Index

Academy of Sciences, 101, 104, 132, 184 Adamovich, Ales, 158 Administration of the President, 243, 264, 297, 308; Control Commission of, 243, 266, 284; Federal Information Centre, 281; head of, 263, 283 Afanas'ev, Viktor, 78 Afanas'ev, Yurii, 80, 82, 90, 216; and I-RDG, 155, 162, 165, 168; and DemRossiya, 183, 187, 189, 269-70; and Democratic Platform, 213; and DPR, 217, 226 Afghan veterans, 181, 249, 252 Afghanistan, 44, 152 **AKKOR** see Association of Peasant Farms and Cooperatives of Russia Aksyuchits, Viktor, 208 Akhmatova, Anna, 35 All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People (VSKhSON), 50 All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, 51 All-Union Association of Voters (VAI), 166 - 7All-Union Centre for Public Opinion, 92 all-union referendum, 241 All-Union Social-Political Club, 205 All-Union Socio-Political Correspondence Club (A-US-PCC), 104, 112 Alternative, 132 Amal'rik, Andrei, 38-9, 41 anarchism, 107, 114-15, 205 Anishchenko, Gleb, 208 Andreev, Sergei, 165 Andreeva, Nina, 90 Andropov, Yurii, 63, 136 'Another is not needed', 91 Anpilov, Viktor, 181, 289 anti-communism, 174, 209, 218-19; discourse of, 224, 262 anti-Leninist positions, 52

anti-Semitism, 51, 89 anti-Sovietism, 87 anti-Stalinist: rally, 109; underground, 31 Antonovich, I. I., 246-7 APPE see Association of Privatizing and **Private Enterprises** 'Appeal to the citizens of Russia', 249-51 'Appeal to the Soviet People', 249 April, 226 Arbat Street, 101, 118 Arendt, Hannah, 23, 101 Argumenty i fakty, 78-9, 81, 141 Arkhangel'sk, 125, 187, 191 Assembly of Citizens of the Russian Federation, 273 Association of Peasant Farms and Cooperatives of Russia (AKKOR), 230 Association of Privatizing and Private Enterprises (APPE), 306 Association of Russian Banks, 306 Association of Scientific Communism, 170 Astaf'ev, Mikhail, 210, 218 A-US-PCC see All-Union Socio-Political Correspondence Club August bloc, 265 Aven, Petr, 264 Bakatin, Vadim, 64, 158, 235, 245 Baklanov, Georgii, 78 Baltic, 112, 170, 236-7 Barburin, Sergei, 272 Barsukov, Mikhail, 297 Bashkortostan, 283 Batkin, 270 BBC, 82 Belinkov, Arkadii, 31 Berdyaev, Nikolai, 32 Bloc of Creative Forces, 273 Bloc Named for Rybkin, 308, 310 Bloc of Public and Patriotic Movements of Russia, 179-80, 186, 232

Bocharov, Mikhail, 169, 197

Cambridge University Press 0521562481 - The Rebirth of Politics in Russia Michael Urban Index More information

416 Index

Bogachev, Vladimir, 229 Bogantseva, I., 189 Bogamolov, Oleg, 64, 141 Bogoraz, Larisa, 42 Bokser, Vladimir, 165, 169, 189, 268 Boldyrev, Yurii, 131, 157, 267, 284 Bolsheviks, 110, 207; mythology of, 31; power structures of, 242 Bolshevism, 116, 220, 227 Book Lover's Society, 99 Bondarenko, Nikolai, 181 Bourdieu, Pierre, 36, 38, 48 Bragin, Vyacheslav, 289 Brakov, Evgenii, 130, 134 Brateevo, 97-8 Bryachikin, A., 141 Brezhnev, Leonid, 32, 60, 126-7; era of, 63-4, 135; forgery of, 238; his glaciation, 100 Brodskii, Iosif, 38-9, 40 Brotherhood of Beggarly Sybarites, 31 Bukharin, Nikolai, 33 Bukovskii, Vladimir, 32, 34 Bunich, Pavel, 89 Burawoy, Michael, 295, 305 Burbulis, Gennadii, 164, 217, 276; in government, 243, 260-1, 264, 266, 272, 274, 283 bureaucracy, 10; domination of, 93; as modern, 9-11; as patrimonial, 13; surface features of, 10; as theoretical category, 11 Burtin, Yurii, 270 Bush, George, 247 Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR, 236, 257, 259 Calhoun, Craig, 253 Canada, 52 capital: as cultural, 38, 47; as symbolic, 38, 45, 47; systems of, 67 CDP see Constitutional Democratic Party CEC see Central Electoral Commission Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 89, 113, 127, 134, 154, 214, 263; April plenum (1985) of, 77-8; apparatus of, 135, 151; demands to, 191; directives of, 82; dissolution of, 259; functionaries of, 170, 179; and glasnost, 80, 88; leadership of, 77, 121; local committees of, 129; and perestroika, 88; programme of, 62-3; Propaganda Department of, 52, 77; Russian Bureau of, 173, 181, 231-2; secretary of, 77; Stalin's secretariat in, 297; 1987 plenary session, 69; see also Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Central Econometrics Institute, 104, 108 Central Electoral Commission (CEC), 120, 129-30, 150 Central Television: Russian, 289; Soviet, 104, 249, 251 Centrist Bloc, 230, 235 Change, 275 Chas pik, 251 Chechnya, 302 Chelyabinsk, 132, 167, 191 Chernetskii, V. M., 205 Chernomyrdin, Viktor, 274, 296, 302, 308-9 Chervonopiskii, S. V., 152 Chinese students, 253 Christ, 276 Christianity, 208 Christians, 50 Christian democracy, 208, 215-16 Christian democrats, 107, 115, 203; principles of, 207 Christian-Democratic International, 208 Christian Democratic Union of Russia, 208 Chronicle of Current Events, 42-3, 118 Chubais, Anatolii, 274 Chubais, Igor, 213, 215-16 Chulaki, Mikhail, 165 Churbanov, Vadim, 113 Cinematographers' Union, 162, 214, 239 Circle of Marxist Thought, 31 Circle of Social Initiative, 106 Civic Dignity, 106, 108-9, 114-15, 156, 205, 209 civil society, 1, 5, 72, 292, 303; absence of 23, 74, 146, 192, 200; consequences for, 265; division within, 203; as useful fiction, 73; and politics, 204; and property, 53, 72-3; relations with state and political society, 16, 240; resurrection of, 71 Civic Union, 275-7, 308 Club of the Commonwealth of Sciences, 101 Club of Social Initiative (CSI), 103-5, 108, 113-14 Club Perestroika, 87, 103-4, 108, 118, 131-2, 185 Coalition in Support of Reform, 273 'A Code of Morals', 51 Cold War, 61 Committee for Human Rights in the USSR, 43 Committee for Social Security, 124 committee of national salvation, 235-6

Committee on Constitutional Oversight of the USSR, 149, 244

Cambridge University Press 0521562481 - The Rebirth of Politics in Russia Michael Urban Index More information

