

Index

- abuses
 - of power, 3, 24, 42, 79, 199
 - performative, 46, 144
- accuracy, 40, 41, 42, 151, 152, 197, 198, 221
 - and fidelity to reality, 63
 - as care, 41
 - disregard for, 198
 - factual accuracy, 59, 60, 218
- advertising, 98, 99, 100, 105, 107, 109,
 - See* political advertising
 - meaning in Russia, 114
- advertorials, 99, 100, 113, 118,
 - See* ambiguity, fake news
- Agranovsky, Anatoly, 47, 64, 83
- Agranovsky, Valery, 63, 64
- ambiguity, 65, 103, 182, 183, 202
 - of everyday speech, 193
 - toward whistle-blowing, 32
- Arendt, Hannah, 22, 27, 163, 180, 188, 219
- Aristotle, 38, 64, 143, 152
 - neo-Aristotelian turn, 39
- assassination, 84, 110, 147, 149, 172
- audiences, 38, 51, 52, 62, 69, 96, 98, 99, 118, 153, *See* Soviet audiences
 - calling and coming to visit
 - journalists, 71
 - manufacturing reactions of, 61
- Austin, J.L., 43, 46, 144
- authoritarianism, 159, 181, 220
 - vs. totalitarianism, 159
- Azhgikhina, Nadezhda, 49, 54, 55

- barter, 105, 109
- belief, 1, 6, 27, 37, 38, 44, 139, 197, 210, 211, 214, *See* conviction
 - in progress, 35
 - in socialism, 10, 11, 15, 22
 - vs. opinions, 189, 190
- beliefs, 190
- blacklisting
 - of possible news topics, 130, 133
- blackmail, 135
- bloggers, 201, 210
- Brezhnev, Leonid, 60, 78
 - journalism under, 82, 83
- broadcasting, 112, 148, 150, 184, 185
- Buzmakova, Valentina, 60, 133

- capitalism, 26, 58, 98, 99, 100, 120, 122, 142, 145, 183, 220, 222, 224,
 - See* privatization
 - and professionalism, 100
- care, 39, 41, 42, 67, 198, 215
- censorship, 24, 43, 48, 59, 62, 65, 79, 88, 91, 101, 130, 211
 - and self-censorship, 52, 58, 130, 211
- character assassination. *See* kompromat
- Chechnya, 107
- class struggle, 4
- clubs, 20, 75, 77, 87, 94
 - meeting at editorial offices, 75
- cognitive dissonance, 16, 17
- commitment. *See* standing by one's words
- commodification
 - of journalism, 142
 - of news, 109
- common good, 17
- communication, 4, 6, 25, 30, 37, 38, 141, 163, 186, 187, 189
 - and propaganda, 37
 - instrumental vs. discourse, 36
- communism, 34, 79, 221
 - desirability of, 60
- communist media systems, 34
- Communist party, 30, 51, 60
- complaints, 69, 71, 72, 73, 79
 - in the Stalinist period, 79

- conformity, 13, 16, 17, 19, 23, 27, 30, 121
 consumption, 23, 105
 conviction, 19, 44, 45, 83, 112, 139, 161, 165, *See* belief
 co-ownership, 102, 103, 108
 corroboration, 41
 corruption, 49, 55, 123, 147, 153, 208
 courage, 19, 20, 21, 48
 courageous speech, 23
 credibility, 7, 36, 153, *See* legitimacy
 crime, 60, *See* organized crime
 Crimea, 9, 195, 219, 220
 criticism, 18, 19, 21, 25, 30, 43, 48, 49, 51, 69, 70, 78, 79, 81, 86, 133, 198, 201, *See* dissidents
 freedom to ignore, 43
 suppression of, 31, 79, 82
 criticisms, 28
 cross-institutional groups, 126, 127, 133, 157
 cultivating non-thinking, 192
 cultural change, 1, 4, 156
 cultural theory, 13
 culture. *See* political culture
 cynicism, 8, 15, 44, 75, 146, 156, 160, *See* cynicism
 aesthetics, 181
 and evil, 163
 and fascism, 166
 and high-ranking officials, 175
 and modern journalism, 169
 and *perestroika*, 224
 and thoughtlessness, 163
 and truth-seeking, 163
 and Vladimir Putin, 171–6
 as a badge of honor, 168
 as disenchantment, 161
 as irony, 161, 182
 as nihilism, 161
 as refusal to believe in the truth of anything, 188
 as skepticism, 161
 bitter cynicism of the oppressed, 162, 165
 difficulty of studying, 160
 in the United States, 223
 master cynicism, 162, 165, 171, 179
 of the friends of power, 162
 opposition to, 200
 putting up with, 195
 zeitgeist, 160, 164
 Czechoslovakia, 18

