

# PATHWAYS

*– a study of six post-communist countries*



*Edited by Lars Johannsen and Karin Hilmer Pedersen*

*Aarhus University Press*

## PATHWAYS

*To our mentor and friend Ole Nørgaard*

# PATHWAYS

– A STUDY OF SIX POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

*Edited by Lars Johannsen & Karin Hilmer Pedersen*

*Pathways – a study of six post-communist countries*

© The authors and Aarhus University Press 2009

Cover: Jørgen Sparre

Typeface: Minion Pro

Printed in Denmark 2009

ISBN 978 87 7934 662 8

Published with the financial support of  
Aarhus Universitets Forskningsfond

Aarhus University Press  
Langelandsgade 177  
DK-8200 Århus N  
[www.unipress.dk](http://www.unipress.dk)

White Cross Mills  
Hightown, Lancaster, LA1 4XS  
United Kingdom  
[www.gazellebookservices.co.uk](http://www.gazellebookservices.co.uk)

PO Box 511  
Oakville, CT 06779  
USA  
[www.oxbowbooks.com](http://www.oxbowbooks.com)



**Mixed Sources**

Product group from well-managed  
forests and other controlled sources  
[www.fsc.org](http://www.fsc.org) Cert no. SW-COC-003428  
© 1996 Forest Stewardship Council

# Contents

PREFACE	7
CHAPTER 1	9
After the Wall: Political development trajectories in selected post-communist countries <i>Lars Johannsen and Karin Hilmer Pedersen</i>	
CHAPTER 2	30
Co-optation and control: Managing heterogeneity in Kazakhstan <i>Sally N. Cummings</i>	
CHAPTER 3	52
Shevardnadze's political strategies: The rise and fall of the incumbent <i>Nina Dadalauri and Lars Johannsen</i>	
CHAPTER 4	69
Understanding politics in Estonia: The limits of tutelary transition <i>Vello Pettai</i>	
CHAPTER 5	98
Understanding politics in Slovenia: Constitutional corporatism and politico-administrative relations <i>Miro Haček</i>	
CHAPTER 6	117
Democracy or deficiency? Czech politics in the context of the consequences of its party system <i>Rick Fawn</i>	
CHAPTER 7	138
Breaking with post-communism in Poland <i>Radoslaw Zubek</i>	

CHAPTER 8

155

Keys to transition and paths leading beyond  
*Lars Johannsen and Karin Hilmer Pedersen*

BIOGRAPHIES

168

# Preface

The working title of this volume was: *Comparing the incomparable*, and as such this book has made a long journey. In keeping with the Tocquevillian tradition, Professor Ole Nørgaard initiated a research series under the heading 'Understanding Politics in X-country'. The authors were asked to write articles containing fundamental insights into the logic of the current workings of the polity of a country of which they had comprehensive knowledge. Moreover, and again following the Tocquevillian tradition, the articles were to be written in the light of each country's uniqueness compared to other countries in the region, and in particular to the country of a West European reader. The result was a series of 15 country research papers published at the Department of Political Science, Aarhus University.

Regrettably, this volume had to be compiled without Ole Nørgaard. Shortly before his death he envisioned a volume that was to combine methodological boldness with solid unique analysis. Ole was fond of saying that 'good research has a success rate of 50 per cent'. A good researcher should venture into uncharted waters; otherwise we would be doomed to repeat the mistakes of those who came before us. To honour his memory we took this task upon ourselves.

From the original 15 country studies we chose six countries, each of which contains a key feature decisive for the initial institutional choices that frame the capability or incapability of governments to produce policies – and thus to stabilise the political system as such. We thereby refrain from looking only at the process of democratisation and democratic consolidation. Instead we look at stabilising and de-stabilising features in democratic as well as authoritarian regimes.

The initial institutional choices are based upon the elite preferences engendered by the different impacts of the quadruple transition process in which nation building and state building intertwine with marketisation and political regime change. Moreover, we look at how the international context enhances or constrains elite preferences within these four interconnected transformations.

*Comparing the incomparable* was part of a larger project investigating *Democracy, the State and Administrative Reform* in former communist countries. We want to thank the Danish Social Science Research Council and the University of Aarhus Research Foundation for their generous financial support. We also want to thank Else Løvdal for her attempts to mend our linguistic

incapacities and for all her good humour and support throughout the lifetime of this project.

With this volume we and the authors wish to express our special thanks to Ole Nørgaard, but alas this has to be done in memoriam. He was a driving force behind this and many other projects. His kindness, support, foresight and friendship will be most fondly remembered.

January 2009

Lars Johannsen & Karin Hilmer Pedersen