Index

417

Committee of 19, 164-5 Commonwealth of Independent States, 259,287 communication, 2, 4, 5, 15-18, 74; form of, 193; as political, 183; prohibition of social, 17; in public, 116; as repressed, 18; as social, 16, 20, 23; Soviet, 18; of state, 5; as strategic, 4 communism, 3, 5, 77, 135, 235; as antipolitical, 28; as authoritarian rule, 64-5, 199; collapse of, 143, 172, 254, 258, 306-7; defeat of, 200, 204, 269; doctrine of, 262; end of, 53, 243; ideology of, 277; language of, 211, 219; as sytem, 57-8; problem of communication in, 298; struggles against, 54, 145, 188; as unreformable, 58; restoration of, 235, 239, 261; see also Marxism-Leninism Communist-Reformers for the Democratic Platform in the CPSU, 215 Communist Orientation, 138 Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), 19-20, 57, 78; aegis of, 105, 108; agent of, 151; alliance with, 229; apparatus of, 71, 120, 150, 176, 224, 232, 244, 248, 264, 297; attacks on, 227, 244; and blame, 177, 182; candidates of, 178; as capitalist, 233; careerists in, 248; claim to authority, 140; coalition with, 230; congresses of, 151; Control Commission of, 88-9; and 1991 coup, 257; defeat of, 227; defection from, 217; and democratic movement, 187; democratization of, 213, 217; disintegration of, 204, 211, 228; district party committee of, 36, 137; direction of, 112; directives of, 53, 80; and 1989 elections, 121-2, 143; and 1990 elections, 186; as evil, 208; as enemy, 139; factions in, 212; first secretary of, 63; functionaries, 122, 123; general secretary of, 83, 87; hierarchy of, 120; inadequacy of, 180; insurgency within, 231; January 1987 Plenum of, 85; in Kazan, 133; leading role of, 116, 119; leadership of, 36, 55, 98; Leningrad regional committee of, 231; de-Leninization of, 214; liberal element in, 49, 106, 246; local units of, 191; members of, 135-6, 175, 190, 195; as monolithic, 263; power struggle with MNF, 117; Nineteenth Conference of, 70, 109, 112, 113, 211-12; as obstructionist, 179; officials of, 78, 80, 151; opposition to, 112, 178, 188; organs of, 120, 151; patrons of, 151; political

monopoly of, 119, 123, 160, 210, 278; as political party, 174; Propaganda Department of, 86; organizations authorized by, 70; efforts at reform by, 162; removal of power from, 224; project to renew, 172; resignations from, 214; Rusian apparatus of, 243; and Russian government, 187; splinters from, 245; suspension of, 259; ties to, 272; Twentieth Congress of, 33-4, 36; Twenty-Seventh Congress of, 80, 87; Twenty-Eighth Congress of, 212, 214, 232; and voters' clubs, 178; see also Central Committee of the CPSU, communism, communists Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF), 213, 277, 300, 309 Communist Party of Youth, 31 communists, 115, 182, 299-300, 307; dialogue with, 210; as nationalists, 301; as social democratic, 301 Communists for Democracy, 241, 245 Communists for Perestoika, 185 Communists of Russia, 240 Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists, 213 Congress of Civic and Patriotic Forces of Russia, 209, 272 Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, 176, 193-4, 197, 210, 257, 260-1, 269, 294; chairperson of, 195; and Council of the Federation, 285-6; Eighth, 280; factions in, 225; Fifth, 244, 278; power in, 278; Sixth, 266, 273-4; Seventh, 276-80; Third, 240; unconstitutional acts of, 288; see also Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies (USSR), 70, 80, 145, 148, 176, 201, 218; composition of, 143, 150, 194, 294; abolition of, 259; addresses to, 157; challenges to, 161; democrats in, 158-60; discourse at, 152-5; first sitting of, 152, 155-6, 164-5, 168-9, 205; opposition in, 164; Second (December), 168; see also Supreme Soviet of USSR Congress of Reform Supporters, 263 Congress of Russian Communities, 300 Conservative Party, 229 Conspiracy of the Senses, 31 Constitution of the Russian Federation, 224, 257, 273; amendments to, 281; as null and void, 285; provision for referenda, 280

Constitution of USSR, 39, 110, 150, 160–1, 178

418 Index

Constitutional Convention, 278, 282, 286 Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, 278, 280-1, 287, 291 Constitutional Democratic Party (CDP), 205-6, 209-11, 220, 225, 272; and Popular Accord, 266 constitutional democrats, 106, 115, 203, 205, 209 Cossacks, 299 Council of Experts (of the Administration of the President of the Russian Federation), 263 Council of the Federation, 285-6, 288, 291, 294 Council of the Federation and Affairs of the Territories (of the Administration of the President of the Russian Federation), 243 Council of the Heads of Administration (of the Administration of the President of the Russian Federation), 284 Council of Ministers of the USSR, 63, 151 coup of August 1991, 145-6, 152, 233-6, 244, 286; defeat of, 239, 251, 257, 259; first day of, 263; as imminent, 247; machinery of, 236; second day of, 252; strategy of, 237; success of, 248; wake of, 265-6, 271, 283 coup of 1993, 290 CPSU see Communist Party of Soviet Union CSI see Club of Social Initiative Crimean Tartars, 43 Czechoslovakia, 43 Daniel, Yulii, 40, 41 Debryanskaya, Evgeniya, 110 Declaration on Sovereignty (Russian Federation), 195-6, 207 democracy, 90; camp of, 196; as delegative, 291; discourse of, 219; as identity, 286; movement for, 175, 228, 262 Democracy and Humanism, 106-10 Democratic Bloc, 184, 186 Democratic Choice, 184, 270 Democratic Elections-90, 184, 198 Democratic Moscow, 268 Democratic Movement of Communists, 245 Democratic Movement in Kuban, 184 Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union, 51 Democratic Party of Communists of Russia, 245 Democratic Party of the Soviet Union, 228 Democratic Party of Russia (DPR), 216, 251; anti-communism of, 272-3; and DemRossiya, 227; elites of, 221;

inauguration of, 225; as largest Russian party, 217; liberal faction of, 218; and the PCD, 219; and Popular Accord, 266; and PPFR, 272; as Travkin's, 220, 223, 225, 271-2; principal resource of, 226; and the SDPR, 219; Third Congress of, 271 Democratic Perestroika, 108-9, 156, 205 Democratic Platform in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 185, 211-15, 217, 225, 231, 245 Democratic Russia see DemRossiya democratic socialists, 107, 205 Democratic Union, 87, 102, 108-16, 119, 127, 178, 205; expulsions from, 229; formation of, 225; politics of, 269 democrats, xii, 128, 240, 300, 307; as insurgent, 177; and national liberation, 182, 196; orientation of, 308; see also democracy Demokraticheskava gazeta, 226 Demokratickeskaya Rossiya, 226 DemRossiya, 146, 169, 175, 273, 277; affiliates of, 185, 193, 198; communication of, 191, 193; competitors of, 228, 230; Coordinating Council of, 270; Council of Representatives of 270; and DPR, 227; as election organization, 178-9, 182-6, 189-90, 199; demonstrations by, 240, 249-50; disintegration of, 243, 271; as legislative faction, 196, 215, 226; formation of, 213, 225; leadership of, 184, 188, 216-17, 269, 307; in Leningrad, 244; members of, 189, 195; moderate wing of, 246; in Moscow, 187, 198, 244, 268; as movement, 218, 224-7; organizational forms of, 192; opposition within, 220; political strike of, 236; pre-history of, 225; Radical Faction of, 270; and relations to El'tsin, 184-5, 196-7, 241-2, 266; schism in, 268; Second Congress of, 219, 269; splinters from, 245; and Union Treaty, 237 Den', 277 'Departization', 244 Deryagin, G. V., 210 Di Palma, Guiseppe, 66, 71 dissident movement, 2, 28, 31, 35, 39-46, 49; appeals to authority, 51; appeals to the West by, 42; contributions to

perestroika, 61; discourse of, 45, 47; former, 106, 111; generations of, 100; and informals, 100; moral-political dimension of, 74; relationships with nationalists, 50