 data, 56, 58
 deceit, 9, 13, 37, 45
 deception. *See* deceit
 defactualization, 219
 defamation, 150, 153, *See* kompromat
 Deleuze, Gilles, 204, 205
 democracy, 2, 8, 24, 30, 98, 103, 190, 217, 220, 221, 223
 denunciation, 29, 31, 32, 65, 198, 214
 depoliticization, 159
 and cynicism, 160
 deprofessionalization, 100, 155, 198
 disinhibition, 162, 166, 168, 169, 171, 173, 174, 175, 177, 180, 189, 194, 195
 dissidents, 11, 15, 16, 20, 91, 92, 94, *See* criticism
 dominant narrative, 2–3
 domination, 19, 38, 70, 89, 162, 166
domysel (guesswork), 61, 63, 64, 198
 drugs, 84
 Durkheim, Emile, 45, 70

 East Germany, 120, *See* Weimar Germany
 Eastern Europe, 98, 100, 101, 119, 120, 121, 122
 economic collapse, 8, 99, 165, 221
 editors, 48, 56, 65, 70, 71, 72, 73, 77, 80, 82, 87, 88, 90, 91, 98, 101, 103, 105, 106, 117, 120, 128, 129, 147, 154, 155, 196
 editorial collectives, 48
 editorial control, 103, 104, 126, 130, 132
 editorial meetings, 129
 editorial offices, 20, 49, 61, 71, 75, 77, 83, 90, 101, 151
 resignation of, 196
 elderly people, 95, 159
 Election Law (2002), 125
 elections, 109, 110, 125, 200
 advertising, 116, 125, 148, 158
 cancellation, 113

