

# **The Anatomy of Post-Communist Regimes**

## **A Challenge to the Mainstream Comparative Approach**

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**Based on Bálint Magyar – Bálint Madlovics:  
The Anatomy of Post-Communist Regimes, CEU Press, 2020.**

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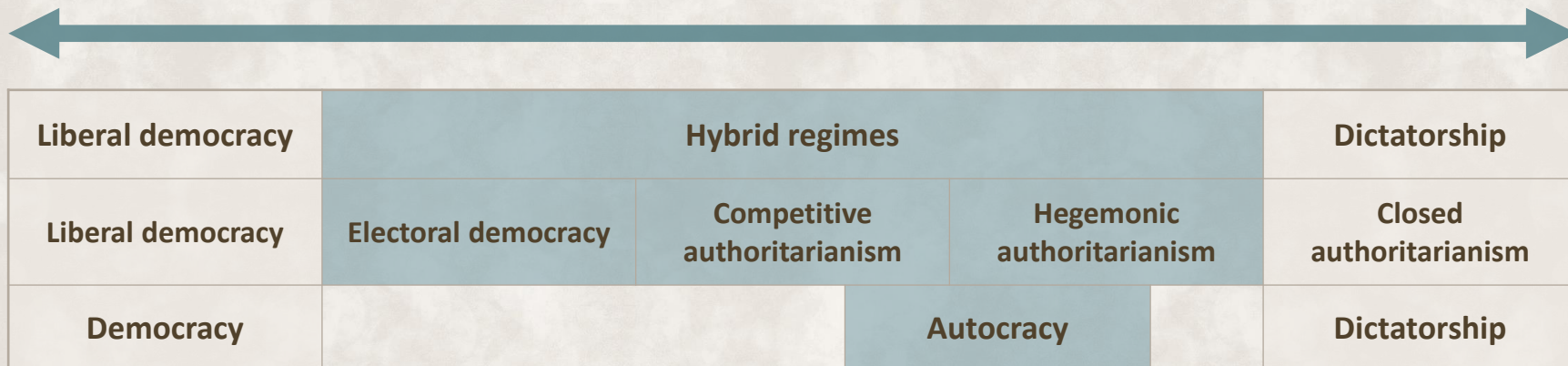
## **Illusion**

- of linear progress towards liberal democracies after the change of the political regimes in 1989-1990;
- that any regime can be built on any kind of ruins of communist dictatorships.

**Transitional systems or terminal stations?**

# The Democracy—Dictatorship Axis

Transitology is replaced by hybridology:

