Abalkin, Leonid, 57 Abdulatipov, Ramazan, 115, 117 Abkhazia, 4, 294 Absolute monarchy, 1 Academy of Sciences, 55 Accidents, industrial, 141 Achalov, Vladislav, 108, 117, 121, 127 Administrative-command management, 51 Afanasyev, Yuri, 78–79 Africa, 162, 163-164 Agafonov, Valentin, 118 Aganbegyan, Abel, 57 Agrarian Party, 132, 212 Agricultural policies, 30 Agricultural production, 141, 142, 265

Agriculture, 21, 30, 55, 143 Agrodorspetsstroi (Rural Roads Special Construction) company, 190, 194 AIDS, 167 Air transport companies, 173 Aksyonenko, Nikolai, 344 Aksyuchits, Viktor, 184 Albright, Madeleine, 332 Alcohol: cheap, as social safety valve, 270; health effects, 164; imports, 155, 166; per capita consumption of, 164; tariffs on, 167 Alcoholic poisoning, 165 Alcoholism rates, 165, 166 Aleksandrov, Yuri, 177-178 Aleksiy II, Patriarch, 114, 116

Index Prepared by Fred Leise

Alexander III, Tsar, 2 All-Russian economic conference, 43 Allende, Salvador, 128 Alpha brigade (anti-terrorist unit), 124, 127 Amsden, Alice, 54-55 Andropov, Yuri, 335, 344-345, 361, 362 Angola, 162 Anis Company, 191, 194 Anpilov, Viktor, 119, 122, 130, 212 Anti-Communist revolution (August–December 1991), 5 Anti-Primakov campaign, 345–346 Antigen plant, 193 Antonov, Mikhail, 244 Armenia, 4, 241–242 Armored personnel carriers, 116 Arms market, 157 Arms race, 58, 274 Army, 100, 107–108, 353 Article 75 of the constitution of the Russian Federation, 336–337 Article 121, Clause 6 of the constitution of the Russian Federation, 106-107 Asia, life expectancies in, 164 Asian crisis, 283–284 Association of Oil and Gas Industrialists, 149 Astafyev, Mikhail, 234 Atomic cities, 143 Attlee, Clement, 348 Auctions, for privatization, 146 August 1991 coup attempt, 4, 46, 232 Aushev, Ruslan, 128 Austro-Hungarian empire, 1 Authorized millionaires, 179 Authorized personnel, 179 Authorized property owners, 179 Autocracy, 1, 244 Autocracy, orthodoxy, nationality (slogan), 1-2, 243-244 Aven, Pyotr, 64

Aviadvigatel (Aircraft Engine company), 156 Aviazapchast (Aircraft Spare Parts), 151 Azerbaijan, 4 Babichev, Vladimir, 39 Baburin, Sergei, 234 Bagrov, Andrei, 299-300 Bakatin, Vadim, 330 Baldwin Enterprises, 151 Baltic Works (shipyard), 92 Bangladesh, 164 Bankers, 175–176, 176, 183 Banking, as source of wealth, 189 Bankruptcy, 199, 305 Banks: collapse, 175–176; effects of 1998 government crisis, 291–292; failures, 265; growth in numbers of, 175; reduced profits from currency speculation, 285; speculation on shortterm government bonds, 306; Western investors' use of, 160. See also Central Bank: Commercial banks Barannikov, Viktor: appearance before Supreme Soviet, 97; appointment as head of state security, 108; response to police withdrawal, 121; surrender to Alpha unit, 127; Yeltsin's dismissal of, 105 Baranov engine plant, 41 Barkashov, Aleksandr, 112 Barrikadnaya ("Barricades," subway station), 112, 115, 116-117 Barsukov, General, 221 Base values of enterprises, 89-90 Baturin, Yury, 104 Baxter, Richard, 67 Bazhov, Pavel, 13 Belarus: death rates, 166; delivery of energy sources to, 159; economic treaty with Russia, 217; international recognition of, 4; men's

