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INTRODUCTION: THE WEAKEST STRONGMAN

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Outline

A. THE GREY CARDINAL (90-92)
   1. View from His Kremlin Office
      a. Cathedral of the Dormition
      b. Palace of the Soviets
   2. Vladislav Surkov
      Cardinal Mazarin, who tutored Louis XIV, was known as the *eminence grise*: The Gray Eminence
      a. Speed-dial buttons
   3. Office to Deal with the Tamed Opposition
      a. Framed portraits
      b. Surkov’s exploits
      c. His name is synonymous with amorality and lies
      d. Alleged play under a pseudonym
   4. Story of How the System Was Built and How Russia Is Ruled
      a. Raucous TV and a raucous Duma had weakened Yeltsin’s Kremlin
      b. Surkov created his clients by corrupting them
   5. Orchestration of the Most Important No-Alternative Elections
   6. Putin’s Clowns
      a. Vladimir Zhirinovsky: Anti-Semitic nationalist
      b. Gennady Zyuganov: perennial leader of the Russian Communist Party

B. SEND IN THE BEARS (92-97)
   1. Boris Berezovsky
      a. Operation Successor, 1999
      b. New party
      c. Bear symbol
   2. Vladislav Surkov
      a. Big in Moscow PR
      b. Brought into the family by Voloshin
      c. He was used to half-truths
      d. Birth name: Aslambek Dudayev
         1) Chechen heritage
   3. His Background
      a. Possibly in military intelligence
      b. Khodorkovsky’s business team
      c. Alfa Group
      d. United Russia
   4. What the Yukos and Orange Threats Taught the Kremlin
      a. Election of Surkov to presidential aide
   5. Take-off of Surkov’s Career
   6. Project Grew to Gigantic Proportions
      a. Bear bureaus
      b. Coopting popular organizations
         1) Trade and workers’ unions
      b. Popular causes, including charities
   8. Party Construction Effort Sucked the Elites into Its Orbit
      a. Youth groups
      b. Duma members
   9. Emergence as the Ruling Party
      a. Edro
      b. Putin’s Plan
1) Boris Gryzlov
 c. Sergei Markov
10. Party Is Merely a Tool
 a. A recipe for corruption
11. Olga Krystanovskaya
12. Managed Democracy Rendered the Duma Lifeless
 a. Medvedev scolds the Duma in 2010
 b. Duma died as a meaningful institution

C. BOTCHING THE VERTICAL (97-100)
1. **Vertical of Power**
 a. Bureaucracy answerable to Putin
 b. Surkov’s view
2. Putin Had Been Horrified by the Near Fiction of a Russian Federation
 a. He had been in charge of regional affairs
 b. Putin systematically dismantled Russian federalism
 c. Getting control over the governors again
   1) Division of country into fiefdoms
 d. Recentralization
3. Presidential Envoy
 a. Purpose: to get enforcement of laws in the regions
4. Breakdown in the supremacy of central law
 a. Grigory Rapota
5. Article 48 of the Constitution Canceled
 a. New tax code and new VAT law centralized tax payments
6. Governors Barred from Serving as Senators
 a. Putin appointed governors in 2004
 b. Federation Council became a rubber stamp
 c. Party lists system
 d. Local concerns ignored
7. United Russia’s Role in Building the Vertical of Power
 a. A tool for renationalizing politicians
 b. Directives from the top
8. Governors Treated like Apparatchiks
 a. Creation of a clunky imperial bureaucracy
9. It Was a Device That Would Sap away Putin’s Popularity
 a. Putin made himself responsible for everything

D. BUILDING UP THE BUREAUCRATS (100-101)
1. Massive Recruitment
 a. **Siloviks**
 b. Spending on them rose from $2.8 to $36.5 billion
2. FSB
 a. Cuts were stopped
 b. Over 3 million employees of the silovik agencies
3. Low-Key Return to Soviet Methods
4. Surveillance of the Populace
 a. Fingerprint dossiers
 b. Regular **murders of journalists**
    1) Culture of intimidation and self-censorship
5. Underperformance of the bureaucrats

