.2.2. Slovenian regulation	115
6.3.3. Government formation and the emphasized role of parliament	118
6.3.3.1. Formation of the government—general patterns	118
6.3.3.2. Vote of constructive no confidence	121
6.3.4. The presidency	124
6.3.4.1. Comparative constitutional overview	124
6.3.4.2. Slovenian regulation	125
6.3.5. The regulation of referenda	128
6.3.5.1. Comparative constitutional overview	128
6.3.5.2. Slovenian regulation	129
6.3.6. The electoral system: development and politicization	133
6.3.6.1. Comparative constitutional overview and political implications	133
6.3.6.2. Slovenian regulation and developments	136
7. From the development of the party system to its consolidation	142
7.1. Theoretical underpinnings of the parties and party Systems in transition	142
7.2. General patterns of the party system in Slovenia and residues of the past	144
7.3. Elections in Slovenia prior to democratic change	146
7.4. The democratic elections and political developments prior to sovereignty	149
7.4.1. The parliamentary elections in 1990	149
7.4.1.1. Continuing the transplacement	149
7.4.1.2. The redundancy of DEMOS on the internal stage	151
7.4.1.3. Frozen democratization	152
7.4.1.4. The collapse of DEMOS and the vote of constructive no confidence	153
7.4.2. The presidential election in 1990	155
7.5. The elections and political developments in the legislative periods after Slovenia became a State	157
7.5.1. The parliamentary elections in 1992	157
7.5.1.1. Nationalism	157

7.5.1.2. Consolidation of the party system	159
7.5.1.3. Coalition-building	161
7.5.2. The presidential election in 1992	164
7.5.3. The parliamentary elections in 1996	165
7.5.3.1. Standstill and coalition-building	166
7.5.3.2. Populism and atypical parties	167
7.5.3.3. The vote of no confidence in 2000	169
7.5.4. The presidential election in 1997	171
7.5.5. The parliamentary elections in 2000	173
7.5.5.1. The success of the center-left and coalition-building	173
7.5.5.2. The restructuring of the right-conservative camp	175
7.5.5.3. The continuity of atypical parties	176
7.5.5.4. The return of nationalist discourse	176
7.5.6. The presidential election in 2002	178
7.5.7. The parliamentary elections in 2004	181
7.5.7.1. Coalition-building	183
7.5.7.2. The trend of "above-partisanship" and "proto-parties"	184
7.5.7.3. The implosion of the LDS	186
7.5.8. The presidential election in 2007	187

IV. CONCLUDING ANALYSIS

8. Indicators of democratic consolidation theory in comparative perspective and applied to Slovenia	191
8.1. The party system	191
8.2. Institutions	197
8.3. Political culture, elite structure, and civil society	200
8.4. Nationalism, minorities, and external relations	207
8.5. Civil-military relations and church-state relations	213
8.6. Economic Performance and privatization	215
8.7. Media sector	218
9. Conclusion	223
9.1. Reference to research questions and hypotheses	223
9.2. Concluding remarks	235

REFERENCES

Statues, Treaties and Documents	237
Bibliography	239

INDEX	247
-------	-----