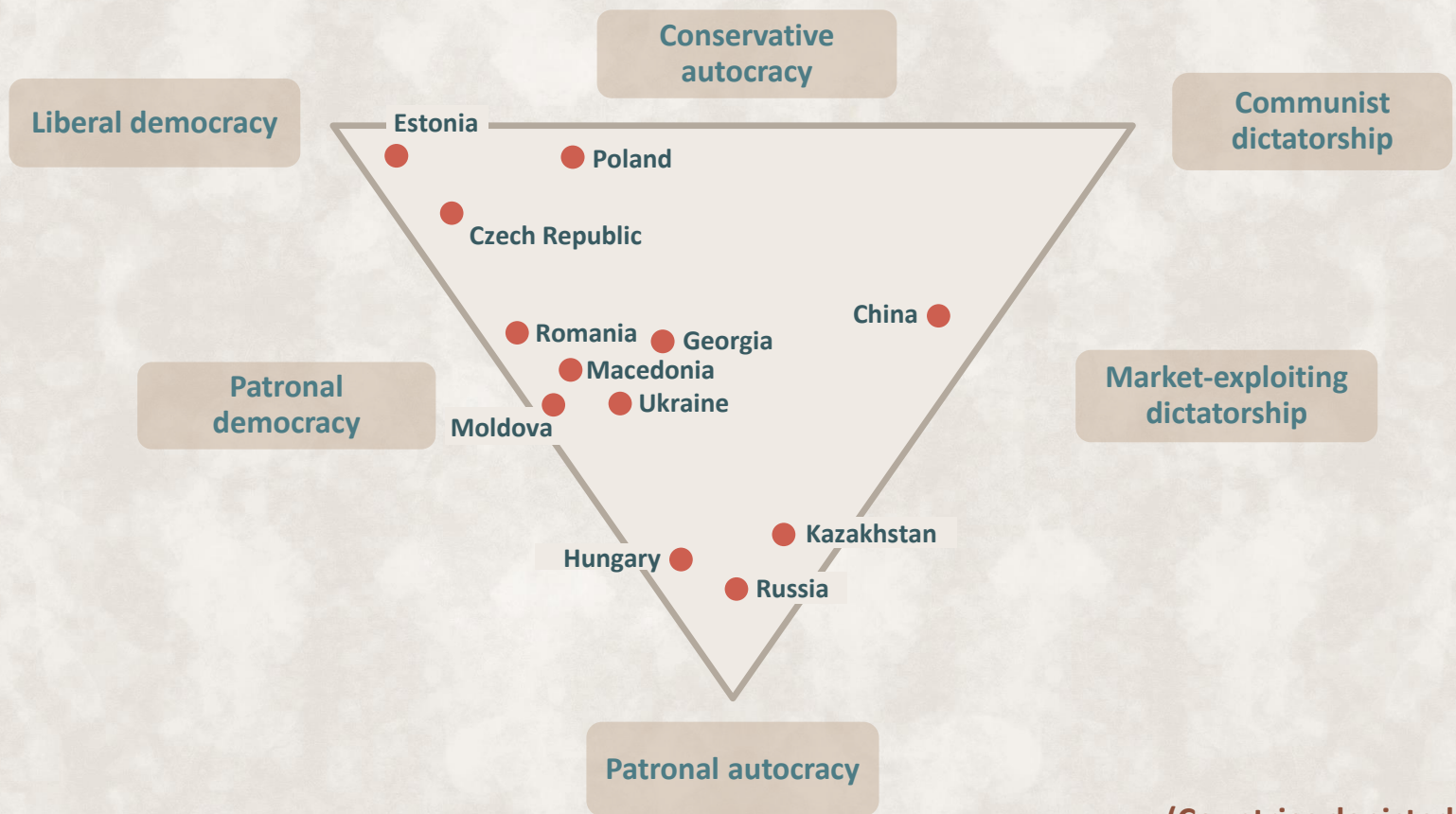


- **First categorization:** Larry Diamond, “Thinking About Hybrid Regimes,” *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (April 2002): 21.
- **Second categorization:** Marc Morjé Howard and Philip G. Roessler, “Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes,” *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 2 (April 1, 2006): 367
- **Third categorization:** János Kornai, “The System Paradigm Revisited,” *Acta Oeconomica* 66, no. 4 (1, 2016): 565

**To understand post-communist regimes, hidden axioms of the mainstream approach have to be dissolved:**

- 1. Separation of spheres of social action (political, economic, and communal) is completed.**
- 2. The *de jure* position of persons and institutions coincide with their *de facto* position.**
- 3. The state is an actor pursuing the common good, and either public policy mistakes or corruption cases are not system-constituting elements but simple deviances.**

# Interpretative Framework of Post-Communist Regimes (combining the political, economic and sociological dimensions)



(Countries depicted as of 2021)

# Patronal transformation


## Contrasting non-patronal and patronal relations

	<b>Non-patronal</b>	<b>→</b>	<b>Patronal</b>
<b>Institutions</b>	formal	→	informal
<b>Regulations</b>	normative	→	discretionary
<b>Authorization</b>	collective /corporate	→	personal
<b>Command</b>	bureaucratic /institutional chains	→	clientelist / personal chains

# Conceptualization of states subordinated to elite interests: the post-communist mafia state

	The basis for the term used	Alternative terms used for the description of patronage in post-communist regimes	
1.	Actor	clan state	 <p>mafia state</p>
2.	Action (targeting power)	neopatrimonial / neosultanistic state	
3.	Action (targeting goods)	predatory state	
4.	Legality	criminal state	

