

Party Politics in the Western Balkans

Edited by
Věra Stojarová and Peter Emerson



Routledge Research in Comparative Politics

Party Politics in the Western Balkans

This book examines the development of party politics in the region of Western Balkans, describing party politics and analysing inter-ethnic or inter-party cooperation and competition.

Beginning with a thematic overview of the electoral systems and their link to the party systems, the authors consider the legacy of socialist/communist parties; compare the nationalist parties in the region; and explore opportunities for the national minorities. The book then provides detailed country case studies on Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia and Albania that:

- provide an overview of the development of the respective political system since 1990, presenting key changes over time;
- depict important political issues in each of these countries and explain parties' particular policies in relation to these issues;
- discuss the level of democracy as well as ethnic minorities in the given states;
- explore the extent to which nationalism has dominated party organisation, the stability of the parties, important changes in the party policies, and their electoral performance and personalisation of the parties.

Bringing together a range of specialist experts on the Balkans, this book will be of interest to students and scholars of party politics, comparative European politics, post-communist politics, nationalism, Southern European and Western Balkan politics.

Věra Stojarová works as an Academic Researcher at the Institute for Comparative Political Research in Brno. The field of her professional interest is research on political and party systems in the Balkan countries. **Peter Emerson** works as the director of the de Borda Institute, an international NGO which specialises in promoting preference voting, especially in plebiscites on sovereignty. His work abroad has centred on conflict zones in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and East Africa.

Routledge research in comparative politics

1 Democracy and Post-communism

Political change in the post-communist world

Graeme Gill

2 Sub-state Nationalism

A comparative analysis of institutional design

Edited by Helena Catt and Michael Murphy

3 Reward for High Public Office

Asian and Pacific Rim States

Edited by Christopher Hood and B. Guy Peters

4 Social Democracy and Labour Market Policy

Developments in Britain and Germany

Knut Roder

5 Democratic Revolutions

Asia and Eastern Europe

Mark R. Thompson

6 Democratization

A comparative analysis of 170 countries

Tatu Vanhanen

7 Determinants of the Death Penalty

A comparative study of the world

Carsten Anckar

8 How Political Parties Respond to Voters

Interest aggregation revisited

Edited by Kay Lawson and Thomas Poguntke

9 Women, Quotas and Politics

Edited by Drude Dahlerup

10 Citizenship and Ethnic Conflict

Challenging the nation-state

Haldun Gülalp

11 The Politics of Women's Interests

New comparative and international perspectives

Edited by Louise Chappell and Lisa Hill

12 Political Disaffection in Contemporary Democracies

Social capital, institutions and politics

Edited by Mariano Torcal and José Ramón Montero

13 Representing Women in Parliament

A comparative study

Edited by Marian Sawer, Manon Tremblay and Linda Trimble

14 Democracy and Political Culture in Eastern Europe

Edited by Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Dieter Fuchs and Jan Zielonka

15 Social Capital and Associations in European Democracies

A comparative analysis

Edited by William A. Maloney and Sigrid Roßteutscher

16 Citizenship and Involvement in European Democracies

A comparative analysis

Edited by Jan van Deth, José Ramón Montero and Anders Westholm

17 The Politics of Foundations

A comparative analysis

Edited by Helmut K. Anheier and Siobhan Daly

18 Party Policy in Modern Democracies

Kenneth Benoit and Michael Laver

19 Semi-Presidentialism Outside Europe

A comparative study

Edited by Robert Elgie and Sophia Moestrup

20 Comparative Politics

The principal-agent perspective

Jan-Erik Lane

21 The Political Power of Business

Structure and information in public policymaking

Patrick Bernhagen

22 Women's Movements

Flourishing or in abeyance?

Edited by Marian Sawyer and Sandra Grey

23 Consociational Theory

McGarry and O'Leary and the Northern Ireland conflict

Edited by Rupert Taylor

24 The International Politics of Democratization

Comparative perspectives

Edited by Nuno Severiano Teixeira

25 Post-communist Regime Change

A comparative study

Jørgen Møller

26 Social Democracy in Power

The capacity to reform

Wolfgang Merkel, Alexander Petring, Christian Henkes and Christoph Egle

27 The Rise of Regionalism

Causes of regional mobilization in Western Europe

Rune Dahl Fitjar

28 Party Politics in the Western Balkans

Edited by Věra Stojarová and Peter Emerson

Party Politics in the Western Balkans

**Edited by Věra Stojarová and
Peter Emerson**

First published 2010
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2010 Selection and editorial matter, Věra Stojarová and Peter Emerson;
individual chapters, the contributors

Typeset in Times by Wearset Ltd, Boldon, Tyne and Wear
Printed and bound in Great Britain by TJI Digital, Padstow, Cornwall

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or
utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now
known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in
any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing
from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN10: 0-415-55099-8 (hbk)
ISBN10: 0-203-86622-3 (ebk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-55099-4 (hbk)
ISBN13: 978-0-203-86622-1 (ebk)