Cambridge University Press 0521562481 - The Rebirth of Politics in Russia Michael Urban Index More information

Index

419

domination, 9, 12, 21; as bureaucratic, 10, 13; structures of, 16; as structural strength, 14 DPR see Democratic Party of Russia Doverie (Trust), 100, 110 Druzhba, 137 Dunlop, John, 247 Duverger, Maurice, 203 East Europe, 230, 235 Ecology, 97 Ekho Moskvy, 252 elections of 1989, 54, 68-71, 74, 94, 119; campaigns of, 133-40, 192; and Communist Party, 123, 139; and informal movement, 107, 117; law on, 129; results of, 140-4, 147, 155, 169, 205 elections of 1990: and Communist Party, 177-9, 188, 248; democrats in, 145, 174, 182-93, 213, 216; and disintegration of USSR, 172-3; nationalists in, 174, 180-2; neo-Stalinists in, 174, 180-2; prospects of, 165; results of, 193-201, 204-5, 224, 299 elections of 1993, 299 elections of 1995, 310 Elections-89, 132-3, 138 Elections-90, 185 electoral commissions, 129-30, 177 Elinovich, A., 102 El'tsin, Boris: appeal to citizens of Russia, 249-50; appeal to Russian soldiers, 236; as candidate (1989), 130, 134-5, 157-8, 164; as candidate (1990), 183, 190, 196; as candidate for presidency, 227, 242; as Chairperson of the Supreme Soviet of Russian Federation, 195, 240; commissions instituted by, 304; column of, 241; as Communist Party leader, 88, 104-5, 214; and Constitutional Court, 281; decrees of, 277, 285; as deputy, 159, 162; decision to annul Constitution, 286-7; dissolution of local legislatures, 295; efforts to depose, 235; as 'former president', 288; on flag, 257; gambit of, 282; government of, 243, 246-7, 263-4, 269, 271, 274-7, 283, 290; as hostage, 298; meeting with Ukrainian and Belarusan leaders, 259; as opposition leader, 80; as national leader, 174, 187, 199, 237, 261; attack of parliament by, 289-90; as populist figure, 132; refusal to relinquish power, 273, 279; relations with supporters, 183-5, 189-97, 213, 226, 241-2, 260, 266, 270

Esenin, Sergei, 39 Esenin-Vol'pin, Aleksandr, 39, 41 Estonia, 112, 159 Eurocommunism, 211, 215 Eurocommunist socialists, 107, 222 Europe, 202, 298; southern states of, 58 Evtushenko, Evgenii, 38 exchange, concept of, 7; as general, 8; of labor, 9; as particular, 8 Express Khronika, 87 family circle, 14 FAPSI see Federal Agency of Governmental Communication and Information FDPR see Free Democratic Party of Russia Federal Agency of Governmental Communication and Information (FAPSI), 297, 299 Federal Security Service, 297 Federation of Independent Trade Unions (FITU), 303-4 Federation of Socialist Clubs (FSOK), 106 Fedorov, Boris, 197, 302 Fedorov, Nikolai, 244 Feher, Ferenc, 24 'Feniks-66', 41 Fetisov, A., 51 Filatov, Sergei, 283, 297 Filshin, Gennadii, 197 Fitu see Federation of Independent Trade Unions Fish, M. Steven, 215 For Clean Air and Water, 97 For Leninism, 138 Forum of Supporters of Reform, 270 Foucault, Michel, 9, 67, 72 France, 117 Free Democratic Party of Russia (FDPR), 218, 225, 275 Front for National Salvation (FNS), 209, 276-7,279 FNS see Front for National Salvation FSI see Fund of Social Initiatives FSOK see Federation of Socialist Clubs Fund of Social Initiatives (FSI), 97, 105 Gaidar, Egor, 264, 266, 274; reforms of, 286; and Russia's Choice, 302; summons of, 289 Galanskov, Yurii, 41-2 Ganges, 206 Garcelon, Marc, 73

Emel'yanov, A. M., 160, 230

Entrepreneurs for a New Russia, 306

Gdlyan, Tel'man, 132, 164

Cambridge University Press 0521562481 - The Rebirth of Politics in Russia Michael Urban Index More information

420 Index

Gerashchenko, Viktor, 274 Germany, 29, 30 Gerry, Elbridge, 179 gerrymandering, 179 Ginsburg, Aleksandr, 41-2 Glasnost, 87 glasnot, 54, 74-7, 87-8; abuse of, 80; as Gorbachev's, 81; exponents of, 84; introduction of, 77-9; as interactive process, 77; monopoly on, 87; and political differentiation, 93; press under, 118, 127; and Stalinists, 88; standard bearers of, 93; Western commentary on, 76; see also perestroika Glavlit, 78 God, 99, 208 Golos, 239 Golovkov, Aleksei, 264 Gorbachev, Mikhail: 52, 230, 259; accession to power, 62, 150; Cabinet of Ministers of, 247; as collaborator, 181; and Communist Party renewal, 172, 217; and Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, 151-7, 160; and coup of 1991, 246; and elections, 116, 121; rivalry with El'tsin, 196, 204; and glasnost, 79-81, 84, 87; as failed leader, 162; leadership of, 63-4, 76-8, 147, 170, 173, 199, 211, 256; legal relations under, 22; and perestroika, 90, 182; predecessors of, 77; reforms of, 46, 57-60, 104, 120, 175; regime of, 195; remarks of, 82, 91; resignation of, 240, 258; and Russian Communist Party, 231-2; and Russian Supreme Soviet, 257; and Russian sovereignty, 282; and war of laws, 237, 243 Gor'kii, 177, 178 Gorky Park, 135 Gostelradio, 238-9 gosudarstvenniki, 271-2, 277, 300, 307; identity of, 286 Goulder, Alvin, 23 Great Patriotic War, 30 Great Russian chauvinist, 51 greens, 115 Grigoryants, Sergei, 87, 110 Group of Socialist Initiative, 114, 205 Greimas, A. J., 47 Grushin, Boris, 32 Guinness Book of Records, 130 Habermas, Jürgen, 16, 19