- coverage, 109, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 125
 funds, 106, 109, 111, 114, 118, 131, 132
 emoticons, 209
 Enlightenment, 8, 27, 163
 entertainment programs, 181, 186
 entrepreneurialism, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106
 epistemological realism, 52, 93, 94, 95
 epistemology, 1, 5, 6, 15, 43, 47
 ethics, 1, 4, 5, 6, 15, 19, 27, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 55, 70, 78, 89, *See* morality
 expertise, 5, 33
 exposés, 29, 30, 31
 exposure. *See* publicity
- fabrication, 64, *See* vymysel
 factual accuracy. *See* accuracy
 fake news, 61, 63, 100, 146–56,
See fabrication, kompromat,
 otkliki
 false consciousness, 161
 fascism, 163, 166
 financial solvency, 103, 104, 106, 132
 first-person narratives, 200, 201
 foreign ownership, 99, 101, 120, 121
 Foucault, Michel, 13, 19, 38, 48, 83, 89, 194, 211
 Fourth Estate, 9, 25, 27, 104, 105, 136
 freedom, 3, 19, 97
 freedom of speech, 8, 104, 136, 178
 freedom of the press. *See* press freedom
 friends of power, 162, 166, 181, 194
- Germany. *See* East Germany, Weimar
 Germany
glasnost, 36, 82, 86, 94
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 3, 82
 Gorky. *See* Nizhny Novgorod
 governing, 25, 26, 43
 Grushin, Boris, 80
 Gutiontov, Pavel, 36, 51
- Habermas, Jürgen, 36–9, 220
 Hall, Stuart, 39
 Hallin, Daniel, 6–7
 humor, 181, 203–6
 hypocrisy, 87, 169, 183
- ideals, 8, 10, 17, 22, 35, 51, 58, 59, 153, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 170, 182, 205, 209
 ideology, 14, 15, 37, 39, 44, 165, 171
 independence, 23, 33, 49, 97, 101, 102, 103, 106
 indifference, 16, 71, 163, 222, *See* cynicism
 indoctrination, 3, 9
 inflation, 105, 108, 165
 information wars, 125, 133, 135, 158, 198, 218
 Institute of Public Opinion, 81
 institutions, 1, 5, 7, 8, 24, 30, 33, 37, 39, 40, 98, 119, 120, 123, 126, 127, 133, 140, 143, 157, 159, 167, 168, 170, 219, 221, 223
 instrumentalism, 37, 56, 125, 135, 157
 integrity, 5, 7, 11, 31, 48
 intellectuals, 10, 18, 23, 35, 52, 77, 78, 93, 94, 104, 112, 122, 136, 161, 182, 194, 202, 222
 interviews, 56, 57, 63, 67, 118
 investigation, 20, 25, 26, 41, 42, 51, 66, 67, 73, 74, 82, 84, 86, 112, 154, 155, 160, 176, 177, 199
 irony, 161, 181, 182, 202, 203, 205
 isolated incident, 65, 66
Izvestia, 4, 83
- journalism, 2, 7, 8, 9, *See* Soviet
 journalism, post-Soviet journalism
 and accuracy, 59, *See* accuracy
 and liberalism, 24, *See* liberalism
 and monitoring, 25, *See* monitoring
 and propaganda, 2, 7, *See* propaganda
 and whistle-blowing, 32, *See* whistle-blowing
 as a political profession, 2, 6, 35
 as leadership, 35
 journalism education, 53, 178
 journalistic professionalism, 33, 35, 99
 journalistic solidarity, 133, 135, 212
 judgment, 38, 40, 44, 46
 justice, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 28, 31, 43, 49, 52, 55, 67, 68, 71, 84, 86, 91, 92, 94, 170, 218, 223