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
VĚRA STOJAROVÁ	
1 Electoral systems and the link to the party systems	6
PETER EMERSON AND JAKUB ŠEDO	
2 Legacy of communist and socialist parties in the Western Balkans	26
VĚRA STOJAROVÁ	
3 Nationalist parties and the party systems of the Western Balkans	42
VĚRA STOJAROVÁ	
4 National minorities in the party systems	59
FLORIAN BIEBER	
5 The party system of Croatia	73
JAKUB ŠEDO	
6 The party system of Bosnia and Herzegovina	85
JAKUB ŠEDO	
7 The party system of Serbia	99
DANIEL BOCHSLER	

8 The party system of Montenegro	119
FLORIAN BIEBER	
9 Regional party systems in Serbia	131
DANIEL BOCHSLER	
10 The party system of Kosovo	151
VĚRA STOJAROVÁ	
11 The party system of Macedonia	167
JAKUB ŠEDO	
12 The party system of Albania	180
VĚRA STOJAROVÁ	
Conclusion	190
VĚRA STOJAROVÁ	
<i>Bibliography</i>	200
<i>Index</i>	223

Illustrations

Figure

1.1	The number of political parties in parliament	22
-----	---	----

Tables

1.1	Electoral systems in the Western Balkans	8
1.2	Election results in Croatia	10
1.3	Election results in Bosnia	12
1.4	Election results in Serbia	15
1.5	Election results in Macedonia	16
1.6	Election results in Montenegro	18
1.7	Election results in Albania	19
1.8	Election results in Kosovo	21
2.1	Communist successor parties in the Western Balkans	38
4.1	The most significant minorities and minority political parties in the Western Balkans	65
4.2	Minority provisions in the electoral systems in the Western Balkans	66
6.1	Effective and absolute number of parliamentary parties on national and subnational level	87
9.1	Development of the party system nationalisation in Yugoslavia and Serbia	136
9.2	Results of the elections to the autonomous assembly of the Vojvodina region, 2004	141
9.3	Election results in the six Sandžak municipalities	146
9.4	Results of the 2004/2006 municipal elections	147
11.1	Bloc of main Macedonian political parties in the 2006 elections	172
C.1	Effective and nominal number of parties at the parliamentary level after the last three elections	199

Contributors

Peter Emerson works as the Director of the de Borda Institute, an international NGO which specialises in promoting preference voting, especially in plebiscites on sovereignty. He speaks Russian, basic Serbo-Croat and some Kiswahili. His work abroad has centred on conflict zones in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and East Africa. His most recent work is *Defining Democracy*.

Florian Bieber is a Lecturer in East European Politics at the University of Kent, Canterbury. He received his MA in Political Science and History and his PhD in Political Science from the University of Vienna, as well as an MA in Southeast European Studies from Central European University (Budapest). Between 2001 and 2006 he worked in Belgrade (Serbia) and Sarajevo (Bosnia-Herzegovina) for the European Centre for Minority Issues. Florian Bieber is also a Visiting Professor at the Nationalism Studies Program at Central European University, at the Regional Masters Program for Democracy and Human Rights at the University of Sarajevo, and is Interdisciplinary Master in East European Studies, University of Bologna. He has been an International Policy Fellow of the Open Society Institute. His research interests include institutional design in multiethnic states, nationalism and ethnic conflict, as well as the political systems of South-eastern Europe.

Věra Stojarová works as an Academic Researcher at the Institute for Comparative Political Research in Brno. In addition she works as an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science of the Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University, Brno. She has been the executive editor of the Central European Political Studies Review since 2006. The field of her professional interest is research on political and party systems in the Balkan countries. For a semester in 1997, she completed a study stay in Haag. In 2004 she realised a granted stay at the J.F. Kennedy Institute in Berlin. She also realised a study stay in Heidelberg, supported by a grant from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in 2005–2006. In 2009 she was a Visiting Fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna.

Jakub Šedo is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science FSS MU in Brno. At the same time he works as a post-doctoral researcher at the

Institute for Comparative Political Research at the FSS MU, where he leads a special section for electoral systems. His research is centred on the electoral systems in Central and Eastern Europe.

Daniel Bochslers is a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Zurich. He received his PhD (2008) from the University of Geneva, where his dissertation was on electoral systems and party systems in 20 Central and Eastern European democracies, with a special focus on party nationalisation. His research is centred on the effect of political institutions, namely electoral systems and referendums. He has stayed at universities in Tartu, Irvine (University of California), and Budapest (Central European University), and has conducted field research in Serbia.

Acknowledgements

This book has been undertaken as part of the Research Project ‘Political Parties and Representation of Interests in Contemporary European Democracies’ (code MSM0021622407).

The authors would like to thank the Institute for Comparative Political Research for provision of the workshop and the proofreading of the texts and Routledge for giving us the opportunity to publish the piece. Special thanks go to our parents, spouses, partners, friends and students. The authors’ opinions do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the editors.

