

Why Communism Did Not Collapse

Understanding Authoritarian Regime Resilience in Asia and Europe

This volume brings together a distinguished group of scholars working to address the puzzling durability of communist autocracies in Eastern Europe and Asia, which are the longest-lasting type of nondemocratic regime to emerge after World War I. The volume conceptualizes the communist universe as consisting of the ten regimes in Eastern Europe and Mongolia that eventually collapsed in 1989–1991 and the five regimes that survived the fall of the Berlin Wall: China, Vietnam, Laos, North Korea, and Cuba. Taken together, the essays offer a theoretical argument that emphasizes the importance of institutional adaptations as a foundation of communist resilience. In particular, the contributors focus on four adaptations: of the economy, of ideology, of the mechanisms for inclusion of potential rivals, and of the institutions of vertical and horizontal accountability. The volume argues that when regimes are no longer able to implement adaptive change, contingent leadership choices and contagion dynamics make collapse more likely. By conducting systematic paired comparisons of the European and Asian cases and by developing arguments that encompass both collapse and resilience, the volume offers a new methodological approach for studying communist autocracies.

Martin K. Dimitrov is an associate professor of political science at Tulane University. He is also an associate at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard and a Research Fellow at the East Asian Legal Studies Program at Harvard Law School. Dimitrov previously taught at Dartmouth College and has held residential fellowships at the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies at Harvard, the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the Notre Dame Institute for Advanced Study, and the American Academy in Berlin. He is the author of *Piracy and the State: The Politics of Intellectual Property Rights in China* (Cambridge, 2009).





Why Communism Did Not Collapse

Understanding Authoritarian Regime Resilience in Asia and Europe

Edited by MARTIN K. DIMITROV

Tulane University





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107651335

© Cambridge University Press 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013 Reprinted 2013

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Why communism did not collapse: understanding authoritarian regime resilience in Asia and Europe / [edited by] Martin K. Dimitrov, Tulane University. pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-I-107-03553-9 (hardback) – ISBN 978-I-107-65113-5 (pbk.)

I. Post-communism – Europe. 2. Post-communism – Asia. 3. Former communist countries – Politics and government. I. Dimitrov, Martin K., 1975–HX45.W49 2013

320.53´2095-dc23 2012047911 ISBN 978-1-107-03553-9 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-65133-5 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

Ta	bles and Figures	page vii
Lis	st of Contributors	ix
Ac	knowledgments	xi
Ab	Abbreviations	
PΑ	RT I. REFORM AND RESILIENCE	
I	Understanding Communist Collapse and Resilience Martin K. Dimitrov	3
2	Resilience and Collapse in China and the Soviet Union <i>Thomas P. Bernstein</i>	40
PΑ	RT II. IDEOLOGY AND RESILIENCE	
3	Ideological Erosion and the Breakdown of Communist Regimes Vladimir Tismaneanu	67
4	Ideological Introversion and Regime Survival: North Korea's "Our-Style Socialism" <i>Charles K. Armstrong</i>	99
PΑ	RT III. CONTAGION AND RESILIENCE	
5	Bringing Down Dictators: Waves of Democratic Change in Communist and Postcommunist Europe and Eurasia Valerie Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik	123
6	The Dynamics of Diffusion in the Soviet Bloc and the Impact on Regime Survival <i>Mark Kramer</i>	149

 \mathbf{v}



vi	Contents		
PART IV. INCLUSION AND RESILIENCE			
7 Authoritarian Survival, Resilience, and the Selectorate Theory Mary Gallagher and Jonathan K. Hanson	185		
8 Cause or Consequence? Private-Sector Development and Communist Resilience in China <i>Kellee S. Tsai</i>	205		
PART V. ACCOUNTABILITY AND RESILIENCE			
9 Vietnam through Chinese Eyes: Divergent Accountability in Single-Party Regimes Regina Abrami, Edmund Malesky, and Yu Zheng	237		
Vertical Accountability in Communist Regimes: The Role of Citizen Complaints in Bulgaria and China <i>Martin K. Dimitrov</i>	276		
11 Conclusion: Whither Communist Regime Resilience? Martin K. Dimitrov	303		
Miscellaneous Bibliography General Bibliography Index	313 317 363		



Tables and Figures

TABLES

I.I	Stages in the Life Cycle of Communist Regimes	<i>page</i> 14
9.1	Regime-Type Classification Schemes	241
9.2	Indicators of Central Committee Power	252
9.3	Party Rank of Top Officials in Vietnam and China	258
9.4	National Assembly Votes for Top Vietnamese Officials	,
	in 2006	264
9.5	Electoral Institutions in the Central Committee as of 2010	267
10.1	Issues Raised in Citizen Complaints in Bulgaria in 1984	286
10.2	OLS Regression Model of Citizen Complaints in China	298
FI G U	RES	
rigu	RES	
6.1	Directionality of Spillover in Soviet–East European	
	Relations, 1986–1991	152
7.1	Size of Selectorate/Winning Coalition	194
9.1	Comparison of Communist Party and Government	
	Structure in China and Vietnam	246
10.1	Volume of Citizen Complaints in Bulgaria, 1978–1988	287
10.2	Complaints in China, 1984–1989	292
10.3	Citizen Complaints in China, 1990–2006	296

vii





List of Contributors

Regina Abrami is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science and Senior Fellow in the Management Department, Wharton School of Business, and Director of the Global Program, the Lauder Institute for International Studies and Management, at the University of Pennsylvania.