- KGB, 67
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 60, 78, 79
 journalism under, 80, 82
 shift in journalism after, 81
 killing stories, 130
 knowledge, 1, 5, 6, *See* epistemology
kompromat, 42, 100, 118, 133, 134,
 135, 137, 148, 155, 158, 198
 Komsomol, 54, 56, 106
Komsomolskaya Pravda, 54, 60
kyicism, 163, 194, 195, *See* cynicism
- Lasswell, Harold, 25
 Law on Advertising, 116
 Law on the Press, 101
 legitimacy, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 24, 30, 31,
 32, 39, 43, 68, 89, *See* credibility
 and accountability, 51
 and communication, 37
 of journalism, 24, 51, 52
 of socialism, 28, 78
 Lenin, Vladimir, 4, 78
Leninskaya Smena, 52, 60, 106
 letters, 73, 74, 75, 85
 libel, 67, 92
 liberalism, 4, 8, 222, 223
 and journalism, 24
 belief in, 1
 comparisons with socialism, 58
 institutions of, 9
 liberal self, 10
 lies. *See* deceit
Literaturnaya Gazeta, 54, 65, 66, 71,
 84, 88
- manipulation, 9, 11, 45, 49
 Marx, Karl, 4, 142
 Marxism, 4, 57, 96
 media concentration, 125, 126, 127,
 129, 157
 media moguls and oligarchs, 3, 49
 Medvedev, Dmitry, 176, 194
 memoirs, 53, 56, 57, 58, 70, 74, 200
 methodology, 1, 55, 56, 58, 59
 ethnographic, 128
 interviews, 139
 memory, 41
 Mill, James, 4
 mockery, 92, 185, 202
 of sick children, 184
 of war crimes against Ukrainians,
 184
 of Western values, 183
 monitoring, 5, 24, 25, 30, 33
 moral disorientation, 192, 194
 moral order, 5, 6, 30, 43, 70
 morality, 11, 57, 62, 70, 95, 96, 142,
 187
 becoming unhinged, 187
 erosion of, 45
 moral clarity, 214
 moral disorientation, 8
 moral dissonance, 164
 moral outrage, 148
 moral responsibility, 15
 moralizing, 62
 of socialism, 9, 11, 13, 28
 murder and intimidation of journalists,
 155, 177
 musicians, 172, 203, 210, 212
- natural disasters, 60, 176
 newspapers, 4, 29, 31, 46, 47, 48, 54,
 55, 75, 76, 77, 79, 81, 83, 86, 117,
 127, 158, 170, 223, 233, 245, 250,
 257
 NGOs, 199
 nihilism, 161, *See* cynicism
 Nizhny Novgorod, 52, 125, 126
 norms, 26, 27, 30, 42, 198
 nostalgia, 56, 104
- objectivity, 117, 122
ocherk, 47, 48, 62, 65
 official discourse, 15, 46
 oil business, 127
 organized crime, 84, 147, 153
otkliki, 61
- paid journalism, 99, 100, 112
 paranoia, 65, 217
parrhesia, 19, 38, 48, 49, 55, 77, 83, 89,
 90, 91, 93, 195, 196, 197, 211, 213
Partiinaya Zhizn', 55
 party press, 45, 170
pathos, 45, 46, 143, 152, 153, 220, 221
 reduction of, 207, 208
 vs. logos, 205
perestroika, 36, 49, 82, 86, 104, 105,
 118, 136, 224

- performativity, 14, 15, 43
 petitioning, 28, 29, 42
 Poland, 36
 police, 67, 86, 172, 212, 215
 political advertising, 109, 111, 112,
 114, 115, 116, 118, *See* publicity
 political culture, 1, 2, 164, 167, 223
 of post-Soviet Russia, 167–8
 of Weimar Germany, 164–6
 political participation, 28, 29
 post-Soviet journalism
 and cynicism, 169, *See* cynicism
 as a business, 178, 190
 as a personal project, 122
 breakdown of logical reasoning, 190
 degeneration of, 56
 erosion of core values, 146
 fragmentation, 8, 113, 122
 tightening budgets, 154
 post-Soviet journalists, 49, 100, 104
 and money, 132, 145
 as community activists, 111
 as courageous truth-tellers, 153
 as government adversaries, 104
 as mercenaries, 154
 as national heroes, 104
 as prostitutes, 137, 141, 145
 as sell-outs, 136
 as wage laborers, 131, 143
 contact with common people, 215
 discussions about compromises, 197
 fired for social media posts, 212
 growing distrust of, 118
 growing divisions among, 117, 118,
 133
 lack of integrity, 152
 leaving the profession, 118, 122, 158
 made superfluous, 219
 mocked and bullied by officials, 177,
 179, 180
 moonlighting for campaigns, 132
 no agreement on proper practices,
 121, 123
 not pursuing investigative work, 154
 other social actors taking on the roles
 of, 199
 preserving traditions of Soviet
 journalism, 112
 professional advancement, 138
 quitting publicly, 212
 rationalization, 138, 139, 154
 relationship with the state, 119
 senior journalists, 137
 shaming their colleagues, 198
 soul-searching among, 210
 turnover, 132
 use of pseudonyms, 140, *See*
 pseudonyms
 working conditions, 132
 post-Soviet Russia, 8
 and cynicism, 171
 and emotional distance, 167
 comparison to Weimar Germany,
 167
 power, 19, 38, 48, 70, 89
 power struggles, 12, 157
 Prague Spring, 81
Pravda, 4, 49, 55, 93
 press. *See* journalism
 press freedom, 2–3, 4, 9, 24, 29, 32, 43,
 98, 103, 119, 146, 153, 178
 prices of paper and printing, 105, 106,
 108
 private media ownership, 98, 102, 108,
 119, 121
 privatization, 8, 49, 100, 123, 221
 professionalism
 and capitalism, 100
 professionalization, 33, 132, 144
 promises, 42, 68, 190
 propaganda, 2, 7, 9, 37, 46, 56, 80, 96,
 218
 protests, 173, 174, 194, 195, 196, 197,
 198, 199, 200, 204, 208, 210, 212,
 217, 224
 controversies among protesters, 213
 low-key nature of, 206
 pseudonyms, 132, 135, 140
 public discourse, 8, 37, 39, 156, 159,
 190
 public opinion, 8, 24, 45, 55, 80, 220,
 See Institute of Public Opinion
 public ritual, 14, 15, 21
 public sphere, 33, 220, 221
 public utterances, 23, 27, 68, 201,
 See truth, speaking truth to power
 publicity, 3, 24, 26, 27, 30, 42, 51, 67,
 68, 113, 114, 115, 116, 126, 131,
 132, 142, 149
 as a tool of governance, 67