Abbreviations

AA/AS	Albanian Alternative (<i>Albanska Alternativa, Alternatives Shqiptare</i>)
AAK	Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (<i>Aleanca për ardhmërinë e Kosovës</i>)
AKR	New Kosovo Alliance (<i>Aleanca Kosova e Re</i>)
AMS	additional member system
AN	National Alliance (<i>Alleanza Nazionale</i>)
ANA/AKSh	Albanian National Army (<i>Armata Kombëtare Shqiptare</i>)
APV	Assembly of the Vojvodina region
AV	alternative vote
BC	Borda count
BDI	Democratic Union for Integration (<i>Bashkimi Demokratik për Integrim</i>)
BDL/DUD	Democratic Union of the Valley (<i>Demokratska unija Doline</i>)
BF	Union for Victory (<i>Bashkimi Për Fitore</i>)
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina (<i>Bosna i Hercegovina</i>)
BK	National Front (<i>Balli Kombëtar</i>)
BKK	Kosovo National Front (<i>Balli Kombëtar Kosovë</i>)
BLD	Liberal Democratic Union (<i>Bashkimi Liberal Demokrat</i>)
BNVS	Bosnian National Council of Sandžak (<i>Bošnjacko nacionalno vijeće Sandžaka</i>)
BS	Bosniak Party (<i>Bošnjacka stranka</i>)
CG	Montenegro (<i>Crna Gora</i>)
DC	Democratic Centre (<i>Demokratski centar</i>)
DNZ	Democratic People's Union (<i>Demokratska narodna zajednica</i>)
DOS	Democratic Opposition Serbia (<i>Demokratska opozicija Srbije</i>)
DPA	Dayton Peace Agreement
DPA/PDSh	The Democratic Party of the Albanians (<i>Partia Demokratike Shqiptarëve/Demokratska partija na Albacite</i>)
DPM	Democratic Party of Macedonia (<i>Demokratska partija na Makedonija</i>)
DPMNE	Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (<i>Demokrat-ska partija za Makedonsko narodno edinstvo</i>)

xiv *Abbreviations*

DPS	Democratic Party of Socialists (<i>Demokratska partija socijalista</i>)
DS	Democratic Party (<i>Demokratska stranka</i>)
DSCG/LDMZ	Democratic Alliance of Montenegro (<i>Demokratski savez u Crnoj Gori, Lidhja Demokratike në Mal të Zi</i>)
DSHV	Democratic Union of the Croats in Vojvodina (<i>Demokratski savez Hrvata u Vojvodini</i>)
DSJ	Democratic Party of Unity (<i>Demokratska stranka jedinstva</i>)
DSP	Democratic Socialist Party Alliance (<i>Demokratska socijastička partija</i>)
DSS	Democratic Party of Serbia (<i>Demokratska stranka Srbije</i>)
DSS	Democratic Serb Party (<i>Demokratska Srpska stranka</i>)
DSVM	Democratic Party of the Vojvodina Hungarians (<i>Demokratska stranka Vojvođanskih Mađara</i>)
DUA/UDSH	Democratic Union of Albanians (<i>Demokratska unija Albanaca, Unioni Demokratik i Shqiptarëve</i>)
DUI/BDI	Democratic Union for Integration (<i>Bashkimi Demokratik për Integrim/Demokratska Unija za Integracija</i>)
DZVM	Democratic Union of the Vojvodina Hungarians (<i>Demokratska zajednica Vojvođanskih Mađara</i>)
EC	European Community
EU	European Union
EULEX	EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo
FARK	Armed Forces of the Republic of Kosovo (<i>Forcat e Armatosura të Republikës së Kosovës</i>)
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
FBKSH	Albanian Front of National Unification (<i>Fronti Për Bashkim Kombëtar Shqiptar</i>)
FPP	first-past-the-post
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GNU	Government of National Unity
GSS	Civic Alliance of Serbia (<i>Građanski savez Srbije</i>)
HB	Croatian Bloc (<i>Hrvatski blok</i>)
HČSP	Croatian Pure Party of Right (<i>Hrvatska čista stranka prava</i>)
HDB	Croatian Democratic Bloc (<i>Hrvatski demokratski blok</i>)
HDSSB	Croatian Democratic Assembly of Slavonia and Baranja (<i>Hrvatski demokratski sabor Slavonije i Baranje</i>)
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union (<i>Hrvatska demokratska zajednica</i>)
HDZ-1990	Croatian Democratic Union 1990 (<i>Hrvatska demokratska zajednica 1990</i>)
HDZ BiH	The Croatian Democratic Movement BiH (<i>Hrvatska demokratska zajednica BiH</i>)
HGI	Croat Civic Initiative (<i>Hrvatska građanska inicijativa</i>)

