

320.01

STHA

1995

# *Between states*

*Interim governments and democratic transitions*

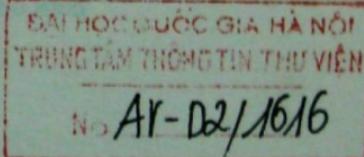
YOSSI SHAIN

*Tel-Aviv University*

JUAN J. LINZ

*Yale University*

*With contributions from Lynn Berat,  
Thomas C. Bruneau, H. E. Chehabi, Daniel V. Friedheim,  
Paula Franklin Lytle, James W. McGuire,  
Barnett R. Rubin, and Allison K. Stanger*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

## Contents

<i>Preface</i>	page xi
<i>Contributors</i>	xv
<b>PART ONE: THEORY</b>	
Introduction	1
Interim governments and their legitimating myths	3
Democratic legitimacy and the rule of law	10
Backward and forward legality	14
Contents	21
1 Provisional governments: Revolutionaries and moderates	28
Marxist leaning revolutionary provisional governments	30
The weakness of the moderates	34
Postwar provisional governments: The case of de Gaulle	37
Provisional governments and international law	39
2 The power-sharing model	41
Regime collapse and transitions	43
Risks and opportunities	47
3 The caretaker government model	52
Amnesty laws and the search for truth and justice	58
The danger of "tutelary democracy"	60
4 The international interim government model revisited	63
YOSSI SHAIN AND LYNN BERAT	
International legitimacy and the changed role of the UN	65
Lessons from Namibia	66
Lessons from Cambodia	69
Reassessing the model	74
5 The timing and nature of first democratic elections	76
Finding the right pace	76

Types of first elections	83
Suspense of elections and the question of 'fairness'	87
<b>6. Conclusions</b>	92
<i>Notes to Part One</i>	103
<b>PART TWO: CASE STUDIES</b> 128	
7. The provisional government and the transition from monarchy to Islamic republic in Iran	129
H. E. CREHABE	
Introduction	129
The transition from monarchy to Islamic republic	138
'A knife without a blade'	132
Institutionalizing the new order	139
Conclusion	142
8. From revolution to democracy in Portugal: The roles and stages of the provisional governments	144
THOMAS C. BRUNEAU	
Introduction	144
Background	144
The provisional governments, 1975-8	146
Causal factors in the transition from revolution to democracy	151
Evolution of the main political elements from the provisional governments	158
Conclusion	159
9. Accelerating collapse: The East German road from liberalization to power-sharing and its legacy	160
DANIEL V. FRIEDHEIM	
Fall of the old regime: Exit, voice, and collapse	160
Liberalizing a post-totalitarian regime	163
Modrow I: A caretaker government	163
Modrow II: A power-sharing government	169
Rapid reunification	170
"Mastering the past"	171
Conclusion	178
10. Interim government and democratic consolidation: Argentina in comparative perspective	179
JAMES W. MCGUIRE	
Introduction	179
The Argentine transition and interim government: Overview	183

---

The Argentine transition and interim government: Analysis	192
The new democracy	202
Conclusion	208
<b>11 The failure of an internationally sponsored interim government in Afghanistan</b>	<b>211</b>
<b>BARNETT R. RUBIN</b>	
State and society in Afghanistan	214
Origins of the conflict	215
Attempts at conflict resolution	220
Proposal for interim governments	221
After the Soviet withdrawal: Regional rivalries and superpower negotiations	224
Effects of the Persian Gulf war	226
After the UN plan: From conflict resolution to ethnic fragmentation	229
Interim government without a state	235
<b>12 Electoral transitions in Yugoslavia</b>	<b>237</b>
<b>PAULA FRANKLIN LYTLE</b>	
Preelection devolution: Republic autonomy	239
Slovenia	241
Croatia	243
Macedonia	245
Bosnia-Hercegovina	246
Serbia	247
Montenegro	249
Timing and separate republic transition	250
Governability and the punctuated transition	252
<b>13 Democratization and the international system: The foreign policies of interim governments</b>	<b>255</b>
<b>ALLISON K. STANGER</b>	
Introduction	255
Provisional revolutionary governments and the international system	257
Power-sharing interim governments and foreign policy	264
Caretaker interim governments and the legacy of the past	269
Conclusion	274
<i>Notes to Part Two</i>	278
<i>Index</i>	305