E. SOVEREIGN DEMOCRACY (101-103)
1. **Sergey Ivanov**
 a. New slogan: sovereign democracy, strong economy, and military might
2. New Thinking
 a. The View From Utopia
3. Imperial Project
 a. **Personification** of political institutions
b. Ideology was insubstantial

4. Surkov Concluded the System Is Unstable
   a. It rests on the resources of one person and one party

F. THE FLAW IN THE DICTATORSHIP OF LAW (103-106)
1. A successful first term
   a. Accomplishments
2. Circumstances were favorable for state-building
   a. Deng Xiaoping and Lee Kuan Yew
3. State-building Programs Flawed
   a. Court politics
4. A Fiscal Sinkhole
5. Democracy as the Dictatorship of Law
   a. Aim: To end the bureaucratic break-down
6. Gelding of All Competing Institutions to Putin
   a. Independent power centers neutered
      1) Checks and balances are important for exposing incompetence
7. Personalization of Power
   a. Primary evidence of state inefficiency is corruption
8. Petty Corruption Is the Result of Putin's Flawed Agenda
9. The Fatal Flaw
   a. Putin bought the loyalty of elites
   b. He also expanded the bureaucracy (the new class)
   c. He elevated them while closing down all institutions that could hold them to account
10. Consequence: This Gave Officials Impunity to Behave in a Predatory Manner
11. Vladimir Burmatov
12. The Rule of 30 Percent
   a. Volume of bribes increased to $316 billion in 2005
   b. Corruption Perceptions Index
13. Businessmen Can Rent Courts to Persecute their Enemies
   a. Prosecutions for economic crimes
      1) 30% of adult males have a criminal record
14. Nobody Guards the Guardians
   a. Europol estimates
   b. Dictatorship of a venal officialdom

G. SOLDIERS OF SURKOV (106-110)
1. Zakhar Prilepin
   a. San’kia
   b. Soldier in the Chechen wars
   c. Sacha, a cipher for a fatherless generation
2. Surkov's Effort to Avoid a Repeat of the Orange Scenario
   a. Purpose of Nashi
3. Generation Elusive
   a. A brutalized generation
   b. Cynical moral wasteland of the 1990s
   c. Hooliganish behavior
4. A Rainbow Spectrum of Cultish Gangs
   a. The Soviet structures bred loyalty despite oppression
      1) They were real social lifts
   b. Now the power elite is evolving into a removed aristocracy
5. Surkov and Pavlovsky’s Plans for Nashi
6. MGIMO University
   a. Students were children of a cross section of a coarse ruling class that had replaced the Soviet nomenklatura [holders of key administrative positions]
   b. The idea of joining Nashi repulsed them
7. Most People Lived in a State Where all the Social Elevators of the USSR Had Rotted or Snapped
   a. Access to opportunity is extremely limited
   b. Cult of the gangster
8. **Nashi** was a godsend for such people
   a. Promise of Upward Mobility
9. Camp Seliger
   a. Guest lectures
   b. Kind of girls who turned up
      1) Sveta Kuritsina from Ivanovo
   c. Mockery by the middle class
10. Anti-fascist Slogans
   a. Use of the collective memory to inject hysteria and paranoia
11. Attacks on ambassadors
   a. Tony Brenton

H. **RUBBING SALT INTO RUSSIAN WOUNDS** (110-111)
1. Whole Campaign Was Designed to Make Russians Feel Paranoid and Humiliated
2. Whipping up Residual Neuroticism
   a. Alexander Dugin [geopolitical theorist and leader of the Eurasian movement]
   b. “Documentaries” about attacks on ethnic Russians
   c. Bush administration as a cast of villains
3. West Vilified by Putin
   a. Fall of the USSR lamented
   b. **Rehabilitation of Stalin**