death rate, 162; reunification with Russia, 272 Belovezh agreements, 32 Bendukidze, Kakha, 93, 177 Berezovsky, Boris, 324, 346 Beseda na Puti k Svyatyne (Conversation on the Road to a Holy Place, Zyuganov), 248 Bespredel (free-for-all), 25, 255, 266-267 Bioprotsess, 93 Birth rates, 163 Black market, 170 Black October. See Civil war in Moscow Black Tuesday (financial crisis), 141, 337-338 Bloc of Social Democrats, 210 Bloc of United Democrats, 207 Bocharov, Mikhail, 11 Boeing, 146 Bogomolov, Oleg, 23-24 Bolshevichka textile factory, 149 Bolshevik party, 254 Bond pyramid, 305-308. See also Financial collapse Bostonets, Boris, 152 Bourgeoisie, 198 Brain drain, 143 Bratishchev, I., 218 Bratsk Aluminum Plant, 151 Bread and circuses, 271 Breakthrough strategies for economic crisis, 265-266 Brezhnev, Leonid, 361, 362 Bribery of government officials, 189 Brokerage business, 189 Brokers, 171 Bryntsalov, Aloysha, 188 Bryntsalov, Vladimir, 188–189, 193 Bryntsalova, Alena, 188 Bryntsalova, Natalya, 188 Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 68, 108–109 Budget deficits, 141 Bunich, Pavel, 217 Burakovsky (heart surgeon), 326

Burbulis, Gennady: arrogant manner, 26; background, 12; candidate for Congress of People's Deputies, 12; departure from Russia's Choice Party, 208; downfall, 25-28; end of political career, 35; lack of liberal ideology for Russia, 80; organization of economic policy group, 15; participation in Third Congress of Democratic Russia, 32; place on Yeltsin's staff, 13; position as first deputy premier, 11-12; position vis-a-vis Gaidar, 17; relationship with Yeltsin, 26; removal as first deputy premier, 25; selection of working team, 13; views of selfworth, 26; views on goals of economic reform, 47-48; as Yeltsin supporter, 12 Burbulization of Russia, 25–26 Bureau of Applied Sociological Research, 215–216 Bureaucratic-Mafia capitalism, 184 Bureaucrats, 25, 135, 170, 172–173 Burkov, S., 211 Bush, George H. W., 33-34 Business elite: change in conditions during 1992–93, 174; dissatisfaction at new problems in economy, 285; effects of 1998 government crisis on, 291; meeting with Yeltsin, 299; 1994–96, 182–187; political influence, 316-317; super profits, 198. See also New Russians Business People (Delovye Lyudi, magazine), 15 Businessmen, 170–174, 183. See also Business elite; New Russians Buzgalin, Aleksandr, 82 Buzkhevich, Miroslav, 237–238 Cabinet (government), 214, 287,

292, 316 Canada, 163 Capital, 70, 295–296 Capital cities, 268 Capital flight, 22 Capital investments, 141, 142, 282 Capitalism: Chernomyrdin's views on, 47; cultural and religious foundation, 66; Japanese, 67; multiple forms, 70; post-industrial, inner nature of, 283; Russian model, 67; spirit of, 67; unpopularity of notion of establishing, 48; Zyuganov's views on, 259 Capitalist development, obstacles to, 46-85; competition from the West, 74–77; diffuse driving forces, 81-85; geography and nature, 63-64; lack of national idea, 77-81; lack of resources, 72-74; market complexities, 70-72; military-industrial complex, 55-62; popular resistance, 67-70; spirit of enterprise, 64-67 Capitalist entrepreneurs. See New Russians Capitalist perestroika: and Chernomyrdin, 36–38; continued economic crisis and decline, 39-45; downfall of Burbulis, 25-28; first steps (1992-1993), 9-45; Gaidar's fall, 30-36; robbing of savings bank depositors, 28-30; summer and fall 1992, 22-25 Capitalist revolution, 47, 83. See also Capitalist development, obstacles to; Economic reforms Capitalist society, ill-advised attempts to establish, 49 Capitalist system, collapse of, 5 Capitalist thirteenth five-year plan. See Thirteenth five-year plan Carnegie, Andrew, 185 Casualties, during Moscow civil war, 128–129