- punishment, 79, 82, 92, 150
 purges, 12, 30, 31, 79, 92, 95
 Putin, Vladimir, 3, 8, 126, 157, 194, 213
 and cynicism, 171–6
- rationality, 43, 68, 223
 readers. *See* audiences
 reflexivity, 46, 47
 repression, 31, 91, 195
 resistance, 13, 15, 30, *See* dissidents
 to socialism, 11, 12
 resonance
 with audiences, 47
 response to complaints, 70, 72, 73, 81
 responsibility, 2, 18, 57, *See* moral responsibility
ressentiment, 171
 ritual, 42, 68
 Rudenko, Inna, 62, 74, 83, 168
 Russian journalism
 dominant narrative about, 2–3
 Russians
 stereotypes about, 2, 9, 16
- sacred and profane, 68
samizdat, 11, 49
samokritika, 78, 79, 81
 Schramm, Wilbur, 4
 science, 5, 6
 sensitive topics, 60, 78
 seriousness, 40, 41, 45, 46, 85, 185, 197, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 215
 Shagiyeva, Galina, 83, 94
 shame, 72, 141, 184, 194, 197, 198, 200, 201
 Shapin, Steven, 5–6
 Shchekhochikhin, Yuri, 84, 85, 86, 87
 sincerity, 43, 45, 46, 199
 skepticism, 5
 Sloterdijk, Peter, 162, 164, 171, 180, 194
 social problems, 80, 81
 socialism, 8, 10, 12, 34, 51, 170
 and *parrhesia*, 78
 comparisons with liberalism, 58
 Soviet audiences, 4, 7, 8, 15, 36, 39
 Soviet journalism, 4, 24, 33, 36, 47, 170
 aimed at youth, 86, *See* youth
 and professionalism, 34, *See* professionalism
 and the Communist party, 30, *See* Communist party
 and the state, 33
 and whistle-blowing, 29, *See* whistle-blowing
 as a moral project, 94
 as a vocation, 57
 as religion, 69
 social contracts, 36
 Soviet journalists, 4, 7, 8, 15, 23, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43, 44, 57
 and independence, 35
 and the Party, 35
 and the public, 36
 and unions, 35
 as community organizers, 77
 as mediators, 51
 as moral or legal representatives, 72
 as prostitutes, 8
 as search engines, 74
 as social critics, 80
 as social researchers, 80
 as state agents, 57, 68
 as the avant-garde, 80
 changing relationship with officials, 82
 complicity of, 91
 connection with audience, 70
 disciplinary measures, 69
 ideals, 58, *See* ideals
 investigation, 66, *See* investigation
 methods, 61, 62, 65
 research, 65
 responsibility, 67, 70
 responsibility to the people, 76
 responsiveness, 43, 69
 restrictions on, 59, 60
 speaking out, 84
 thoroughness, 62, 67
 Soviet legal system, 68
 Soviet liberal press, 49, 54
 Soviet media system, 7
 Soviet society, 9, 10, 11, 14, 95
 Soviet Writers' Union, 54
 Sovietology, 9–15
 post-revisionists, 13
 revisionists, 11–13
 totalitarian school, 9–10, 12

