# Contents

## List of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Figures</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on Transliteration</td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Introduction

2. Paternal Politics and the Great Power of Expectations
   - Why “Paternalism” and Not a Preexisting Concept?
   - Paternalism in World Historical Context
   - The Sinews of Paternal Power
   - What Binds Paternalistic Networks Together?
   - The Great Power of Expectations
   - Conclusion

3. Eurasian History as Paternal Politics
   - Paternalism in Eurasia: From Prehistory to 1917
   - The Failed Antipaternalist Revolution
   - Communist in Form, Paternal in Content
   - System Breakup
   - Conclusion

4. Constitutions, Elections, and Regime Dynamics
   - The Origins of Contested Elections and Constitutions in Paternalistic Polities
   - Contested Nationwide Elections
   - Constitutions
   - Nonlinear Regime Dynamics
   - Conclusion
# Contents

5. The Emergence of Networks and Constitutions  
   - The Formation of Corporate Conglomerates (Oligarchs)  
   - Regional Networks  
   - Two Crucial Caveats on the Nature of Post-Soviet Networks  
   - The Prevalence of Presidentialist Constitutions  
   - Conclusion  

6. The Building of Eurasia’s Great Power Pyramids  
   - The Short-Term Importance of Leadership Will and Skill  
   - The Near-Universal Eurasian Tendency to Single-Pyramid Politics in the 1990s  
   - Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan: The Implications of Lesser Transitional Disruption  
   - The Lone Eurasian Nonpresidentialist Patronal State: Moldova  
   - Conclusion  

7. Revolutions and Other Presidential Ousters  
   - The Orange Revolution in Ukraine (2004)  
   - The Rose Revolution in Georgia (2003)  
   - The Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan (2005)  
   - Saakashvili’s Downfall in Georgia (2012–2013)  
   - South Ossetia’s Revolution of 2011–2012  
   - Transnistria’s 2011 “Stunning Election”  
   - Armenia’s Palace Coup (1998)  
   - Ukraine’s Euromaidan Revolution (2014)  
   - Conclusion  

8. Nonrevolution in Post-Soviet Presidential Systems  
   - Full-On Dictatorships: Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan  
   - Patronal Presidencies without Lame Ducks: Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Belarus  
   - Surviving Lame-Duck Syndromes: Russia, Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh  
   - Conclusion  

9. After Revolution  
   - A Pair of Paired Comparisons: Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan  
   - Regime Cycles in Abkhazia and Armenia  
   - Georgia after Shevardnadze and after Saakashvili  
   - Conclusion  

10. Patronal Parliamentarism  
   - Moldova’s 2000 Constitution  
   - The Rise of Moldova’s Communist Machine under Parliamentarism  

© in this web service Cambridge University Press  
www.cambridge.org
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Parliamentarism’s Moderate Moderating Effect</strong>&lt;br/&gt;on the Communist Machine</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Impending Presidential Succession and Cracks</strong>&lt;br/&gt;in the Communist Pyramid</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moldova’s 2009 “Twitter Revolution That Wasn’t”</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Denouement: The Democratic Upside of Moldova’s Parliamentarism</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Explaining Post-Soviet Regime Dynamics</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Patronal Politics Perspective on Regime Dynamics</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Opinion and Other Key Subjects Left for Future Research</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Factors That Matter Far Less than Commonly Believed</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion: Are the Post-Soviet Hybrid Regimes “Regimes”??</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Patronal Politics in Global Comparative Perspective</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What Distinguishes Eurasia as a Region: High Patronalism, Low Linkage/Leverage</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eastern Europe (Also Known as Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe)</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Africa, Asia, the Middle East (Arab Spring), and Latin America</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Are Eurasia’s Regime Cycles Ultimately Leading to Sweden, Somalia, or Something Else?</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some Implications for Policy Makers and International Democracy Promotion</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### References

489

### Index

523