Censorship, during Moscow civil war, 129 Center for Practical Free Enterprise, 192 Central Bank: actions to protect currency, 284, 303; depletion of financial reserves, 302; Gerashchenko as chairman of, 336–337; hard currency reserves, 160; issuance of new series of short-term securities, 309; lack of official exchange rate, 304; lack of reserves to defend ruble, 304; powers under Russian constitution of 1993, 336-337; suspension of foreign currency operations, 308. See also Commercial banks Central Committee of the CPSU, 229, 327, 329 Central Electoral Commission, 106, 109 Central Europe, life expectancy in, 162-163 Central Foreign Intelligence Service, 330, 331 Central government, power after failed coup attempt, 9. See also Government Central Institute for Aircraft Engine Production, 156 Central Russian Savings Bank. See Sberbank Centralization, 51 Centrist bloc of constructive forces, Change, inevitability of, 264–276, 272 Channel One (See also television station), 126 Chase Manhattan bank, 160 Cheap alcohol, 270. See also Alcohol Chechnya: lack of international recognition, 4; Russian war against, 141, 204, 225, 249; sec-

ond Russian war against, 356-357; Yeltsin's visit to, 218 Chelvabinsk-65 (secret town), 23, 62 Chernenko, Konstantin, 361, 362 Chernichenko, Yuri, 78–79 Chernomyrdin, Viktor Stepanovich, 36-38; accomplishments, 37; appeal to Collegium of the Defense Ministry, 124; appointment as acting prime minister, 310; background, 36-37; call for defense of government, 123; circumstances creating difficulties for, 39; criticisms of Gaidar, 140; fall of, 285-288; media support for, 318; as only hope for salvation of economic collapse, 314; personal characteristics, 290-291, 316; positions held, 27, 35, 37, 100; promise of economic success, 140; proposals on market reforms, 138; proposed economic program, 319; protector of raw material sectors of economy, 316-317; reaction to loss of office, 289-290; rejection of term "capitalism," 47; relationship with Yeltsin, 40, 97, 316; remarks on economic policy, 137-138; response to 1995 elections, 209; responsibility for financial collapse, 310; role in government bond pyramid, 306; Rybkin's support for, 205; signs of independence, 286; surprise at election to chairman of Council of Ministers, 36; views on economic situation, 286; views on market romanticism, 136; Western responses to, 226

Chernomyrdin, Viktor Stepanovich, political actions; campaign for presidency, 290–291; creation of party of power, 206–207; election to Duma, in 1999, 359; first decision in economic sphere, 41; first press interview, 41; inability to deal with economic collapse, 317; lack of long-term, overall strategy, 39; mode of governing, 40–41; and Our Home Is Russia Party, 207, 208; potential return to premiership, 315–320; Yeltsin's retirement of, 287

- Chernomyrdin government, 39, 140–141
- Cherny, M. and L., 151
- Chicago boy (Gaidar's nickname), 15
- *Chicago Tribune*, views on privatization program, 96
- Chicherin, Boris, 80
- Chiesa, Giulietto, 60-61, 62
- Children, death rates, 162
- China: agreements with, 217; Primakov's influence on relations with, 333; purchase of obsolete plants and factories, 148; sensitivity of economic reforms to systems of value, 64; success in moving to capitalist society, 49; Western investments in, 157–158
- Christianity, 247
- Chubais, Anatoly: admissions about success of privatization, 95; appointment as vice premier, 280; background, 87-88; as chair of State Committee for the Management of State Property, 87; characteristics, 88, 313; criticisms of, 40, 153; destructive monopoly over privatization, 147-148; effect of economic collapse on, 311; employment of friends and acquaintances, 88-89; intention to remain in government, 38; irony of views on economy, 199; management of privatization process, 147; optimism over economic crisis, 281-282, 284; participation in

Chubais, Anatoly (continued) Third Congress of Democratic Russia, 32; popular opinion of, 91, 95; public activity, 286; reduction in power of, 286; remaining in cabinet, 137; resignation, reasons for, 153; responsibility for government decisionmaking, 317; return to Yeltsin government, 84, 153; trip to Washington, 300, 303; Western views of, 15; Yeltsin's retirement of, 287 Chubais, Igor, 88 Chubais government, 146 Church-state separation, 1 Churchill, Winston, 348 Cirrhosis of the liver, 164 Cities, support for Yeltsin government in, 269 Civic Alliance (political party), 132 Civil war in Moscow, 103–130: bombardment of White House, 123–125; casualties of, 128–129; end of, 126-127; mass beatings, 127-128; police withdrawal, 120–123; post-confrontation repression, 129-130; rooftop firing, 125-126; as test for Communist Party of the Russian Federation, 235; writings on, 104; Zyuganov's appearance on television, 235-236 Civil war in Moscow, chronology; September 22–23, 109–110; September 24, 110–111; September 25, 111–112; September 26, 112–113; September 27, 113–114; September 28, 114–115; September 29, 115–116; September 30, 116–117; October 1, 117–118; October 2, 118–119; October 3, 119–120 Civilian consumer economy, 58 Class struggle, 256