I. **EVERYDAY PUTINISM** (111-114)
1. Shock of the Soviet Implosion Was Fading away
   a. What lingered
2. Intimidation
   a. Fringe comments became mainstream once Putin said them
3. Normal People First Feel the **Politics of Fear** in Schools
   a. Post-Gorbachev remilitarization
   b. Return to the old mandatory Soviet military day
   c. Textbook changes
4. **Conscription** into the Army after Graduation
   a. Avoidance
   b. A year spent being brutalized into men
5. **Dedovschina** (Grandpa’s Terror)
   a. Rapes and murders
6. The Lucky Ones go to University
   a. Technical institutes tend to crack the whip
   b. Elite establishments
   c. Out in the provinces
7. The Invisible Line
   a. The risks of protesting
   b. Choice of work
      1) Journalism seen as a PR hackery
      2) Bureaucracy became more popular as a career path
   c. Conversation on the Trans-Siberian
8. Return to Old Soviet Patterns
   a. Only Khodorkovsky knew where Putin’s invisible line was
9. Lost Sense of Freedom without a Feeling of Fear

**Review**

Vladislav Surkov  Putin’s clowns  Boris Berezovsky
Operation Successor  United Russia  bear bureaus
CHAPTER FIVE: PUTIN’S COURT

Outline

A. ALONE IN THE CASTLE (115-116)
   1. Putin’s Evolution to Tsar-like Authority
      a. Three stages
         1) Putin brought in his clan
         2) Putin made sure his was the only court
         3) His friends evolved into tycoons
            a) Distribution of the right to collect rents from natural resources
      2. Simon Kordonsky
         a. High-level positions under Putin
         b. Desire to build a diversified market economy
         c. Power of the state is based on control of rents and subsidies
      d. His thesis
         1) The core of the economy is no longer a market
         2) Putin’s control of all key resource flows
   3. Russia’s Post-communist Feudal Future

B. THE EMBEZZLER’S PALACE (116-121)
   1. Sergei Kolesnikov
      a. Exile in Tallinn
      b. Business selling medical equipment
         1) Post-Soviet hustling
      c. A chunk of the nomenklatura became the capitalist elite
   3. Kolesnikov Approached by Nikolai Shamalov
      a. Creation of an offshore account
         1) Roman Abramovich
      b. Creation of Rosinvest
      c. Putin’s friends organized themselves as a business
      d. Words used to address Putin
      e. Small house on the Black Sea
         1) Small by comparison with those of the elites along Rublevka highway
   4. Soviet Dachas
      a. Stalin’s Lake Ritsa summerhouse
      b. Gorbachev’s gaudy residence
   5. Putin’s Palace
      a. Modeled like Peterhof
      b. Nicer than Sochi
      c. Project South
      d. Putin’s court created a tsar
   6. Kolesnikov Tries to Quit
      a. He is told he is a serf
      b. Putin is a dictator, not a tsar
c. He fled to Turkey then the US
d. Shamalov’s denials
7. Putin Cannot Change

C. THE MEANING OF FRIENDS (121-122)
1. Putin’s Loyalty
   a. Natural leader
2. St. Petersburg Friends
   a. Boris and Arkady Rottenberg
   b. Gennady Timchenko
      1) His Gunvor is based in Switzerland
3. Ozero Dacha Cooperative
   a. Vladimir Yakunin
   b. Yuri Kovalchuk
   c. Vladimir Smirnov
   d. Sergey Fursensko
   e. Andrei Fursenko
4. Total Assets of These Friends
5. Preferential Treatment of Putin Assets
6. Corruption Is about Power

D. HIS COURTIERS (122-25)
1. A Society of Palatial Estates
2. Composition and Behavior of Putin’s Court
   a. Liberal modernizers with corrupt embezzlement trails
3. Devotion to a New Form of Court Politics
   a. Court of Elizabeth I
   b. New court politics with Yeltsin’s destruction of the party
4. Neo-Kremlinology
5. Comparison with Elizabeth I’s Court
   a. Catfight in the Politburo that led to Gorbachev’s election was based on principle
   b. The Elizabethan court was enlivened by jostling between factions and favorites
   c. Putinist liberals and siloviks fight but stick together
6. Mapping the Russian Elite
7. Several Major Species of Oligarchs
8. Their Distinct Strategies
   a. Roman Abramovich’s
   b. ALFA groups
   c. Putin’s
9. Putin Imposed a Consensus on the Oligarchs
   a. He became arbiter, dealmaker, and fixer
   b. Stability