HIP	Croatian True Revival (<i>Hrvatski istinski preporod</i>)
HKDU	Croatian Christian Democratic Union (<i>Hrvatska kršćanska demokratska unija</i>)
HND	Croatian Independent Democrats (<i>Hrvatski nezavisni demokrati</i>)
HNS	Croatian People's Party (<i>Hrvatska narodna stranka</i>)
HNZ	Croatian National Union (<i>Hrvatska narodna zajednica</i>)
HOS	Croatian Defence Forces (<i>Hrvatske obrambene snage</i>)
HPB	Croatian Rightist Brotherhood (<i>Hrvatsko pravaško bratstvo</i>)
HP-HPP	Croatian Rightists – Croatian Rightist Movement (<i>Hrvatski pravaši- Hrvatski pravaški pokret</i>)
HSLS	Croatian Social Liberal Party (<i>Hrvatska socijalno liberalna stranka</i>)
HSP	Croatian Party of Right (<i>Hrvatska stranka prava</i>)
HSP-1861	Croatian Party of Right 1861 (<i>Hrvatska stranka prava-1861</i>)
HSS	Croatian Peasant Party (<i>Hrvatska seljačka stranka</i>)
HSU	Croatian Party of Pensioners (<i>Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika</i>)
HZ	Croats Together (<i>Hrvatsko zajedništvo</i>)
IC	international community
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDS	Istrian Democratic Assembly (<i>Istarski demokratski sabor</i>)
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
JS	United Serbia (<i>Jedinstvena Srbija</i>)
KCD	Coalition for United and Democratic BiH (<i>Koalicija za cjelovitu i demokratsku Bosnu i Hercegovinu</i>)
KKCMTSH	National Liberation Front of Albanians (<i>Komititeti Kombëtar për Çlirimin dhe Mbrojtjen e Tokave Shqiptare</i>)
KLK/UÇK	Kosovo Liberation Army
KNS	Coalition of People's Accord (<i>Koalicija narodnog sporazuma</i>)
KPC	Kosovo Protection Corps
KPH	Communist Party of Croatia (<i>Komunistička partija Hrvatske</i>)
KPJ	Communist Party of Yugoslavia (<i>Komunistička partija Jugoslavije</i>)
KPM	Communist Party of Macedonia (<i>Komunistička partija na Makedonija</i>)
LDD	Democratic League of Dardania (<i>Lidhja demokratike e Dardanisë</i>)
LDK	Democratic League of Kosovo (<i>Lidhja demokratike te Kosovës</i>)
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party (<i>Liberalno demokratska partija</i>)
LHL	Left of Croatia – Left (<i>Ljevica Hrvatske – Ljevica</i>)

xvi *Abbreviations*

LKÇK	National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo (<i>Lëvizja Kombëtare për Çlirimin e Kosovës</i>)
LPM	Liberal Party of Macedonia (<i>Liberalna partija na Makedonija</i>)
LS	Liberal Party (<i>Liberalna stranka</i>)
LSCG	Liberal Alliance of Montenegro (<i>Liberalni savez Crne Gore</i>)
LSI	Socialist Movement for Integration (<i>Lëvizja Socialiste për Intigrim</i>)
LSV	League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina (<i>Liga socijaldemokrata Vojvodine</i>)
MBC	modified Borda count
MMP	multi-member proportional
MNVŠ	Muslim National Council of Sandžak (<i>Muslimansko nacionalno vijeće Sandžaka</i>)
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NDH	Nezavisna država Hrvatska (Independent State of Croatia)
NHI	New Croatian Initiative (<i>Nova Hrvatska Inicijativa</i>)
NLA/UÇK	National Liberation Army
NS	New Serbia (<i>Nova Srbija</i>)
NS	People's Party (<i>Narodna stranka</i>)
NSDP	New Social Democratic Party (<i>Nova socijaldemokratska Partija</i>)
NSS	People's Socialist Party (<i>Narodna socijalistička stranka Crne Gore</i>)
NWG	national working group
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PAA	Agrarian Environmental Party (<i>Partia Agrare Ambjentaliste</i>)
PAD	Party of Democratic Alliance (<i>Partia Aleanca Demokratike</i>)
PBDNJ	Party for Unity and Human Rights (<i>Partia Bashkimi për të Drejtat e Njeriut, Κόμμα Ένωσης Ανθρωπίνων Δικαιωμάτων</i>)
PBKD	Democratic National Front Party (<i>Partia Balli Kombëtar Demokrat</i>)
PBKSh	Albanian National Unity Party (<i>Partia Bashkesia Kombetare Shqiptare</i>)
PDD	Party of Democratic Action (<i>Partija za demokratsko delovanje</i>)
PDI	Party for Democratic Integration (<i>Pokret za demokratsku integraciju</i>)
PDK	Christian Democratic Party of Albania (<i>Partia Demokristiane e Shqipërisë</i>)
PDK	Democratic Party of Kosovo (<i>Partia Demokratike e Kosovës</i>)
PDP	Party for Democratic Progress (<i>Pokret za demokratski progress</i>)
PDPA/PPDSh	Party of Democratic Prosperity of Albanians (<i>Partia per</i>

prosperitet demokratik Shqiptarëve/Partija za demokratski prosperitet na Albancite)