Habermas, Jurgen, 16, 19 Hahn, Jeffrey, 187 Harvard, 206 Havel, Vaclav, 61 Helf, Gavin, 187 Heller, Agnes, 24 Helsinki Accords, Final Act of, 44 Historical-Literary Association, Pamyat, 99 Hitler, Adolph, 31 Hotel Rossiya, 196 Hungary, 33-4 'The Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power', 34 identity, 16, 23, 286; as anticipated, 203; as collective, 18; formation of, 26; as individual, 18; language of, 26; as political, 20, 25, 115; in Russia, 253; as social, 23, 25, 115 Ilyumzhinov, Kirsan, 288 Ilyushin, Viktor, 264 indifferent variety, 18, 49, 73 Industrial Union, 275 informal groups see informal organizations, informals informal organizations, 54, 74, 95, 102, 118, 136; in Russia, 86, 96 informals: activists in, 124; cadres of, 142; conflicts in, 114; development of 95-100; and dissidents, 100; grapevine in, 110; and the I-RDG, 178; isolation of, 122; Moscow meeting of, 205; as a movement, 96, 119, 164; newspapers of, 118; and perestroika, 104; ranks of, 175; world of, 102 Initiative Committee for the Creation of a Russian Communist Party, 231-2 initiative groups, 124 initiativism, 96, 100 Inogo ne dano, 91 Institute of Culture, 113 Institute of Philosophy, 33 Institute of Sociology of the USSR, 177 Institute of Theoretical and Experimental Physics, 33 Institute of World Literature, 33 Inter-Club Initiative Group, 100 interests, 4, 23-4; of elite, 284; formation of, 26; formulation of, 20; as meaningless, 146; as social, 25; of working class, 304 Interfaks, 238, 251 Intergirl, 83 Inter-Regional Association of Democratic Organizations (MADO), 167, 169 Inter-Regional Deputies Group (I-RDG), 160-71, 182, 189, 192, 214;

communication of, 164; constituency of, 170; Coordinating Council of, 162–4; demands of, 161; focus of, 175; and

Cambridge University Press 0521562481 - The Rebirth of Politics in Russia Michael Urban Index More information

Index

421

informals, 178; leaders of, 183, 197-9, 217; as malefactors, 181; as opposition, 162-3; political identity of, 168; relation to Congress of People's Deputies of USSR, 163; and restorationists, 230 Interior Minister, 235 International Monetary Fund, 262 I-RDG see Inter-Regional Deputies Group Irkutsk, 97 Isaev, Andrei, 114 Ivanov, Nikolai, 138 Ivanova, 186 Izvestiya, 84, 239, 249, 251 Jews, 43 Jowitt, Ken, 74 Judas regime, 276 Judeo-Masonic conspiracy, 99 Kagarlitskii, Boris, 87, 103 Kaliningrad, 132 Kalmykiya, 288 Karpinskii, Len, 77-8 Karyakin, Yurii, 127, 152 Kasparov, Garri, 218, 226 Katyn, 80-1 Kazan, 132-3, 178 Keane, John, 72 KGB (Committee of State Security), 39, 40, 43, 229, 234; and August coup, 248-9; chief of, 235; officiers of, 63, 111, 186, 298; and reform ideas, 46 Khabarovsk, 184, 191 Khasbulatov, Ruslan, 273, 275-6, 279-80, 286-8 Khatsenkov, Georgii, 226 Khavkin, Yu. L., 205 Khazha, Georgii, 274 Khronograf, 87 khozraschet, 63 Khronika, 166 Khrushchev, Nikita, 25, 33, 46, 100 Kim, En, 170 King, Martin Luther, Jr, 131 Kommunist, 52 Komsomol (Communist Union of Youth), 99, 186 Komsomol'skaya pravda, 104 Kon, Igor, 74 Kon, Yurii, 247 Konstantinov, Il'ya, 209, 216, 218 Kopelev, Leo, 30 Korotich, Vitalii, 78, 126-8 Korzhakov, Aleksandr, 297 Korzhavin (sargent), 30 Kostroma, 184, 186, 191

Kotenkov, Aleksandr, 302 KPRF see Communist Party of the Russian Federation Krasin, Viktor, 43 Krasnodar, 184, 186, 232 Krasnopevets, Lev, 32-3 Kratovo, 110 Kravchenko, Leonid, 238 Kravchuk, Leonid, 259 Kremlin, 77, 196, 235, 257; Borovitskii Gates of, 158; Palace of Congresses in, 156 Kriger, Vera, 139, 218, 268 Kronshtadt, 168 Kryuchkov, Vladimir, 235 Kudyukin, Pavel, 205 Kukly, 299 Kuranty, 239 Kuzbass, 161 Labour Party, 213 Labouring Russia, 273, 277, 288-9 late-Soviet, period, 26, 111, 146, 292 Latin America, 58, 262 Latsis, Otto, 91 Latvia, 236; Communist Party, 235 Law on the Press, 158, 237 LDPR see Liberal Democratic Party of Russia LDPSS see Liberal Democratic Party of the Soviet Union Lemeshev, Mikhail, 136-7 Lenin, Vladimir: 31, 34, 82, 153, 258; cult of, 17, 18; mausoleum of, 245; monument to, 109; last request of, 152; question of, 265; writings of, 17, 211, 265 Leningrad, 34, 97, 138; campaign activity in, 165; Communist party in, 169-70, 179; conference in, 114; congress of OFT in, 170; Democratic Elections-90 in, 198; democrats of, 186, 199; DemRossiya in, 186; 1989 elections in, 125, 130-3; 1990 elections in, 185; informals in, 112, 124, 187; liberal intelligentsia in, 103-4; mayor of, 268; national-territorial district no. 19 in, 138; Obkom of, 133; popular front of, 117, 166-8, 216; region of, 90; 1991 coup in, 251, soviet of, 239; see also St Petersburg Leningrad Popular Front (LNF), 132, 138, 165, 167-8, 185, 217 Leningrad State University, 33-4 Leningrad Voters' Union, 185

Leninism, 80, 89–90; see also communism, Lenin, Marxism-Leninism

Cambridge University Press 0521562481 - The Rebirth of Politics in Russia Michael Urban Index More information

422 Index

Leninist Union of Students, 31 Letter to the Soviet Leaders, 51, 61 Levyi povorot, 87 LG see Literaturnaya gazeta Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), 309 Liberal Democratic Party of the Soviet Union (LDPSS), 229-30 liberal democrats, 107, 115 Ligachev, Egor, 80, 214 Lindblom, Charles, 23 Lipitskii, Vasilii, 245 Lipset, S. M., 202 Lithuania, 159, 236 Lithuanian Catholic Committee for the Defence of Rights of Believers, 43 Literaturnaya gazeta, 52, 92-4, 180 Little Vera, 83 Litvinov, Pavel, 42 LNF see Leningrad Popular Front Lobov, Oleg, 263, 276 Lomax, Bill, 307 Lopukhin, Vladimir, 264 Luk'yanov, Anatolii, 150-1, 230, 239 Lushnikov, Vladimir, 161 Luzhniki sports complex, 156, 158-9, 164, 168, 180 Lysenko, Vladimir, 213 MADO see Inter-Regional Association of **Democratic Organizations** Main Legal Administration of the President of the Russian Federation, 264 Manege Square, 191, 249-50, 271 Mamardashvili, Merab, 32 Malenkov, 32 Makashov, Al'bert, 289 Makharadze, Valerii, 266, 283-4 Markus, Gyorgy, 24 market, 8, 11; exchange relations in, 9, 11; mechanisms in, 57; as reform, 90 Marx, Karl, 34 Marxism, 17, 30-1, 36, 49; discourse of, 49; essence of, 181; as opposition, 36-7; as regime, 36-7; see also communism, Marxism-Leninism Marxism-Leninism, 17-18, 27, 30, 36, 262; as authentic, 170; basis of, 211; as dethroned, 309; discourse of, 19; in post-war years, 31; as grand simulacrum, 19-20; as language, 18, 52; opposition to, 48; as orthodox, 62; as purveyed by the regime, 31, 48; triad of, 36, 47; as unreformable, 162