- speaking Bolshevik, 21, 78
 speaking truth to power, 8, 19, 20, 21, 22, 48, 49, 93, 125, 146, 194, 211, 212, 215, *See* parrhesia, truth-telling
 Stalin, Joseph, 12, 78, 79, 89
 standards of excellence, 57
 standing by one's words, 42, 45
 state capture, 126
 state secrets, 59
 stereotypes
 about Russians, 2, 4
stiob, 182, 183, 202, 203, 206
 stupidity, 49, 55
 subjectivity, 13, 187
 subordination, 131, 143
 subsidies, 103, 106
 surveillance, 25, 26, 28, 30
svoi, 14, 15, 16, 20
 systemic problems, 65, 66

 tabloids, 99, 107, 127, 128, 134, 148, 179
 theater, 198
 totalitarianism, 11, 159, 188
 transparency, 25, 27, 222
 trust, 5, 6, 7, 8, 33, 38, 39, 42, 44, 45, 52, 67, 68, 71, 75, 80, 86, 89, 96, 104, 105, 107, 128, 152, 165, 167, 190
 regaining, 197, 203, 206, 207
 truth, 4, 5, 8, 13, 19, 21, 40, 48, 49, 52, 63, 64, 68, 86, 93, 96, 152, 188, 197, 199, 201, 210, 217, 218, 221, 222, 224, *See* speaking truth to power
 and accuracy, 40, 59
 and communication, 38
 and guesswork, 63
 and justice, 7, 91
 and power, 19, 20
 and reflexivity, 46
 and seriousness, 45, 203
 and sincerity, 43
 and standing by one's words, 42
 artistic truth, 65
 as a social product, 5
 deep truths, 170
 erosion of, 8, 9, 164, 192
 of socialism, 92, 93
 produced through ritual, 68
 truth-seeking, 4, 8, 40, 41, 48, 136, 146, 156, 159, 160, 163, 194, 195, 217, 221, 224
 truth-telling, 4, 9, 19, 20, 40, 46, 48, 136, 146, 155, 156, 211, 214, *See* parrhesia, speaking truth to power
 crisis of, 197, 210
 vs. story-telling, 149
 Twentieth Party Congress, 18, 78, 79, 82, 92
 Twitter, 179

 Ukraine, 9, 184, 217, 219
 uncertainty, 39, 40, 42, 82, 96, 97, 100, 114, 115, 119, 121, 122, 123, 185, 186, 188
 Union of Journalists, 75
 unions, 35, 133
 United States, 30, 33, 34, 35, 57, 99, 116, 149, 150, 223

vertikal vlasti, 158
 villainy, 180
vnye, 168, 170, 171, 182, 186
Voprosy Kommunizma, 55
vymysel (fabrication of detail), 61, 63, 64, 198

 watchdog journalism. *See* monitoring
 Weber, Max, 2, 24, 35, 37, 57, 171
 Weimar Germany, 163
 and post-Soviet Russia, 164, 167
 whistle-blowing, 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, 211
 Williams, Bernard, 40–1, 44, 59, 68, 151
 world in common, 188, 189, 192, 224

 Yeltsin, Boris, 3, 105, 110, 113, 125, 157
 youth, 20, 54, 75, 86, 87, 94, 106
 Yurchak, Alexei, 13–16, 168

 Žižek, Slavoj, 162