PDR	New Democratic Party (<i>Partia Demokrate e Re</i>)
PDSH	Democratic Party of Albania (<i>Partia Demokratike e Shqipërisë</i>)
PDSH/DPA	Democratic Party of Albanians (<i>Demokratska partija Albanaca</i>)
PDSSH	Party of Social Democracy (<i>Partia Demokracia Sociale e Shqiperise</i>)
PES	Party of European Socialists
PGS	Alliance of Primorje – Gorski Kotar (<i>Primorsko–Goranski savez</i>)
PKSh	Communist Party of Albania (<i>Partia e Komunistëve e Shqipërisë</i>)
PKShR	Renewed Communist Party (<i>Partia Komuniste e Shqipërisë e Rindertuar</i>)
PLL	Legality Movement Party (<i>Partia Lëvizja e Legalitetit</i>)
PPS	Party of Danube Serbs (<i>Partija podunavskih Srba</i>)
PPSh	Albanian Party of Labour (<i>Partia e Punës e Shqipërisë</i>)
PR	proportional representation
PRPSh	New Albanian Party of Labour (<i>Partia e Re e Punës së Shqipërisë</i>)
PRSh	Republican Party of Albania (<i>Partia Republikane e Shqipërisë</i>)
PR-STV	PR single transferable vote
PSDSh	Social Democratic Party of Albania (<i>Partia Socialdemokrate e Shqipërisë</i>)
PSS	Movement of the Serbian Force (<i>Pokret snage Srbije</i>)
PSSH	Socialist Party of Albania (<i>Partia Socialiste e Shqipërisë</i>)
PUK	Party of National Unity (<i>Parti Unitet Kombëtar</i>)
PZ	Party of the Greens (<i>Partija na zelenite</i>)
PzP	Movement for Change (<i>Pokret za promjene</i>)
QBS	Quota Borda System
RKP-BiH	Workers’ Communist Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (<i>Radničko-komunistička partija Bosne i Hercegovine</i>)
RS	Republika Srpska
RSK	Republika Srpska Krajina
RS RS	Radical Party of RS (<i>Radikalna stranka Republike Srpske</i>)
RV	Vojvodina Reformists (<i>Reformisti Vojvodine</i>)
SAA	Stabilisation and Association Agreement
SBHS	Slavonia–Baranja Croatian Party (<i>Slavonsko–Baranjska Hrvatska stranka</i>)
SBiH	Party for BiH (<i>Stranka za Bosnu I Hercegovinu</i>)
SČP	Serbian Chetnik Movement (<i>Srpski četnički pokret</i>)

SD	Social Democrats of BiH (<i>Socijaldemokrati Bosne i Hercegovine</i>)
SDA	Party of Democratic Action (<i>Stranka demokratske akcije</i>)
SDH	Social Democrats of Croatia (<i>Socijaldemokrati Hrvatske</i>)
SDP-BiH	Social Democratic Party of BiH (<i>Socijaldemokratska partija BiH – socijaldemokrati</i>)
SDP	Sandžak Democratic Party (<i>Sandžacka demokratska partija</i>)
SDP	Social Democratic Party of Croatia (<i>Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske</i>)
SDS	Serbian Democratic Party (<i>Srpska demokratska stranka</i>)
SDS-BiH	Serbian Democratic Party BiH (<i>Srpska demokratska stranka BiH</i>)
SDSM	Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (<i>Socijaldemokratski sojuz na Makedonija</i>)
SDSS	Independent Democratic Serbian Party (<i>Samostalna demokratska Srpska stranka</i>)
SDU	Social Democratic Union (<i>Socijaldemokratska unija</i>)
SF	Sinn Féin
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SI	Socialist International
SK CG	League of Communists of Montenegro (<i>Savez komunista Crne Gore</i>)
SKBiH	League of Communists of BiH (<i>Liga komunista BiH</i>)
SKH	League of Communists of Croatia (<i>Savez komunista Hrvatske</i>)
SKJ	League of Yugoslavian Communists (<i>Savez komunista Jugoslavije</i>)
SKM-PDP	League of Communists of Macedonia (<i>Sojuz na komunistite na Makedonija</i>)
SKS	Union of Communists in Serbia (<i>Savez komunista Srbije</i>)
SL	Serb List (<i>Srpska lista</i>)
SLS	Independent Liberal Party (<i>Samostalna liberalna stranka</i>)
SMP	Union for Peace and Progress (<i>Savez za mir i progress</i>)
SNP	League of People's Rebirth (<i>Savez narodnog preporoda</i>)
SNP	Socialist People's Party of Montenegro (<i>Socijalistička narodna partija Crne Gore</i>)
SNS	Serbian National Party (<i>Srpska narodna stranka</i>)
SNS	Serbian National Union (<i>Srpski narodni savez</i>)
SNS	Serbian Progress Party (<i>Srpska napredna stranka</i>)
SNS RS	Serbian Progressive Party of RS (<i>Srpska napredna stranka Republike Srpske</i>)
SNSD	Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (<i>Savez nezavisnih socijaldemokrata</i>)
SPM	Socialist Party of Macedonia (<i>Socijalistička partija na Makedonija</i>)
SPO	Serbian Renewal Movement (<i>Srpski pokret obnove</i>)