Marxist-Leninist, 107

Marxist Platform in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 211-13 Marxists, 50, 92 Matlock, Jack, 247 Matyukhin, Georgii, 274 Mayak, 238 Mayakovskii Square, 35, 39, 41, 101 M-BIO see Moscow Bureau of Information Exchange McAuley, Mary, 57, 179, 187 McDonald's, 252 MDR see Movement for Democratic Reform Memorial, 105, 114, 118, 132, 139; as democratic movement, 156, 159, 165, 185, 226 Mendel'shtam, Osip, 35 merchant capital, 295, 305 Merkurii, 87 Meshalkin, 157 Mesyats, V. K., 134 Migdal, Joel, 14-15 miners' strike, 161-2, 236 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, 240, 248 Ministry of Justice of Russian Federation, 98 Mitrov, Peruan, 104 MOI see Moscow Voters' Association Molodaya gvadiya, 51-2, 88, 127 Molotov cocktails, 288 Molotkov, N. V., 176 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, 31 monarchists, 115 monetarism, 262-3, 270-1, 287 Moscow, xi, 6, 34, 39, 42, 104; activists in, 87; army in, 289; authorities of, 258; Arbat Street, 101; Bauman district of, 97; chairperson of city soviet, 133; Cheremushkinskii district of, 136; City Committee of the Komsomol, 51; city council (soviet) of, 135, 197-9, 225, 239, 260, 289; city party committee of, 178, 180, 198, 231; Commandant of, 248; communist movement in, 276; Communist Party voters' Club in, 178; conference in, 104; democrats in, 158-60, 186, 199; DemRossiya in, 186; deputies of, 155-7, 159; districts of, 185; elections in, 134; factory in, 279; grapevine, 100; 'Hyde Park' in, 35; informals in, 96-9, 109-15, 124; inter-club party group of, 211-13; Kropotkin district of, 103; liberal establishment in, 118; Lyublin district of, 134; majorities in, 177; mayor of, 243; national-territorial district no. 1 in, 134; October district of, 199; officialdom in,

Cambridge University Press 0521562481 - The Rebirth of Politics in Russia Michael Urban Index More information

Index

423

107; authorities outside of, 81; patriotic movement in, 276; party committee's House of Political Enlightenment in, 155; police of, 287; Proletarian Electoral district of, 139; Red Guard district of, 218; Sevastopol district of, 141; state of emergency in, 240; voters in, 135, 177; and union-republics, 160 Moscow Aviation Institute, 164 Moscow Bureau of Information Exchange (M-BIO), 105 Moscow City Committee of CPSU, 103-4, 134-5 Moscow City Committee of Voters' Association, 166 Moscow Club of Social Innovators, 97 Moscow Logic Circle, 32 Moscow Methodological Circle, 32 Moscow News, 77, 80-1, 87, 131 Moscow Obkom, 134 Moscow Polytechnic Museum, 101 Moscow Popular Front (MNF), 113–18, 156, 159, 165-8; democratic faction of, 209; in elections, 124, 131, 136-7, 178; radical socialist tendency in, 212 Moscow State University, 32, 33, 186 Moscow Tribune, 118, 132, 156, 165, 185, 226 Moscow Union of Labour Collectives, demonstrations by, 240 Moscow Voters' Association (MOI), 132, 165, 176, 184-5, 216-17; Coordinating Council of, 165, 169; leaders of, 218, 225 Moskva, 88 Mossovietization, 260, 265 Movement for the Defense of Baikal, 97 Movement for Democratic Reform (MDR), 246, 251, 268 Movement of Communist Initiative, 211 MNF see Moscow Popular Front Murashev, Arkadii, 155, 217-18, 225; as police chief of Moscow, 260, 268 Murmansk, 178 Muscovites, 105, 114, 135, 156, 159-60, 178; rallies by, 161, 250; and 1991 coup, 236, 252 Muzykanskii, Aleksandr, 165, 176 Naberezhnye Chelny, 99 Naritsa, Mikhail, 40 Nash Arbat, 103 Nash sovremennik, 88, 127, 136 Nashi, 238 National Republican Party, 272 national-patriots, 169, 171 nationalists, 46, 49, 51-2, 86; and

dissidents, 50; and neo-Stalinists, 174, 179-81; as Russian ideology, 50 Nazis, 276 NDR see Our Home Is Russia Neizvestnyi, Ernst, 32 neo-Stalinism, 34, 169, 171, 182; in CPSU, 231-2; as movement, 273; and nationalists, 174, 179-81 Neva, 78 Nevskoe vremya, 239 Nevzorov, Aleksandr, 238 New Arbat Street, 250 New Russia, 271 Nezavisimaya gazeta, 239 Nikolskii, Boris, 78 nine-plus-one, 244-5, 247, 282 Nobel Lecture, 38 nomenklatura, 178, 190-1, 240, 264, 271; of communists, 263, 295, 306; of democrats, 263-4, 306, 308; as entrenched, 260, 262; as new, 266; reassertion of, 234; rule of, 248; as underground, 269 Novodvorskaya, Valeriya, 106, 110, 229 Novorossisk, 99 Novosibirsk, 184, 251 Novosti, 88 Novyi mir, 24, 37, 78, 83, 88 Nuikin, Andrei, 89 Obshchina, 109, 114-15, 205 Obshchaya gazeta, 252 October Square, 109 O'Donnell, Guillermo, 291 OFT see United Front of Working People of the USSR Ogonek, 51, 78, 88, 126-7, 188 Oktyabr', 51, 88 Olympic sports complex, 168 OMON, 229, 234, 236, 249, 288-9 Orenburg, 104 organization, 1, 4, 5, 16; as discussion club, 118; forms of, 6, 11, 131, 138; as political, 183 Orlov, Boris, 223-4 Orlov, O., 189 Orthodox Church, 30, 276, 309 Orwell, George, 32 Osipov, S. I., 32 Osipov, Vladimir, 50 Ostankino, 180, 276, 289 Otkrytaya zona, 87 Our Home is Russia (NDR), 300, 308 pact, 68–9 Palm, Viktor, 162

Cambridge University Press 0521562481 - The Rebirth of Politics in Russia Michael Urban Index More information

424 Index

Pamyat, 99, 127, 136, 272 Pamyat', 45 Panebianco, Angelo, 202-3, 216 parties of power, 307-8 parties of society, 307-8 Party of Constitutional Democrats (PCD), 209–10; and the DPR, 219; and the SDPR, 219 Party of Free Labour, 225 Party of Popular Conscience, 308 Party of Russian Unity and Accord (PRES), 302 party-state, 3, 24, 74, 203-4; active prohibition against social communication of, 25, 30, 102, 393; as anti-perestroika agent, 107; apparatus of, 54, 122, 138, 176, 178; attempt at reform of, 53; authority construct of, 29; authorities of, 54, 60, 93; cadres in, 130; candidates of, 115, 179; discourse of, 204; disintegration of, 227, 259; as Goliath, 124; leadership of, 155; in Moscow, 97; movement against, 175; official ideology of, 52; officials in, 63, 78, 102, 194; on political terrain, 146; repression by, 37; siege of, 234; sponsorship of associations, 95; struggle against, 225, 256, 261 Pasternak, Boris, 35, 40 patriotic ideology, 30 patriotic movement, 276 patriots, xii, 180, 182, 299-300, 307; first wave of, 174; identity of, 286 Pavlodar, 191 Pavlov, Valentin, 247 Pavlovskii, Gleb, 103 Peasant Party of Russia, 230, 271 Peasant Union, 230-1 Penza, 97 People's Party of Free Russia (PPFR), 245, 272, 275 People's Party of Russia, 271 perestroika, 2, 19, 22, 26, 52-3, 85, 91; centrepiece of, 145; disappointment with, 92; and informals, 98, 104; liberalizing effect of, 94; and mass communications, 81; nature of, 57, 59-60; period preceding, 29; period of, 115; philosophy of, 75; as political, 204; project of, 103; propagandists in, 64; radical aim of, 60, 91; realization of, 100; as renewal, 59-65; as revolution, 90, 182-3; significance of, 112; as transformation, 71-4; as transition, 65-71; vanguard of, 246; see also glasnost PCD see Party of Constitutional Democrats