# Main characteristics of the six corruption patterns

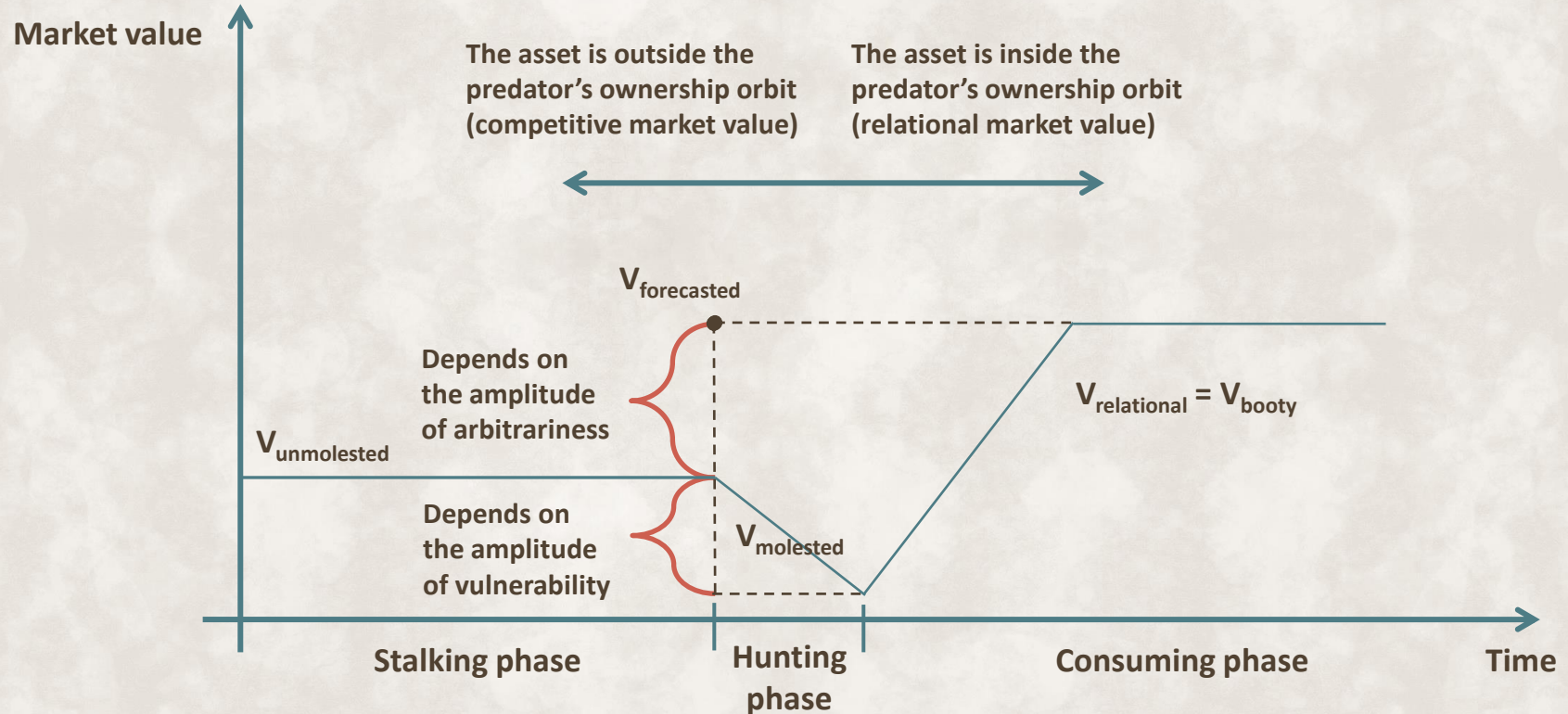
	<i>Nature of corruption</i>	<i>Entry of corrupt parties</i>	<i>Distribution of corrupt transactions</i>	<i>Direction of corrupt action</i>	<i>Economic nature of corruption</i>	<i>Regularity and scope of corrupt actions</i>	<i>Medium of corrupt exchange</i>
Free-market corruption	 Petty corruption	Voluntary	Non-centralized	Horizontal	Competitive	Occasional and partial	Kickback money
Cronyism		Voluntary	Non-centralized	Horizontal	Competitive	Occasional / permanent and partial	Kickback money
State organization collusion		Voluntary	Non-centralized	Vertical (top-down)	Oligopolistic / locally monopolistic	Occasional and partial	Kickback money
Bottom-up state capture		Coercive	Moderately centralized	Vertical (bottom-up)	Oligopolistic / locally monopolistic	Occasional / permanent and partial	Kickback money
Top-down state capture		Coercive	Partially centralized	Vertical (top-down)	Oligopolistic / locally monopolistic	Permanent and partial (vassal chains)	Protection money
Criminal state pattern		Grand corruption	Coercive	Centralized	Vertical (top-down)	Monopolistic	Permanent and general (vassal chains)