E. THE ROAD TO RUBLEVKA (125-28)
1. Putin Rewarded His Ministers with Board Memberships on State Corporations
   a. Loyalty ensured through a web of corruption (cf. Louis XIV and Charles II)
   b. Rublevka love
2. Rublevka Has Been Transformed into a Russian Beverly Hills
   a. Elite schools and dynastic marriages
3. Spoiled Children of Privilege
4. Rublevka as a Way of Life
   a. Estimates by watch watchers
5. Putin’s Estate
6. Moscow has More Billionaires than Any City in the World
   a. Average membership of the power elite are millionaires
   b. Putin defends his minority
   c. A huge free-floating cavernous anxiety lurks beneath all this
      1) Everything is unsecured
7. Case of the Petrol-Princess
SHALLOW CHEKISTS AND FAINT LIBERALS (128-34)
1. A Social World that Pulls in Opposition Leaders
   a. Arkady Dvorkovich
   b. Igor Shuvalov
   c. This liberalism is thin
2. Shuvalov as the Court Chamberlain
   a. Snub to Prince William
   b. 2010 official income statement
   c. Alexei Sudrin vs. Dmitry Medvedev
3. Putin’s Court Is a Provincial Palace
   a. Civilians and siloviks are two sides of Sobchak’s local political mafia
      1) German Gref
      2) Alexey Kudrin
4. Gref’s and Kudrin’s Liberalism Had Limits
   a. Corruption in the Federal Tax Service
      1) Criminal raiders
      2) Death of Sergei Magnitsky
5. The St. Petersburg Siloviks
   a. Igor Sechin
      1) Current head of Rosneft
      2) Today his name is something of a myth
      3) He leads the hard liner faction
      4) Vladimir Yakunin’s Defense of State Capitalism
6. Background of the Siloviki
7. Russia Is Not Run by the Successors of Andropov's KGB
   a. Thinness of both sides of their agenda
8. Viktor Cherkesov’s Critique of Putin’s Men
   a. Shallow Chekism of the Putin Court
   b. Whistle-blowers
   c. Western lifestyles
9. Case of Yury Luzhkov
   a. Retirement to London
   b. Vladislav Inozemtsev: Russia is not a KGB state
10. Tudor England: Distant vs. Engaged Approach to Courtiers
    a. Yeltsin’s engagement
    b. Putin’s Elizabethan distance
       1) His faction management
11. Continuity in the Cabinet
    a. Sergey Ivanov
12. Dmitry Rogozin
    a. Minister for the military-industrial complex
    b. Right-wing nationalism
    c. Service as ambassador to NATO
    d. Jester role
13. Putin Cuts a Lonely Figure
    a. Invisible spouse, Lyudmila
    b. Alleged liaisons with a gymnast
G. DEAD SOULS (134)
1. Putinist Politics Is Dampened by its Avarice
2. Lukewarm Regime
3. The Stage for Surkov’s Puppet Shows
   a. Zero-sum mentality of self-made men: They are the geniuses
CHAPTER SIX: DIZZY WITH SUCCESS

Outline

A. PAST AS PROLOGUE (135-137)
   1. Vladimir Sorokin’s Day of the Oprichnik
   2. Russians Shrug off the Creeping Authoritarianism
      a. Supermarkets
      b. Macro-economic stabilization
      c. Globalization
      d. Emerging middle class
   3. The Earlier Material Hardship
      a. Queues at stores
      b. Missed payrolls
      c. Bread shortages
      d. Barter
   4. Moscow as a Wrecked Satellite of Europe
      a. Sense of style
      b. Collapsed old woman in metro tunnels
      c. Alcoholic bamjee
   5. Sight of the Elderly Selling Keepsakes