Classes. See Authorized property owners; New Russians Climate, obstacle to capitalist development, 63 CNN, 124 Coal miners' protests, 279, 280, 293 Coalitions, 239–240 Collective farms, 73 Collectivism, 65 Collegium of the Defense Ministry, 107-108, 124 Colombia, 166 Comecon (Council of Mutual Economic Assistance), 72, 266 Commercial banks: losses in shortterm bond pyramid, 308–309; panic, August 1998, 303; role of Komsomol in creation of, 172; service of debts to, 159. See also Banks; Central Bank Commercial trade, 145 Committee for Economic Reform, 66 Commonwealth of Independent States, 39 Communism, 276 Communist parties, 196, 233 Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF): conservatism, 226; effects of Lebed's victory on, 295; election results, 212-213, 236, 358; importance of creation of, 230; as inheritor of good element of former CPSU, 254; leadership of, 321; Ligachev's views on, 224; participation in State Duma elections, 132; plan to ban, 354; as political party, 348; program of, 254; proposed candidates for premiership, 323; quandary as to actions, early 1990s, 228; rise in political influence, 236; small business support for, 197; strength, 235, 354; suspension of operations, 129;

toothless oppositional character, 291; work in the Duma, 236 Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), 2, 79, 252-254 "Communists for Democracy," 30 Communists of Russia (political group), 33, 205, 233 Competition, 52, 74-77, 171 Comprador groups, 23, 194 Congress of National Organizations of Russia, 207, 211 Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR: clash of opinions among the political parties infections, 34; establishment, 3; as highest governing body in Russia, 32; Permanent Presiding Committee, 31; Primakov's election to, 329; renegade deputies, 116; resolution supporting early elections, 111; resolutions against Yeltsin's supporters, 109; resumption of sessions during White House blockade, 116. See also Civil War in Moscow; Fifth Congress of People's Deputies; Seventh Congress of People's Deputies; Sixth Congress of People's Deputies Congress of Russian Communities (KRO), 210-212 Constitution of the Russian Federation, 106–107, 130–131, 147, 347-348 Constitutional Conference, 101 Constitutional Court of the RSFSR, 17-18, 32, 97, 107 Construction companies, 190 Consulting, 189 Consumer goods; decline in 1995, 141; elimination of shortages of, 139; production of, 23, 143, 189-194, 190 Consumer market, 156 Consumer price index, 282

Contemporary eyewitnesses, importance, 6 Controlled devaluation of ruble, 297. See also Ruble Conversation on the Road to a Holy Place (Zyuganov), 248 Cooperatives, 170-171, 196 Corporate debt, 23 Corrective labor camps, 3 Corruption, 346 Cosmopolitan elite of international capital, 262 Cosmopolitans, as driving force behind capitalist revolution, 83 Cost of living, 24 Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), 72, 266 Council of Nationalities, 330 Council of Opposition Forces of Moscow University, 31 Council of People's Patriotic Forces (Sovet Narodno-Patrioticheskikh Sil, SNPS), 233 Council of Popular and Patriotic Forces of Russia, 31 Council of the Federation, 116, 319 Coup attempt (August 1991), 4, 46, 232 Coups d'etat from above, 97 CPRF. See Communist Party of the Russian Federation CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union), 2, 79, 252-254 Credit, 29, 41 Credit Suisse-First Boston, 152 Credits, as source of enrichment, 175 Crime rates, 166 Cultural development, 2 Cultural maturity, 71–72 Currency shortages, 21 Currency speculation, 285 Customs officials, 173 Czech Republic, 50