Charles K. Armstrong is the Korea Foundation Professor of Korean Studies in the Social Sciences in the Department of History at Columbia University.

Thomas P. Bernstein is Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Columbia University.

Valerie Bunce is the Aaron Binenkorb Professor of International Studies and Professor of Government at Cornell University.

Martin K. Dimitrov is Associate Professor of Political Science at Tulane University, an Associate at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University, and a Research Fellow at the East Asian Legal Studies Program at Harvard Law School.

Mary Gallagher is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan Ann Arbor.

Jonathan K. Hanson is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the Maxwell School of Syracuse University.

Mark Kramer is Director of the Harvard Project on Cold War Studies at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard and Editor of the *Journal of Cold War Studies*.

Edmund Malesky is Associate Professor of Political Science at Duke University.

Vladimir Tismaneanu is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies at the University of Maryland.

ix



X

List of Contributors

Kellee S. Tsai is Professor of Political Science and Vice Dean for Humanities, Social Sciences, and Graduate Programs at the Johns Hopkins University.

Sharon L. Wolchik is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University.

Yu Zheng is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Connecticut.



Acknowledgments

This volume has been long in the making. I first began to think through the question of communist resilience and collapse in a seminar on the 1989 revolutions that I taught in 2005 at Dartmouth College. In 2006, Elizabeth Perry and I co-organized a memorable roundtable on communist resilience at Harvard University. The conversation continued later that year in a second roundtable I organized for the APSA Annual Meeting in Philadelphia. In 2007, I convened at Dartmouth the conference "Why Communism Didn't Collapse: Understanding Regime Resilience in China, Vietnam, Laos, North Korea, and Cuba." Most of the chapters in this volume were initially drafted for that conference. In the years since, during which the volume took final shape, Jorge Domínguez, Grzegorz Ekiert, Allan Stam, William Alford, and Elizabeth Perry offered invaluable feedback and advice. The scholarly communities at the Davis Center at Harvard, at the Fairbank Center at Harvard, at the East Asian Legal Studies Program at Harvard Law School, at the Woodrow Wilson Center, at the Notre Dame Institute for Advanced Study, at the American Academy in Berlin, and at Tulane University offered hospitable and intellectually stimulating environments in which to conceptualize, draft, and complete the volume. I am deeply grateful for their support. At Cambridge University Press, I want especially to thank Lew Bateman for his guidance and unflagging enthusiasm for the project. In all kinds of ways, this book is better because of the care and attention Nancy Hearst lavished on it. My family in the United States and in Europe made everything easier with their love. Most of all, I am grateful to the authors whose chapters make up the volume. Their thinking, hard work, and patience made the project possible. This book is for them.

хi





Abbreviations

ACFIC All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce AMVR Archive of the Ministry of the Interior (Bulgaria)

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BCP Bulgarian Communist Party

CC Central Committee

CCP Chinese Communist Party

COMECON Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CPSU Communist Party of the Soviet Union
DPRK Democratic People's Republic of Korea

FDI foreign direct investment FEZ free economic and trade zone FPM Popular Front of Moldova

GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDP gross domestic product
GDR German Democratic Republic
GONGO government-organized NGO

HRS household responsibility system (China)

IMF International Monetary Fund

INF Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty

IRI International Republican InstituteKGB Soviet Committee on State SecurityKOR Workers' Defense Committee (Poland)

KWP Korean Workers' Party

LPS Logic of Political Survival

LSG leading small group (China)

MPI Ministry of Planning and Investment (Vietnam)

NA National Assembly

NEP New Economic Policy (Soviet Union)

xiii



xiv Abbreviations

NGO nongovernmental organization
NPC National People's Congress (China)
PBSC Politburo Standing Committee (China)
PCI Provincial Competitiveness Index (Vietnam)

PCOM People's Committee (Vietnam)

PL political liberalization

PLA People's Liberation Army (China) PRC People's Republic of China

ROK Republic of Korea

RSFSR Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

RTsKhIDNI Russian Centre for the Preservation and Study of Documents of

Most Recent History

S selectorate

SAIC State Administration for Industry and Commerce (China)

SMA Shanghai Municipal Archive SOE state-owned enterprise (China) TsDA Central State Archive (Sofia)

TsKhSD Center for Preservation of Contemporary Documentation

(Russia)

TVE township and village enterprise (China)
USAID U.S. Agency for International Development

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics VCP Vietnamese Communist Party

W winning coalition
WPK Workers' Party of Korea
WTO World Trade Organization