B. PUTIN’S BOOM (137-140)
   1. The Coming Russian Boom, 1996 -- Went Bust
   2. Economic Recovery
   3. Upward Cycle
      a. Efficiency gains pioneered by Mikhail Khodorkovsky
   4. Consumer Boom Meant a Tax Boom
   5. Alexander Lebedev’s Observation about this Windfall
   6. Value of Other Siberian Treasures Soared as Well
   7. Boom and the Pay Down of Debts
   8. Consumer Revolution
      a. Tripling of GDP per capita in nine years
      b. Private housing
      c. Mobile phones and PCs
      d. New car registrations
      e. Putin’s popularity
   9. Russians Were Well-Positioned to Enjoy a Strong Rise in Consumer Power
      a. Low debt, home ownership
      b. Per capita GDP probably underestimated
   10. Boom Returned Russia to a Solvent Actor on the World Stage
      a. Payoff of IMF debts
      b. Likewise the Paris club of creditors
c. The state was new out of receivership
d. Surkov: But it was due to a precarious reliance on commodity prices
e. Budget dependence on hydrocarbons, like Saudi Arabia, but unlike the United States

11. **Cycles of Russian History** follow Commodity Prices
   a. Grain prices under the tsars
   b. Failure of Lenin’s NEP
   c. Invasion of Afghanistan

12. The Regime Grows Hubristic at the Head of the Cycle
   a. Moscow’s changing skyline
      1) Western style in the 90s
      2) Bully towers with gothic turrets in the 00s

13. Four **Megatrends**
   a. Middle class
   b. Muslim migrants
   c. Resurgent Orthodox church
   d. Political class Westernization

C. **THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS** (141-144)
   1. Educated and Globalized Consumer Class
   2. Biggest Myth about Them
      a. Elitist point of view
      b. Difficulty of defining this class
   3. Dimitry Drobnitsky and Boris Mezhuev
      a. Meeting in Kofe Khaus
   4. The New Not-Quite-Post-Soviet Everywoman
      a. Came from the provinces
      b. Accountant at a small firm
      c. Single mother
      d. Self-respect
      e. VKontakte
      f. Khimki
   5. Russians Began to Globalize
      a. Direct flights abroad
      b. Magadan
   6. Tourists from the “Depths”
   7. Majority Remained Poor and Socially Excluded
   8. **Health Improvements**
      a. Reversal of demographic decline
   9. Growth of class differences
   10. Disdain by the Liberal Intelligentsia
      a. People’s complete rejection of politics
      b. Life between apathy and IKEA

D. **PUTIN’S MISSED OPPORTUNITY** (144-145)
   1. Prosperity Strengthened the Putin Consensus and Majority
      a. **Government intervention** to create a boom
         1) Flat tax
         2) Business registration
         3) Inspections
         4) Licenses
         5) Exemptions
      b. Stabilization of financial services
   2. Sergei Aleksashenko
   3. Only 36% of the **Strategy 2010 Reforms** Were Achieved
   4. United Russia Straitjacket

E. **THE RISE OF THE RUNET** (145-147)
   1. Technologically in Personal Computing Late in the Soviet Period
2. By 2010 Russia Was the Largest Internet Market in Europe
   a. Runet
3. Putin Did Not Erect a Great Fire Wall as China Did
4. Three Defining Features of the Runet
   a. The platform that hosts it is largely indigenous
      1) Yandex
   b. Incredible success of social media
      1) VKontakte
      2) Odnoklassniki
      3) Livejournal for blogging
      4) Opposition migrated to blogging
      5) Nationalist and liberal clusters: no Putin cluster
   c. It went mainstream in the later 2000s
      1) Online trap for the Kremlin