# *Types and some features of reiderstvo in post-communist regimes*

Strength of the state	„Legitimacy” of raiding	The initiator or client of the corporate raiding			
		<i>Organized upperworld: chief patron (top level public authority)</i>	<i>Low or middle level public authority</i>	<i>Rival entrepreneurs or oligarchs</i>	<i>Organized underworld: criminal groups</i>
<b>Strong state</b>           <b>Weak state</b>	<b>White raiding</b>	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX		
	<b>Gray raiding</b>	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
	<b>Black raiding</b>			XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Institutional environment and features of the raiding action		<i>Criminal state</i>	Corrupt/Captured state		Failed state
		Single-pyramid power network	Multi-pyramid power network		
		Monopolized	Oligarchic		Competitive
		Oligarch capture	State capture		n.a.

# Predation and economic dynamics

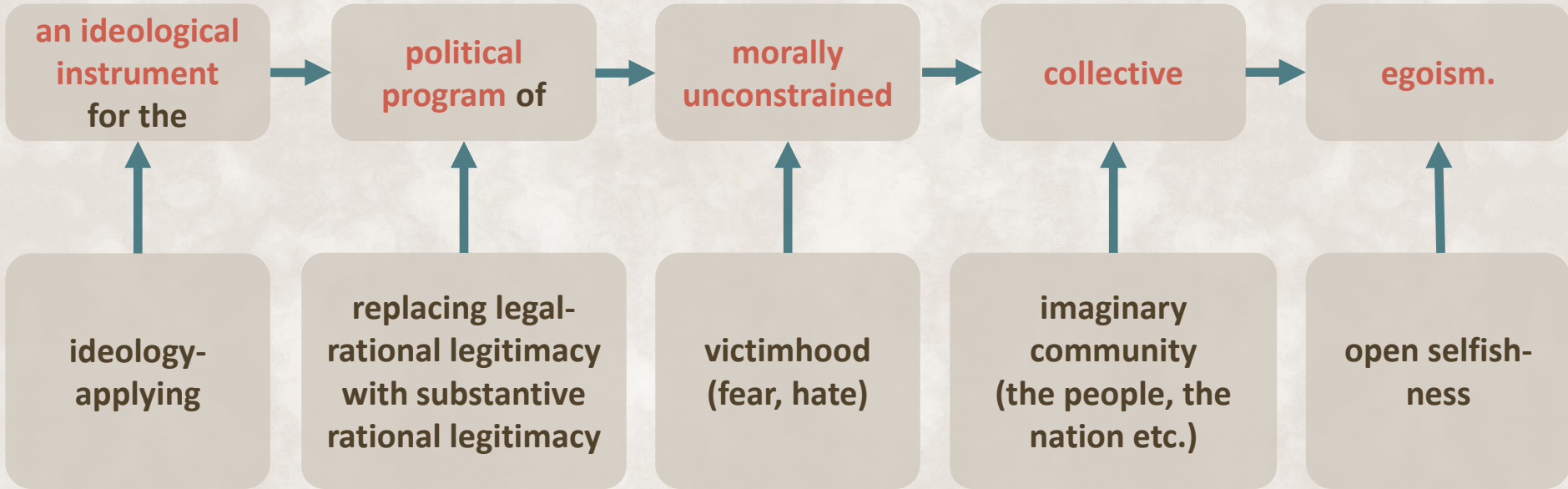


# Social/economic integration schemes/COORDINATING mechanisms in three ideal-type political regimes

Capitalist system		Socialist system
Market economy	Relational economy	Planned/command economy
Socially/politically „disembedded economy”	Patronally „embedded economy”	Bureaucratically „embedded economy”
<b>Dominant integration scheme/COORDINATING mechanism</b>		
Market coordination	Relational market-redistribution	Bureaucratic resource-redistribution
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• regulated</li> <li>• impersonal</li> <li>• normative</li> <li>• dominant</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• non-formalized</li> <li>• personal</li> <li>• discretionary</li> <li>• dominant</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• formalized</li> <li>• impersonal</li> <li>• normative</li> <li>• general/total</li> </ul>