Dagestan, 294 Danilenko, Viktor, 24–25 Davydov, Oleg, 39 De-statization. See Privatization Deaf children, schools for, 192 Death rates, 161–163, 167 Deaths during Moscow civil war, 128-129 Decree No. 1400, 105–106, 107 Decree No. 1 of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, 232 Defense industry, 62 DeGaulle, Charles, 205 Delovoi Mir (Business World), 183 Delovye Lyudi (Business People, magazine), 15, 191-192 Delyagin, Mikhail, 281 Democratic authoritarianism, 136 Democratic elections, 271. See also Presidential elections; State Duma, elections Democratic movement, 31-32 Democratic nomenklatura, 146-147. See also Nomenklatura Democratic reforms, 245 Democratic Russia, 32 Democratic socialism, 78-79, 275 Democrats, 9-10, 66, 182, 208 Den (newspaper), 234-235 Denationalization. See Privatization Dengi (Money, magazine), 319 Depression (economic), 267-268 Desert Storm Gulf War, 332 Devaluation, 304. See also Ruble Dictatorship of the proletariat, 2, 257 "Dignity," Women's Council, 31 Directors (corporate), 176-177 Dividends, not paid by joint stock companies, 90-91 Dniester Detachment, 113 Dniester Republic, 4 Doctors, 164 Doka Pizza Company, 190–191, 194

Dollars, 303, 304 Domestic debt, 281, 302. See also Foreign debt Domestic industry, 76 Dorenko, Sergei, 344 Dovgan, Vladimir, 190, 191 The Drama of Power (Zyuganov), 232 Dubinin, Sergei, 137, 304, 311 Duma. See State Duma Duma Committee on Property and Privatization, 152 Dunaev, Andrei, 108 Dyachenko, Tatyana, 294, 314 Dzerzhinsky Division, 112 Eastern Europe, 54, 162–163, 285 Economic advisers, 57 Economic analysts, 197 Economic conditions, connection to health, 163 Economic crises, 294, 303-304. See also Financial collapse Economic development, 267–268, 272 Economic efficiency, 95 Economic instability, 295-296 Economic miracles, 49 Economic reforms: effects of, 23, 43-45, 142-143; effects on health, 161–162; Gaidar's views on, 49-50; lack of support for, 21-22; reasons for failure of, 145; results, 53, 139. See also Economy; Privatization Economic situation, 1997, 280-281 Economic stabilization, 42 Economic system, 52–53 Economists: evaluation of situation in Russia, 280; views on Russia's indebtedness, 158 Economy: crisis and decline, 39–45; in December 1991, 19; destruction of, 28; difficulties in 1989–1990, 3; effects of Western

aid on, 157; first months of 1998, 282; lack of equal moneymaking opportunities, 179; means of strengthening, 300; need for separate reform plans, 57; negative processes, 39; overall results for 1993, 43; policy, after 1993 Duma elections, 136–137; previously existing realities as factors impeding capitalist revolution, 51–55; Primakov's views on, 334; response to market system, 20; weaknesses of, 144; Western investment in, 157. See also Economic reforms; Financial collapse Education, 300 Eldorado, 178 Election law, new, 130, 131 Elections. See Presidential elections; State Duma, elections Electoral system, 3 Elektrosila, 151 Elite, 178-179, 187. See also **Business** elite elite, Post-Soviet, 182 Emigration, freedom, 270-271 Emperor. See Tsar Empire, Zyuganov's views on, 243 Employee-owned businesses, 148 Energiya (industrial conglomerate), 156 Entrepreneurial class, 198 Entrepreneurs, 182–183, 191, 195, 197-198 Environmental problems, 274-275 Estonia, 4, 22, 167 Exchange rates, 142, 303, 304 Executive branch, 18 Experimental Creative Center, 83 Export business, 175 Export privileges, 174 Exports, 155. See also Raw materials Extractive industry, 56

Factory directors, 27 FAO Verein, 193 Fascism, 276 Fatherland-All Russia bloc, 355, 356, 359 Favoritism, 40 February revolution (1917), 5 Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, 106 Federal Property Fund, 147 Federal Security Service (FSB), 351 Fifth Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR, 17, 18 Filatov, Sergei, 116, 117 Filipp-Morrisovich, Vladimir (nickname for Shumeiko), 149 Filofei (abbot), 239, 243 Financial collapse (fall 1998), 302-339; devaluation, 304-305; effects on politicians, 311-320; Gerashchenko's views on, 337; moratorium on foreign currency credits, 308-309; ouster of Kiriyenko government, 309–310; Primakov's views on reasons for, 334; short-term bond pyramid, 305-308; three weeks without government, 322-323 Financial crises, 20, 141 Financial policy, state control of, 62 Financial pyramid schemes, 29, 305 Financial structures, 157 Financial Times, 160 First All-Russia Congress of Representatives of Small Business, 197 First Congress of the Russian National Assembly (Russky Naordny Sobor), 234 First Main Administration of the KGB, 330 Fish, importance in diet, 164 Five-year plans, 138–139 Food, 23. See also Grain