F. THE RISE OF MIGRANT RUSSIA (147-150)
1. Boom Sucked in a Lot of Cheap Labor
   a. Caucasian and Central Asian migrants
   b. Hamid
2. Transformation of Major Cities
   a. Creation of racially distinct underclass
3. Asian Migrants
4. Visa-Free Regimes
5. Ethnic Seismic Shift
   a. De-Europeanization
   b. Anatoly Vishnevsky’s estimates
6. Appeals to Nationalism while Admitting More Migrants
   a. Discreet multicultural campaign
7. Tough Life for Migrants
   a. Near slavery
   b. Racially distinct underclass
   c. No incentive for innovation
   d. Result: Migrants were stalling Russia’s modernization
8. Cracking the Putin Consensus

G. THE RISE OF HOLY RUSSIA (150-)
1. Revolutionaries Who Came to Power during the Collapse
   a. Yeltsin and Gaidar died with regrets
   b. Patriarch Alexy II triumphed
2. Church’s Explosive Growth
3. Its Wealth
   a. Power and prestige
4. Church’s Support of Yeltsin
5. Russian Army Infiltrated
6. Law Curtailing the Invasion of the Sects
7. The Trade in Duty-Free Cigarettes
   a. Bandit economy
   b. Putin encouraged to invest in the Church as if it were a state corporation
8. Church’s Massive Construction Campaign
   a. Its own mass media
      1) Orthodox blogs
9. Cathedral of Christ the Savior
   a. Destruction by Stalin in 1931
   b. Restoration
   c. Flamboyance of restored power
   d. New gold-domed provincial churches
   e. Social institutions rebuilt
10. Cultural Rewiring
11. Infiltration of the Church into the Political Routine of the Country
   a. Invented traditions
12. The Church’s Rise Both Aided and Subtly Undermined Putin
   a. Third Rome
   b. Aspiration to be a second Brussels
13. Preparation for a culture war against liberal Russia

H. KUDRIN SUCCEEDS, SURKOV FAILS
1. Putin’s State of the Nation Address, 2007
   a. His boasts
2. Alexey Kudrin
   a. Macroeconomic stabilization
   b. Failure to diversify the economy
3. Surkov’s Projects Failed to Improve Russia’s Poor-Quality Governance
   a. New sinecures and extended patronage networks
4. The Boom Covered Up Serious Structural Weaknesses
   a. Favorable polls
5. Contradiction between the Economic Success and the Bureaucratic Failure
   a. Corruption and the monopolistic presidency
   b. Society began evolving on its own

I. DELIRIOUS MOSCOW (156-59)
1. Fadorin Series
   a. Boris Akunin
2. Rejection of the Tradition of Togetherness [Communalism]
   a. Escapism of the new consumers [individualism]
3. Years of Glamour
4. Websites of Small Opposition Factions
   a. Theory of small deeds
   b. Vasily Esmarov
5. Three Time-Historical Zones of the 1990s
6. Filip Dzyadko
7. Cult of Creativity
   a. Free cafes
8. Boom in Foreign Travel
9. Network of New Media
   a. Afisha
   b. Dozhd
10. Leonid Parfyonov
11. Agitation of the Keenest Observers of Society
12. Burn-out of the Gorbachev-Yeltsin Generation
13. Seeds of the New Opposition

J. DREAMING WITH BRICS (159-61)
1. Expectation That Russia Would Overtake Britain and France in GDP
2. Fast Connecting New Global Superclass
   a. Davos
3. Pre-Crash World
4. Russian Self-Image as a Rising Power
5. Talk of the End of the Unipolar World
   a. Sergei Lavrov’s Munich speech
6. Putin Ceased to Be Treated as a Conventional Politician
7. Putin Began to Change
   a. Hubris
8. Power Loves to Build
   a. Moscow City
   b. Joke about World War Three

K. THE SHORT OLD WAR (161-66)
1. Color Revolutions [Orange, Ukraine, 2003; Rose, Georgia, 2005; Tulip, Kyrgyzstan,
a. Russia now had the power and resources to strike back