SPRS	Socialist Party of RS (<i>Socijalistička partija Republike Srpske</i>)
SPS	Serbian Socialist Party (<i>Socijalistička partija Srbije</i>)
SRJ	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (<i>Savezna Republika Jugoslavija</i>)
SRP	Socialist Workers Party of Croatia (<i>Socijalistička radnička partija Hrvatske</i>)
SRPH	Croatian Socialist Labour Party (<i>Socijalistička radnička partija Hrvatske</i>)
SRS	Serbian Radical Party (<i>Srpska radikalna stranka</i>)
SRSg	Special Representative of the Secretary General
SRSJ BiH	Union of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia in BiH
SRSM	Union of Reform Forces of Macedonia (<i>Sojuz na reformski sili na Makedonija</i>)
SRS RS	Serbian Radical Party of RS (<i>Srpska radikalna stranka Republike Srpske</i>)
SSDS	Independent Democratic Serb Party (<i>Samostalna Srpska demokratska stranka</i>)
SSS	Independent Serb Party (<i>Samostalna Srpska stranka</i>)
STV	single transferable vote
SVM	Union of the Vojvodina Hungarians (<i>Savez Vojvođanskih Mađara</i>)
TRS	two-round system
UBHSD	Union of Social Democrats of BiH
UÇK	Kosovo Liberation Army (<i>Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës</i>) or National Liberation Army (<i>Ushtria Çlirimtare Kombëtare</i>)
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNMIK	UN Mission in Kosovo
UNPREDEP	UN Preventive Deployment Force
UNPROFOR	UN Protection Force
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VMRO-DPMNE	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (<i>Vnatrešno – Makedonska revolucionerna organizacia – Demokratska partija za makedonsko narodno edinstvo</i>)
VMRO-NP	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation People's Party (<i>Vnatrešna Makedonska revolucionerna organizacija – narodna partija</i>)
VP	Vojvodina Party (<i>Vojvođanska stranka</i>)
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZL	United List
ZPM	Green Party of Macedonia (<i>Zelena partija na Makedonija</i>)
ZZT	Together for Tolerance (<i>Zajedno za toleranciju</i>)

Introduction

Věra Stojarová

The first political parties in the Western Balkans in the post-bipolar era were founded back in the late 1980s. Nevertheless, the development of party politics was influenced by the turmoil of war, the subsequent installation of non-democratic regimes in several countries, and the delayed process of nation and state building in several of them. In Croatia, the winner of the transition happened to be the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) which ran the country in a not-fully-democratic manner throughout the 1990s. The HDZ at the time was aggregating the interests and preferences of the majority of the population, whose interest was the independence and sovereignty of Croatia. The opposition remained fragmented until the 2000 elections, when the position of the leading party was taken over by the Social Democrats (SDP) and the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLP). Nevertheless, the HDZ came back to power three years later, and in the 2007 elections was confirmed as the party of government. Croatia is now seeking EU accession very quickly, and hopes to integrate into the European structures by 2010 or at the latest 2011.

The war in 1992–1995 and the subsequent protectorate of the international community on Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) had a vast impact on its party landscape. The three ethnic groups have not changed their pre-war goals (the Serbs are still striving for an independent RS or annexation by Serbia; the Bosniaks want to have a unitary state, while the Croats are not really sure, some wishing to have their own entity within BiH). The political parties based on nationalism are therefore gaining popular support. The main party voted for by the Bosniaks remains the Party of Democratic Action (SDA); the Croats cast their preferences for the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) or HDZ-1990, while the party representing Serbian interests is the Union of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) which replaced the previously prominent Serbian Democratic Party (SDS). The lack of a common goal in BiH is now being clearly reflected in the discussions over a new Constitution for Bosnia and Herzegovina. It seems for the moment that the European Union mission will stay in the country until a shared goal for all three ethnicities is found.

The adoption of nationalism helped the League of Communists of Serbia to re-orient itself in the post-bipolar world and remain in power as the Socialist Party of Serbia. Serbian engagement in four conflicts (the wars in Slovenia,

Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo) brought economic embargos, political isolation and an enormous drop in the standard of living. Serbia lagged behind in terms of European integration, and furthermore the conflict with NATO in 1999 put Serbia out of favour with many European countries. National reconciliation has still not taken place in any country in the Western Balkans – nevertheless, in Serbia, it seems to be one of the preconditions for accession to the EU. At the very least, a public debate over national reconciliation is needed in Serbia in order to reach a consensus in the society about its future.