Perestroika of Leningrad, 205 Perestroika-88, 108-10, 113-14 Perm, 187 Petrov, Yurii, 263-4 Piaget, Jean, 7 Podrabinek, Aleksandr, 87 Poedinik, 110 Poland, 33, 80, 262 Politburo, 63, 80-1, 120, 151, 181, 232 political society, 1, 4, 23, 145, 227, 258; as fractured, 200; segments of, 174, 201, 225; relation to state, 74, 203, 240, 265, 292; as weak, 243, 298, 303 Polozkov, Ivan, 232, 235 Poltoranin, Mikhail, 197, 266 Pomerants, Grigorii, 32 Ponomarev, Lev, 165, 169, 189, 216-19, 225 Popov, Gavriil, 89, 200, 213; as DemRossiya leader, 187, 189, 198, 226; as deputy, 80, 154-7, 159-60; as I-RDG leader, 162, 183: as mayer of Moscow, 243-4, 260, 268; in MDR, 246; resignation from CPSU, 214; and United States, 247 Popular Accord, 266, 268--9, 271-2 Popular Front of the RSFSR, 166 popular fronts, in the Baltic, 114, 181; in Khabarovsk, 184: in Kostroma, 184; see also Moscow Popular Front Postfaktum, 251 post-Soviet period, 240; Russian polity in, 292 post-Stalin period, 35, 47 PPFR see People's Party of Free Russia Prague Spring, 43 Pravda, 20, 78, 90, 191, 249, 264 pre-perestroika period, 77, 205 PRES see Party of Russian Unity and Accord President of the Russian Federation, 241, 258, 260 President of the USSR, 244, 248, 259 Presdential Security Service (PSS), 297-8 press, 109; freedom of, 80, 83; liberal, 89; see also glasnost Pribylovskii, Vladimir, 187 Prokhanov, Aleksandr, 247 property: forms of, 72; institution of, 192 Przeworski, Adam, 66 PSS see Presidential Security Service Pugo, Boris, 235, 240 Pushkin Square, 41, 42, 101, 109, 111, 158 Put', 210 putsch of 1991, 260-1

Radio Liberty, 82 Radio Moscow, 247

Cambridge University Press 0521562481 - The Rebirth of Politics in Russia Michael Urban Index More information

Index

Radio Rossiya, 238 Radio White House, 252 Rakitskaya, Galina, 227 Rastier, F., 47 RCDM see Russian Christian Democatic Movement Reagan, Ronald, 109 referendum of 25 April 1993, 281, 285 Republican Party of Russia (RPR), 215-16, 246, 270; commission of, 215; defectors from, 271; and MDR, 251; in Tomsk, 261 - 2Republican Party of United States, 216 Rech, 210 Red Square, 43, 277 red-brown coalition, 209-10 Reddaway, Peter, 40 Regulations on amateur associations, 96 Rendel', Leonid, 32-3 Renewal, 274 Repentance, 83 RF-politika, 264 Rhine, 206 RKP see Russian Communist Party RMDR see Russian Movement for Democatic Reforms RNU see Rational National Union Rokkan, S., 202 Rossiiskaya gazeta, 239 Rossiya, 170 Rossiya, 179, 239 RPA see Russian Popular Assembly RPR see Republican Party of Russia RPU see Russian Public Union **RSFSR** see Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic RUIE see Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs **RUIP** see Russian United Industrial Party Rumyantsev, Oleg, 207, 223-4 Russia (legislative faction), 180 Russia: absolutist rule in, 99; authority in, 235, 258; banking in, 305; business associations in, 306; Communist Party in, 170, 173-4; Central Bank of, 274, 276; cities in, 31, 105, 114, 176, 205, 216, 225, 309; defense of, 289; democracy in, 261; citizenship in, 40, 121; communist order in, 147, 226; communists of, 241; constitutional government in, 278; coup in, 234; courts in, 258; democratic forces in, 92, 173-4, 183, 193, 197, 205, 218, 229; economy in, 89, 260-2, 296; as exsanguinated, 209; fascism in, 181; first republic of, 285; flag of, 112; horizons of, 206; informals in, 95, 115, 121;

information in, 238; language in, 128, 307, 309; as late-communist, 23; model for, 46-7, 50; nomenklatura in, 170, 267; political parties in, 201, 203, 207, 219, 232, 258; as new polity, 3, 27; political development in, 122, 158; political field in, 89, 196, 210, 244; political forces in, 92, 267; political life in, 5, 21-2, 117, 291; political society in, 74, 207, 234, 265, 267-8, 292; political technology in, 179; political traditions in, 208-10, 300; politicians of, 121; politics of identity in, 27, 209; popular fronts in, 225; population of, 92; as post-communist, 23, 116, 256-7, 268, 270, 295, 298-9; power in, 164, 207; press in, 79, 83, 118; reappearance (rebirth) of politics in, 1, 3, 6, 14, 20, 26-8, 39, 50-5, 119, 144, 167, 191, 256, 310; regions of, 260; relations with the West, 46; resistance in, 249-50, 253; return to world, 206, 216; revolution in, 247; 'shock therapy' in, 262, 273, 281; society in, 18, 40, 193; as sovereign, 164, 181, 195-6, 200, 282; and sovereignty, 195, 196, 282; soviets in, 258; territory of, 197; transformation in, 303; transition from communism, 23; versus USSR, 204, 237, 282; as victim, 171, 181; victory over Napoleon, 30

- Russian Bureau of Central Committee of CPSU, 173, 181, 232
- Russian Christian Democratic Movement (RCDM), 205, 207-9, 220, 266, 272

Russian Communist Party (RKP), 173, 195, 211, 213; Central Committee of, 240: creation of, 231-2; expulsions from, 245; first secretary of, 235; influence in CPSU, 233; revival of, 232; see also Communist Party of the Russian Federation

- Russian Confederation of Manufacturers, 306
- Russian empire, 276
- Russian Federation, 278; autonomous republics of, 282; Federal Assembly of, 291; struggles in, 283; *see also* Russia, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, Russian government
- Russian government, 187, 237, 239, 243; deputy premier of, 263; deputy prime minister for economic policy of, 264; deputy prime minister for social policy of, 264; leaders of, 259, 261; Minister of Energy of, 264; Minister of Foreign Trade of, 264; Minister of Security of, 289; Press Minister of, 266; Prime