<b>Invisible hand</b> of the impersonal market forces	<b>Visible hand</b> of the patron interfering with market forces	<b>Central planning</b> of the nomenklatura bypassing market forces
Horizontal	Vertical	Vertical

# Populism:

an ideological instrument for the political program of morally unconstrained collective egoism.



# Populism as an ideological instrument

## **Ideology driven (extremist political actors)**

- believer → fanatic, emotional
- value coherence → ideologically consistent
- ideological determination
- both protected group and stigmatized group are stable
- hate actions and crimes

## **Ideology applying (post-communist populists)**

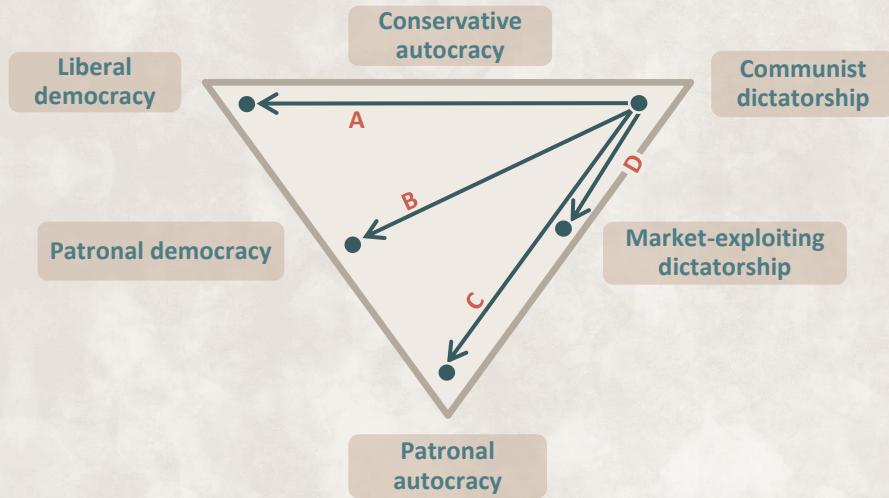
- utilitarian → cynic, rational
- functionality coherence → ideologically inconsistent
- utilitarian determination
- protected group is stable, stigmatized group is variable
- fear campaigns

# The political economy of stigmatization

	Cleavage dimension (potential for distinguishing 'them' and 'us')						Fear generating potential	Capacity of voice	Ideological panel
	Ethnicity	Religion	Language	Sexual orientation	Cultural tradition	Social status			
<i>Socially disadvantaged / deprived</i>						X	X	XX	Lack of solidarity
<i>LGBT people</i>				X	X		X	XXX	Homophobia
<i>Religious minorities</i>		X			X	X	XXX	XXXX	Anti-Semitism etc.
<i>Ethnic/racial minorities</i>	X		X		X	X	XXXX	XX	Racism
<i>Refugees</i>	X	X	X		X	X	XXXXXX	X	Xenophobia