Montenegro decided at the beginning of the 1990s to stay with Serbia within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Later, however, Montenegro began to split with Serbia, transforming the unit into a loose state of Serbia and Montenegro, and after a tight referendum, proclaiming independence in 2006. Montenegrin party politics has been dominated by the post-communist successor party, the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro (DPS), led since 1998 by Milo Đukanović. Montenegro submitted its application for EU membership in December 2008. However, the EU demands that Montenegro engage in the fight against organised crime, nepotism, and the excessive intermingling of politicians with business affairs.

Macedonian party politics has been dominated by two parties – the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM), and the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE). One of the main obstacles in its Euro-Atlantic integration is Greece's objection to the country's constitutional name, the Republic of Macedonia. According to the provisional interim agreement, the country name to be used in international organisations is the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). Nevertheless, Greek officials have stated many times that Greece will object to Macedonian entry into EU and NATO until the name dispute is resolved.

Kosovo was under international auspices until it unilaterally declared independence on 17 February 2008. Subsequently it was recognised by more than 50 countries, while the process of governance is to be supervised by the newly-launched EU mission EULEX. Political parties were mostly formed as single issue parties with few programmatic policies. The ethnic Serbian party scene is divided – one part does not communicate with the newly proclaimed state, while some politicians consider that the only future for the ethnic Serbs in Kosovo lies in participation in local politics. Even though the international community has been operating in the region since 1999, Kosovo still has a long way to go towards being offered membership in the EU: the main EU objections are expected to be insufficient efforts in the fight against organised crime, clientelism, and nepotism.

In Albania a bipolar party system emerged, with the communist successor Socialist Party of Albania and the Democratic Party of Albania as the two main competitors. The lack of any democratic experience and a very low standard of political culture led to the establishment of not very democratic practices in the 1990s. Bearing in mind its starting point, Albania must be praised for its great

progress. Nevertheless, when compared to other functioning democracies, there is still much work to be done in order to achieve the democratic standards of, and become fully integrated into, European structures.

Even though there has been an enormous output of books about the Balkans in recent years, the party systems of the Western Balkans as such have attracted little attention in the past. Probably the most comprehensive book dealing with party politics in the CEE is the IDEA publication *Political Parties in Central and Eastern Europe*, downloadable directly from the IDEA webpage. Another book covering selected Western and Eastern Balkan countries (minus Croatia and BiH) worth mentioning is the volume edited by Karasimeonov, *Political Parties and the Consolidation of Democracy in South Eastern Europe*, published in Sofia 2004. Among the books covering elections in the respective countries are *Izbori i konsolidacije u Hrvatskoj* edited by Goran Čular, *Izbori u SRJ od 1990 do 1998* by Vladimir Goati or *Izbori u BiH* by Herceg and Tomić, or most recently *Volební systémy postkomunistických zemí* written by Jakub Šedo. Besides these, mention must be made of case studies dealing either with the selected party systems or the state of transition – e.g. *Dileme demokratske nacije i autonomije* by Jovan Komšić, *Demokratija u političkim strankama Srbije* by Zoran Lutovac, *Kriza i transformacija političkih stranaka* by Anđelko Milardović *et al.*, *Partijski sistem Srbije* by Stojiljković, *Razvoj političkog pluralizma u Sloveniji i Bosni i Hercegovini* edited by Danica Fink Hafner and Mirko Pejanović or the latest *Politics of World Views* by Bojan Todosijević.

As we have seen, the only publications to date are case studies in local languages, and comparative studies in terms of the whole CEE (e.g. *Political Parties in Post-Communist Eastern Europe* by Lewis). *Party Politics in the Western Balkans* tries to fill the vacuum and satisfy the demand from both academic and more general circles. The authors not only describe party politics, but also try to analyse the different outcomes of similar situations on the level of inter-ethnic or inter-party cooperation or competition. The authors do not intend to offer a deep analysis or further conceptualisation of the phenomenon of party politics in the countries in transition; rather, the publication should serve as a starting point for further research or as essential literature for students of political science or Balkan studies.

The authors examine the development of party politics in the Western Balkans, an area defined in EU terminology as the ex-Yugoslavian states minus Slovenia, plus Albania.¹ The text encompasses the development of party systems in the given region, depicts important political issues in each of these countries, and explains the parties' particular policies in relation to these issues. The book also concentrates on the extent to which nationalism has dominated politics. It also considers party organisation, the stability of the parties, important changes in party policies, the parties' electoral performances and personalisation of the parties. In addition to the chapters on each of the countries, the book offers an overview of the electoral systems and their link to the party systems, the legacy of the socialist/communist parties, and a comparison of the nationalist parties in the region, as well as the opportunities for the national minorities in the given systems.