426 Index

Russian government (cont.) Minister of, 197, 296; Ministry of the Press and Mass Communications of, 237; re-capture of, 235; State Property Committee of, 274, 306; vice president of, 272; see also El'tsin, Russian state, Russian Federation, Russia Russian idea, 277 Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms (RMDR), 268, 271, 273 Russian National Assembly, 209 Rutional National Union (RNU), 277 Russian nationalism, 18, 238, 277; as a movement, 99 Russian Orthodox religion, 50; circles in, 208 Russian people, 99, 140; outside of Russian Federation, 272; saviour of, 208 Russian Popular Assembly (RPA), 272-3, 277 Russian Popular Front, 135, 166 Russian Public Union (RPU), 272, 277 Russian Revolution, 110 **Russian Soviet Federated Socialist** Republic (RSFSR), 151, 181; State Council of, 243; see also Russia, Russian Federation, Russian government, Russian state Russian state, 196, 204, 234, 259, 265; apparatus of, 243; branches of, 278, 280; conflicts in, 199; criminal activity in, 296; inner wheels of, 297; political communications in, 300; politicizing of, 274; presidency of, 298; power relations in, 22, 244, 267; efforts to reestablish, 145, 187, 208, 285; traditions of, 286; versus USSR, 236, 253, 259; see also President of the Russian Federation, Russia, Russian Federation, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (RUIE), 274, 303-4, 306 Russian United Industrial Party (RUIP), 303 Russian Unity, 273, 277 Russian White House, 245, 248-54; defence of, 287-90; information centre of, 252 Russia's Choice, 300, 302, 306-8 Rutskoi, Aleksandr, 240, 245-6, 264, 266, 272; as vice-president, 277; collusion with, 287; as acting president, 288 Ryazan, 176 Rybkin, Ivan, 294 Ryzhkov, Nikolai, 63, 151, 230 Sakharov, Andrei, 42, 45, 80, 132; as

deputy, 152, 157-8, 160, 162; campaigns

St Petersburg: communist movement in, 276; mayor of, 130, 243; patriotic movement in, 276; see also Leningrad Sal'e, Mariya, 165, 167, 216-19, 270 samizdat, 35, 41, 46, 93, 208 Saransk, 191 Saratov, 205 Scientific-Industrial Union of the USSR, 274 SCSE see State Committee for the State of Emergency SDA see Social Democratic Association of the Soviet Union, 205 SDPR see Social Democratic Party of Russia Second World War, 29, 63, 80 Selyunin, Vasilii, 94 Semenov, R., 229 Seredenin, A., 141 Sever, 124 Severnodvinsk, 243 Shabad, Anatolii, 169 Shakhrai, Sergei, 260-1, 264, 283, 302 Shamaev, Lev, 165 Shchedrovitskii, Georgii, 32 Shchit, 185 Sheinis, Viktor, 169 Shevardnadze, Eduard, 246 Shmelev, Nikolai, 94 Shneider, Mikhail, 165, 178, 268 Shokhin, Aleksandr, 264, 274 Shostakovskii, Vyacheslav, 215 Shumeiko, Vladimir, 274 Shushkevich, Stanislav, 259 Silaev, Ivan, 197, 246 Simonov, K. M., 32 'Sintaksis', 41 Sinyavskii, Aleksandr, 40-1, 139 Sinyavskii-Daniel affair, 40 Skokov, Yurii, 127, 276 Skurlatov, Valerii, 166 Smolensk Square, 288 Sobchak, Anatolii, 130, 198, 200, 243; resignation from CPSU, 214; and MDR, 246 Sobriety Society, 126 Sobyanin, Aleksandr, 261 social democracy, 107, 203-7, 222 Social Democratic Association of the Soviet Union (SDA), 205-6 Social Democratic Centre, 224

Saikin, Valerii, 132, 134

- Social Democratic Confederation, 205
- Social Democratic Party of Russia (SDPR), 205–7, 216, 225, 271; elites of, 221; and DPR, 219; fourth congress of, 223;

against, 44

Cambridge University Press 0521562481 - The Rebirth of Politics in Russia Michael Urban Index More information

Index

leader of, 227; and RPR, 215, 219; members in Russian legislatures, 207; social-democratic orientation of, 215 Social-Democratic Party of Russia (Zhirinovskii), 229 Social-Liberal Association, 271 socialism, 74, 92, 106, 121; renewal of, 80, 89, 121 Socialist Party, 212-13 socialist pluralism, 68, 204 Sokolov, A. A., 152 Solov'ev, Yu. F., 120, 133 Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 25, 30, 44-5, 51 Sotsprof, 207 Sotsium, 207 Sovetskaya Rossiya, 90, 180, 246, 249 Soviet army, 30, 236 Soviet empire, 231 Soviet order, 7, 13, 22, 25, 106; communicative conditions of, 155; disintegration of, 111, 235, 278; economic apparatuses of, 296; efforts to strengthen, 54-9; estates within, 231; features of, 26, 98; legal relations in, 236; opposition to, 26, 35, 112, 117, 145; organizational conditions of, 155, 175, 220, 238; personalized relations in, 175, 258, 284, 298; attempts to restore, 232, 247; social interests in, 302; structure of, 155; weakness of, 21; see also Soviet system, Soviet state, Soviet regime, Soviet Union, USSR Soviet patriotism, 17-18, 27, 30 Soviet regime, 30, 37, 286; coup d'état of, 146, 234; criticism of, 44; essence of, 239; and hate-mongering, 219; liberal element in, 43, 49, 57; organized opposition to, 31, 50, 100, 203; overthrow of, 208; restoration of, 234; servant of, 137; see also Soviet order, Soviet state, Soviet system, Soviet Union, USSR Soviet society, 18, 29, 33, 62; basic ingredients of, 71; change in, 70; democracy in, 36, 70; groups in, 63; impact of Second World War on, 29; prior to perestroika, 45; spaces in, 221 Soviet Sociological Association, 103, 113 Soviet speech, 153-5, 231, 260

Soviet state, 1, 5, 18, 31; armed insurrection against, 50; political battle with, 258; capacities of, 15; dissolution of, 236, 259; governmental apparatus of, 13, 22; official ideology of, 62; penetration of society by, 16–17; personal relations in, 267; remnants of, 258; repressive apparatus of, 61; structural basis of, 21, 149

Soviet system, 10, 20, 22, 25; change in, 77; closed character of, 75; decay of, 57; elites of, 68–88; and initiativism, 96; last great myth of, 60; renewal of, 65; and transition to democracy, 53, 67; weak structures of, 150