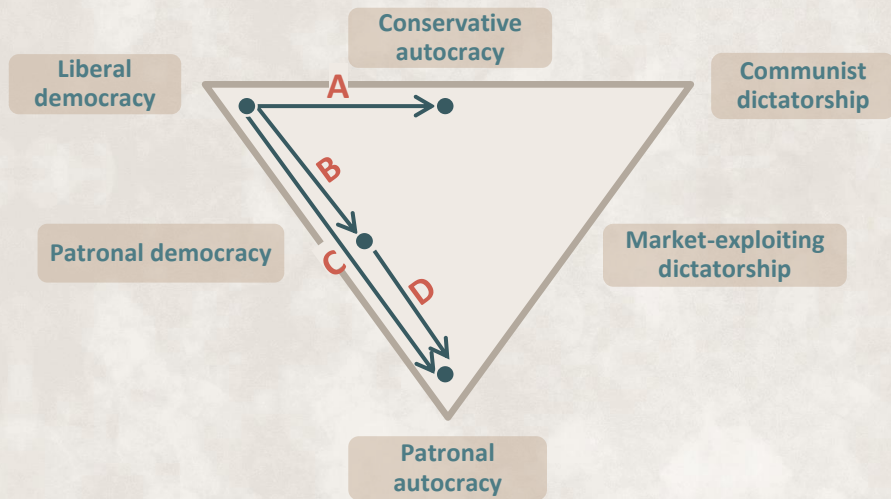
**Legend:**  : facilitating factor  : hindering factor  : ideological carrier

# Primary trajectories of post-communist regimes



	Primary trajectories	
	from	to
<b>A</b> Regime change (e.g. Estonia, Poland, Hungary)	Communist dictatorship	Liberal democracy
	Single-pyramid bureaucratic patronal	Multi-pyramid non-patronal
<b>B</b> Regime change (e.g. Romania, Ukraine)	Communist dictatorship	Paternal democracy
	Single-pyramid bureaucratic patronal	Multi-pyramid informal patronal
<b>C</b> Regime change (e.g. Kazakhstan)	Communist dictatorship	Paternal autocracy
	Single-pyramid bureaucratic patronal	Single-pyramid informal patronal
<b>D</b> Model change (e.g. China)	Communist dictatorship	Market-exploiting dictatorship
	Single-pyramid bureaucratic patronal	Single-pyramid bureaucratic patronal

# Secondary trajectories of post-communist regimes



	Secondary trajectories: democratic backsliding	
	from	to
<b>A</b> Regime change (e.g. Poland after 2015)	Liberal democracy	Conservative autocracy
	Multi-pyramid non-patronal	Single-pyramid non-patronal
<b>B</b> Model change (e.g. Czech Republic after 2013)	Liberal democracy	Patronal democracy
	Multi-pyramid non-patronal	Multi-pyramid informal patronal
<b>C</b> Regime change (e.g. Hungary after 1998 and 2010)	Liberal democracy	Patronal autocracy
	Multi-pyramid non-patronal	Single-pyramid informal patronal
<b>D</b> Regime change (e.g. Russia after 2003)	Patronal democracy	Patronal autocracy
	Multi-pyramid informal patronal	Single-pyramid informal patronal



## Two levels of regime dynamics and cycles

democratic transformation  $\leftrightarrow$  anti-democratic transformation;  
 anti-patronal transformation  $\leftrightarrow$  patronal transformation

From \ To	Liberal democracy	Patronal democracy	Patronal autocracy
<i>Liberal democracy</i>		patronal transformation (without autocratic breakthrough)	autocratic breakthrough + patronal transformation
<i>Patronal democracy</i>	anti-patronal transformation		autocratic breakthrough
<i>Patronal autocracy</i>	democratic breakthrough + anti-patronal transformation	democratic breakthrough (without anti-patronal transformation)	