

Jadwiga Staniszkis

**POST-
-COMMUNISM**

the emerging enigma

Institute of Political Studies
Polish Academy of Sciences
Warsaw 1999

Contents

From the Author	9
Introduction	11
Chapter 1. Transformation Theory: First Approximation ..	29
1. The Logical Finale of Communism: Implosion as the Effect of In-built Contradictions	29
2. Spontaneous Self-organization	35
3. The Final Stage of Communism (Stalemate)	47
4. Towards the End of Communism: The Role of Globalization .	50
5. "Switch" of the Axis, the Content and the Social Function of Conflict as a Decisive Step towards "Revolution from Above"	57
6. The End of Communism: Attempt at Provisional Recapitulation	60
7. Concluding Remarks	61
Part I. POST-COMMUNISM: POLITICS OF INSTITUTIONALISATION	69
Chapter 2. Political Capitalism and Its Dynamics	71
1. Political Capitalism: The First Delineation	71
2. The Politics of Post-communist Institutionalisation	84
Chapter 3. Post-communist Capitalism: Globalization, Incomplete Market and Institutional Strategies	99
1. The <i>Taisho</i> System in Japan as a Frame of Reference	100
2. Emerging Post-communist Markets: Institutional Substitutes	102

3. The Hybrid Forms of Ownership	104
4. Semi-open Organized Markets with Regulated Access	107
5. Institutionalisation Politics: Tentative Comparison of Post-communist Economies	116
6. Post-communist Institutionalisation Politics and the Perception of One's Place in History	130
7. Concluding Remarks	134

**Chapter 4. Post-communist Weak State: Is It also
Post-democratic? 145**

1. The Post-communist State and Globalization: A New Meaning of the Concepts of "Power" and "Politics".	147
1.1. From the State of Authority to the State of Networks .	150
1.2. Structural Power outside the Reach of Democratic Control.	151
1.3. The State as a Subject of Civil Law.	155
1.4. Globalization as a Civilizational Challenge for Europe. .	158
1.5. Power without Politics	161
1.6. New Instruments of International Control outside the Reach of Democratic Mechanisms	163
2. Structural Crisis of the Post-communist State	168
3. Form of the Military State as a Vehicle for Strengthening the Post-communist State in Russia	174
4. The Emerging Post-communist Corporatism with Weak State and Weak Society (the Examples of the Russian Federation and Poland).	183
4.1. Russia	183
4.2. Poland	195
5. Who Are the Brokers of the Post-communist Order? (towards Virtual Neo-corporatism)	198

**Part II. CULTURE AND TRANSFORMATION
(Present Perfect Continuous) 211**

Introduction 213

Chapter 5. Ontological Foundations, the Resources of Tradition and the Methodology of Change	217
1. Russia: Binary Ontology Rooted in Orthodox Culture	217
2. China: Non-essentialist Ontology	222
3. Central Europe: Nominalist Ontology of Identity and Difference	228
4. Tentative Summary	242
5. Concluding Remarks	244
Chapter 6. Evolution of the Epistemology of Control and the End of Communism	253
1. Starting Point: The Dilemmas of Control	255
1.1. The Ungovernability of Communism: Joint Experience of the Communist Elites	256
1.2. Local Dilemmas of Control: Historical Circumstances of the Introduction of Communism	262
2. The Communist Elites' "Learning Process:" Reinterpretation of the Concept of "Control"	267
3. Errors of Reasoning	276
3.1. Failure to See the Frontier between Communism and Post-communism	276
3.2. Other Failures of Reasoning: Their Systemic and Cultural Sources	284
4. Conclusions	290
Chapter 7. The Military Revolution and the End of Communism (a Hypothetical Reconstruction)	307
1. Introduction	307
2. Crisis Stability Based on Attack: A Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Ogarkov's Plan	309
3. USSR: From Military to Political Solution of Security Problems	313
4. The Chinese Current of the Military Revolution	318
5. Military Revolution and Dismantling of Communism	319

6. An Epistemological Dimension of the Military Revolution: Cultural and Systemic Factors behind Mutual Misunderstandings	323
7. 1960s: An "Aborted" Military Revolution	327
8. Conclusions	330
Conclusions	341
Appendix	357
Index of Names	359