- Soviet Union, 35, 45; ambassadors of, 52; Constitution of, 41, 70, 119, 152, 178, 278; dissidents in, 43; glasnost in, 75; history in, 77–8, 82, 88; human rights violations in, 42; internal opposition to, 35–6, 39, 106, 173; mass media in, 35, 43, 51, 75–6, 79–83, 85–8, 95, 239; rituals in, 279–80; sociology in, 95; see also Soviet society, Soviet order, Soviet state, Soviet system, USSR
- Sovietologists, 2
- Soyuz, 230-1, 235
- Soyuzpechat, 238
- Spasenie (Salvation), 97
- Stalin, 152; cult of personality, 6, 17, 36, 46–7; death of, 2, 6, 18, 32, 33, 40; fascist dictatorship of, 31; figure of, 29; late epoch of, 29; place in history, 88; regime of, 31; second death of, 33; synthesis of, 18, 46–7, 49–50; teachings of, 46; terror under, 83; triad of, 46
- Stalinism, 34, 82, 88
- Stalinist manifesto, 90
- Stalinist-nationalists, 88, 126-7
- Stalinists, 46–9, 51–2, 86, 88, 232; as players on the political field, 50; and relationships with dissidents, 51; and relationships with the regime, 52
- Staniszkis, Jadwiga, 18, 73
- Stankevich, Sergei, 136–7, 155–8, 178, 213, 261; as a leader, 187, 189, 198
- Starkov, Vladislav, 78-81, 90
- State Committee for the State of Emergency of the USSR (SCSE), 234, 246-51, 253
- State Committee on Publications of the USSR, 237
- State Committee on Television and Radio of the USSR, 238
- State Duma, xi, 285, 291–2, 309;
- chairperson of Fifth, 294; speaker of, 308 State and Revolution, 34, 211
- state socialism, 3, 6, 11; and civil society,
- 73, 240; mass media in, 74; societies of, 194; as Soviet, 11, 15; structures of, 12, 15
- Stavropol, 125, 132, 133
- Stepankov, Valentin, 287

428 Index

Stepanov, Vladimir, 170 structure, 6, 7; concept of, 21; of state, 20, 197; as strong, 8, 9, 53; system of, 61; transformation of, 72, 74; as weak, 14, 53 Stupino, 134 Sub-Tropical Russia, 299 Sulakshin, Stepan, 215, 262 Sukharev, Aleksandr, 104 Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, 176, 157–60, 196–7, 237, 278, 281, 286; chairperson of, 273; commission of, 248; concessions of, 282; constitutional commission of, 223, 278, 281; constitutional referendum of, 280; delegation of, 286; jurisdiction of, 276; as permanent organ, 281; first session after putsch, 260; power plays in, 275; and republics, 283; resolutions of, 243 Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 70, 120, 148-9, 158, 176, 237, 247; chairperson of, 230, 239; and draft of new Constitution, 207; committee of, 151; Commission on the Press of, 237; Council of Nationalities of, 157; Council of the Union of, 157; decree of, 158; deputy chairperson of, 151; discourse in, 154; elections to, 151, 156-7, 159; as legislative insitution, 155; operations of, 155; presidium of, 151, 157; personalized relations in, 150; rotation in, 152; and suspension of CPSU, 259 Sverdlovsk, 132, 170, 177, 183-6, 191, 205, 263; El'tsin as party boss, 243 Svoboda (Freedom), 97 Svobodnoe slovo, 87 Taganrog, 105 Taganskii District, 189 Tallinn, 237 Tarrow, Sydney, 224 Tarsis, Valerii, 40 Tartarstan, 283 Tartu University, 112 **TASS**, 249 Tatariya Popular Front, 133 Terekhov, Valentin, 181 'There is no Other Way', 91 Third World, 14, 24 Thoughts on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom, 42 Tianamen Square, 253 Tikhonov, Vladimir, 230 Timofeev, Lev, 100 Tolstoi, Mikhail, 218 Tolz, Vera, 77

Tomsk, 132, 191, 262 Trade Unions of the USSR, 60 Travkin, Nikolai, 165, 183, 187, 222; authority of, 213, 216, 223; as leader of DPR, 217-18; and DemRossiya, 217-18, 226 Tromimov, Viktor, 34 Trifonov, Yurii, 88 Tripartite Commission on the Regulation of Social and Labour Relations, 304, 306 Trotsky, Leon, 32 Trud, 141 Tsvetaeva, Maryia, 35 Tsvetov, V., 126 Tvardovskii, Aleksandr, 24, 37 Tyumen, 170, 178 Ubozhko, Lev, 229 Ufa, 97, 191 Ukraine, 43, 259 Union of Communists, 34 Union of Constitutional Democrats, 210 Union of Cossack Hosts of Russia, 272 Union of Journalists, 251 Union of Labour, 303-4 Union of Officers for the Rebirth of Russia, 272, 277, 287 Union for the Rebirth of Russia, 277 Union Treaty, 237 USSR, 19, 21, 29; academic establishment in, 62; authority in, 235; civil society in, 71; cities in, 115, 166; communication in, 79; construction of socialism in, 6; cultural-political field of, 46, 49, 74; deputies of, 189; deputy prime minister of, 197; displacement of, 173; dissent in, 40, 61; discourse in, 18; domination of Russia, 196; elections in, 130, 175; forces of production in, 62; forms of organization in, 62; government of, 181, 244, 259; human rights in, 44; informals in, 112; journalism in, 88, 239; law in, 21; Law on Elections, 132; nations in, 112; new government of, 249; as normalized society, 67; political relations in, 39, 57, 65; power in, 235; Prime Minister of, 230; public actions in, 191; purge of officials in, 60; union republics of, 283; weak structures in, 147, 293; see also Soviet order, Soviet society, Soviet state, Soviet system, Soviet Union United Front of Working People of (OFT), 170, 180, 181, 231 United States of America (US), 247 US see United States of America

Cambridge University Press 0521562481 - The Rebirth of Politics in Russia Michael Urban Index More information

Index

429

VAI see All-Union Association of Voters Veche, 51 Vilnius, 249 Vladislavlev, Aleksandr, 246 Vladivostok, 191 Volga Germans, 43 Volgograd, 97, 177, 205 Vol'skii, Arkadii, 246, 274-5 Voronezh, 99 Vorotnikov, Vitalii, 195 Voters' Club of the Academy of Sciences, 159, 169 Voters' Clubs of Moscow, 156 Voznesenskii, Andrei, 38 Vremya, 249-50 VSKhSON see All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People Vybor, 208 Vysotskii, Vladimir, 26 War of laws, 197, 236-7, 283 Warsaw Treaty Organization, 43 Weber, Max, 9, 10, 13 West, 22, 27, 45-6, 89, 178, 181, 295; civil society in, 72; intelligentsia sympathetic toward, 50; journalists from, 42; sociology in, 26 Western European, corporatism, 304; systems in, 203 white-brown alliance, 209 'A Word to the People', 246, 277 World Bank, 262

Yabloko, 309

Yakir, Petr, 43 Yakovlev, Aleksandr, 52, 63-4, 75-6, 77, 80, 181, 246-7 Yakovlev, Egor, 77, 80, 87, 91 Yakunin, Gleb, 208 Yanevich, N., 33 Yanov, Alexander, 50 Yarin, Venamin, 170 Yaroshenko, Viktor, 197 Yaroslavl, 34, 132, 166, 178, 184, 186, 205, 251 Yaroslavl Popular Front, 169 Yavlinskii, Grigorii, 197 Young Marxist society, 110 Young Socialist group, 103, 186 Yushenkov, Sergei, 242 Zaikov, Lev, 135 Zakharov, Mark, 155 Zalygin, Sergei, 78 Zaslavskaya, Tat'yana, 155, 158 Zaslavskii, Il'ya, 199-200, 268 Zemskii sobor (Assembly of the Lands), 207 Zelinskaya, Elena, 87 Zhirinovskii, Vladimir, 110, 229-30, 235, 271, 299, 308 ZIL Automotive Works, 134 Zinov'ev, Aleksandr, 14, 32 Zionism, 181 Zionist-Masonic conspiracy, 166, 180 'Za Narodovlastie', 169 Znamya, 78 Zor'kin, Valerii, 280-1, 287 Zyuganov, Gennadii, 277