2. Russian-backed Political Agitation

3. Fear of a New Cold War
a. Karl Marx: “History repeats itself twice: first as tragedy, then as farce”
b. Short Cold War

4. **Ukraine** Is Not Really Abroad for Russians

5. Imperative to Stop Ukrainian **NATO Membership**
a. Russian **sphere of influence**

6. Georgia
a. **Mikhail Saakashvili**
   1) **Georgian model**

7. Georgian Attack on **South Ossetia**

8. **Zugzwang** [Compulsion to Move]
[cf. what happened in Kiev in February 2014]

9. Collision of Three Hubristic Projects
a. Georgian
b. American
c. Russian
d. Threat by Viktor Yushchenko to block Russian fleet

10. Peak of Putin’s Popularity
11. Destruction of **Tskhinvali**, the South Ossetian Capital
a. Wreckage
b. Effective Annexation
c. Victory Concert
   1) Valery Gergiev

12. End of Russian Retreat
13. But the War Was a Sideshow
14. **Crimea**
15. **Global Crash**
a. Putin consensus torn apart
b. Weakness of Russian’s claim to be rising with China was exposed

**Review**

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**CONCLUSION: THE GHOSTS**

**Outline**

A. THE LEGACY OF PUTINISM (324-30)
1. Ghost of Nicholas II [This may have been inspired by Whittaker Chambers' “The Ghosts on the Roof”]
2. Retreat from Moscow
   a. New administrative quarter
3. Fall from Grace
   a. Thief who has stolen the state
   b. Aggression of the insecure
4. Russia Has Fallen out of Love with Putin
   a. Managed democracy
   b. Puppets and clowns
   c. Videocracy
   d. Telepopulist superstar
5. Putin Achieved a Hegemony That Was the Envy of Authoritarians
6. His Regime Built a Dysfunctional and Anachronistic **Power Structure**
   a. Gigantic transfer of assets
   b. Vertical of power
   c. Dictatorship of law
7. The Reality: **Seeds of Corrosion** Planted into the Putin Model
   a. Vertical of corruption
   b. Dictatorship of predatory officials
   c. Fragmented and feudalized country
8. **Economic Boom**
   a. New middle class
9. Telepopulism
   a. Putin consensus cemented over the elite and a Putin majority over society
10. Putinism Began to Undermine Itself
    a. Modernization agenda was bound to disappoint
    b. Financial crisis
    c. Shift in values
11. Putin’s Return
    a. Result: Disintegration of the Putin consensus
    b. Change driven by the boom undermined Putin’s telepopulism
12. Exposure of the Regime’s Power Base
    a. United Russia tarred as the party of crooks and thieves
    b. Protests over **rigged elections**
13. **Protest Movement**
    a. Beginning of the end of Putinism by consent
    b. Culture war and class war
    c. Hydrocarbons: Mounting production and investment problems
    d. Spending spree
14. Strategy of Divide and Rule
    a. Anguished country
    b. People crave a modern state
    c. precarious status quo
    d. Officials as werewolves in uniform
15. The State Has Shaped Russian Society for Centuries
    a. Civil society was broken in the 1990s
    b. Putin has failed to come up with projects or ideologies that could shape society
       1) **Society is now going its own way**
    c. Politicization of the middle class
    d. Crystallization into a civil society
16. Russia Is One of History’s Failures
    a. What might have been
17. Need to Restore Institutions Putin Has Destroyed
18. Russia Is Not at Risk of State Collapse
19. Putin’s Apocalyptic
20. West Needs Contingency Plans
   a. Question of what happens when his back is against the wall
21. Rise of Alexey Navalny as an Opposition Lightning Rod [blocked from becoming
    Moscow's mayor by being prosecuted]
22. Nightmares
   a. About Nicholas II in the Kremlin
   b. About an endless cycle of revolution, stagnation, and collapse amongst the
      intelligentsia
23. The Ghost of Boris Yeltsin
24. Fear of Another Great Reversal by a Pretender to the Throne

Review

power structure seeds of corrosion economic boom
rigged elections protest movement society in going its own way