The book consists of an introduction, 12 chapters, and a conclusion. The first chapter focuses on the electoral systems and their possible impact on the party systems. The authors give an overview of the electoral structure in all the countries, and some concluding remarks about the link between the electoral systems and the shape of the party systems. The second chapter concentrates on the legacy of the communist/socialist parties, giving an overview of the transformation of the communist parties and their position in the current political system. The author explains why in some countries the transformed communist parties do not win elections while in other countries they do. Besides the successor parties, any new communist/socialist parties are spotlighted and presented in the overall context. The third chapter focuses on nationalist issues in the 1990s, and gives an overview of the nationalist parties in the assigned countries. It presents the highly fragmented Croatian nationalists, the tricky case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and gives special attention to the nationalist approach of the Socialist Party of Serbia as well as the Serbian Radical Party. The author tries to assess the strengths and the potential of these parties along with their relevance in the system, and stresses the main differences between the ideologies of all the various parties. The fourth chapter focuses on the role and status of national minorities in the party systems. The text focuses on positive discrimination in favour of national minorities in terms of assigned seats in parliament, and the authors try to assess the ethnic and national minority parties in the region. The next nine chapters are intended as case studies of party politics in each country. Each chapter begins with an overview of the political system, and introduces the main points in the political development of each state (changes to the constitution, changes to the previous undemocratic system, involvement in wars, important political changes), and an overview of the national minorities and the latter's participation in the system. The authors focus on the countries' particular circumstances, and identify the main cleavages. The texts encompass electoral systems, personalisation of the parties, and other specific issues (coalition potential, party system fragmentation, centripetal/centrifugal tendencies, polarisation, party programmes etc.) As the authors regard Serbia as a unique case, an additional chapter about regional party systems looks at the political party landscape in Vojvodina, Sandžak and the Preševo Valley. The final chapter highlights the common themes which emerged from the complete text, and focuses on the issues presented in the introduction. The author draws some general conclusions, presents regional variations, and compares them with existing literature about party systems.

The book was written as a study of the area of the Western Balkans; a descriptive approach was used in the country study chapters, accompanied by an empirical–analytical approach regarded to be most appropriate. When trying to gain access to sources, the authors had to face poor accessibility of the primary sources, as well as their contradictory nature. Official materials very often offer subjective points of view, and the secondary sources tend to accept these. Access to the archives or current governmental documents is sometimes very problematic, and when interpreting *the facts* one has to keep in mind the origin of the

author and the perception of his opponent as well. For the purpose of the third chapter on the nationalist parties, a questionnaire was used to obtain information about the parties and their processes, via high-level party officials. For the purposes of the other chapters, primary research was combined with the collection of a wide range of data. The sources used were printed, oral, and electronic. Most of the authors' sources are either directly from the political parties, or gained on research trips in the Balkans from the local institutions (e.g. Albanian Institute for International Studies in Tirana, the Euro-Balkan Institute in Ohrid, the Institute for Social Sciences in Belgrade, the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana, etc.).

Regarding the authors, Peter Emerson works as the director of the de Borda Institute, an international NGO which specialises in promoting preference voting, especially in plebiscites on sovereignty. Florian Bieber is a Lecturer in East European Politics at the University of Kent, Canterbury. Věra Stojarová and Jakub Šedo work as Assistant Professors at the Department of Political Science and as Academic Researchers at the Institute for Comparative Political Research at the Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University in Brno. Daniel Bochsler is a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Zurich.

As for terminology, the authors use the term Macedonia (when citing Greek sources then FYROM) and Bosniak (instead of Bošnjak or Muslim). Kosovo/Kosova/Kosovo and Metohija (KiM) will hereafter be written as Kosovo, and it will be dealt with separately. Republika Srpska will be used (vs. the Republic of Srpska) in order to avoid confusion with the Republic of Serbia. Even though the term international community has been profaned (and not only in relation to the Balkans), and it does not actually reflect the IC, the authors opted to use this term in its prevalent meaning for the USA and the EU states. Terms appearing in the text have been adopted on the basis of party documents and do not represent any siding by the author with the rival parties.² The authors do not change the transcription of names; differences in transcription may occur in direct quotations (đ vs. dj; ċ vs. č or q). If they do differ, all transcriptions of the toponyms were included in the text (e.g. Obiliq/Obilić). Albanian names are kept in the original Albanian transcription, while Serbian names are written according to the rules of transcription of Cyrillic into Latin alphabet.

The authors would like to thank the Institute for Comparative Political Research for institutional backing, proofreading of the texts, and the opportunity to arrange meetings among the authors. Further thanks go to all the scholars with whom the text was debated, our students who exposed our research to tricky questions, and last but not least to all of the beloved Balkan peoples.

Notes

- 1 The term does not correspond with the geographical interpretation, and is the product of social construction. Nevertheless, the term has become standardised and therefore will be used throughout the book.
- 2 NATO bombing vs. NATO air campaign or humanitarian intervention, Patriotic War vs. ethnic cleansing in Croatia, etc.