Food industry, 56, 191 Food prices, 354 Food supply, 41 Forbes magazine, 184–185 Forced Russification, 2 Ford, Gerald, 350 Ford, Henry, II, 49 Foreign aid, 44, 153–154, 300 Foreign banks, 160 Foreign companies, 151, 152 Foreign currency, 56, 142, 174, 298 Foreign currency credits, 308–309 Foreign currency earnings, 37 Foreign currency exchanges, 49, 175 Foreign currency reserves, 158, 159, 264, 284 Foreign currency trade, 159–160, 175 Foreign debt: in 1997, 281; amount needed to service, 301; effects of repayment of, 302; growth in 1996, 264; increasing use of, 158-161 Foreign intelligence service, 154 Foreign Intelligence Service of Russia, 330, 331 Foreign loans, 308 Foreign Ministry, 214 Foreign policy, 217, 327, 332, 333 Foreign trade, 142, 171 France, 163, 164 Frank, Sergei, 288 Franklin, Benjamin, 67 Free Russia People's Party, 100, 129, 132 Free Russia Square, 113 Freedom of speech, 271 Freedom to trade, 270 Frolovk, Aleksandr, 281 FSB (Federal Security Service), 351 Fyodorov, Andrei, 237 Fyodorov, Boris: actions in Chernomyrdin's government, 38; attitude toward speculators, 299;

criticisms of new Russians, 181; departure from Russia's Choice Party, 208; political independence, 317; potential coalition with Zyuganov, 221; resignation from government, 137; response to Chernomyrdin, 42; results in first round of presidential elections, 218 Fyodorov, Svyatoslav, 183, 210 Gaidar, Arkady, 13 Gaidar, Timur, 13 Gaidar, Yegor: background, 13–14; blame for currency shortage, 21; call for defense of government, 123; criticism of, 40; criticisms of Ryzhkov, 158; dissertation, 14; economic reforms, 73, 87, 144; economic views, 14; election results of, 81, 207-208, 208; fall of, 30-36; first meeting with Chubais, 88; hope for Western aid, 18, 73; ideology, 78; lack of credo, 80; organization of Institute of Economic Policy, 15; political views, 14; positions held, 27, 35, 94, 132; relationship with Yeltsin, 15-16, 17; report to Seventh Congress of People's Deputies, 34; resignation from government, 137; response to Chernomyrdin, 38; return to cabinet, 39; role in Yeltsin's government, 17; role on Burbulis's staff, 13; Western views of, 15 Gaidar, Yegor, views: on chief con-

Gaidar, Yegor, views: on chief constituency, 65; on devaluation, 297; on economic reforms, 49–50, 78; on government control over prices, 14, 15–16; on new capitalists, 181; on Yeltsin's personal qualities, 16–17

Gaidar government, 27, 28–29, 159, 194

"Gaidarite" government ministers, 38 Gambling business, 172 Garantiya commercial bank, 289 Gardner, Bruce, 152 Garment industry, 141 Gas companies, 27, 149 Gates, Robert, 33-34 GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), 154 Gazprom corporation, 27 Gdlyan, Telman, 79 GDP (Gross Domestic Product): comparison with other countries,' 272; decline in 1994, 141; decline in 1995, 142; decline in 1996, 264; rise in 1997, 280 GDR (German Democratic Republic), 72–73 Gelvanovsky, M., 95 Generalov, Sergei, 288 Geography, 63-64 Georgia, 4, 241–242 Gerashchenko, Viktor, 39, 323, 335-336, 336-337 German Democratic Republic (GDR), 72-73 Germany, 164, 285 Gigantomania, 52 Glasnost, 3. See also Perestroika Glazyev, Sergei, 211, 221 Global economic crisis, 283 Global problems, 274-275 Gold, 298 Gold reserves, 158, 264, 284 Golushko, Nikolai, 104 Golyshev, Pavel, 190 Gorbachev, Mikhail: appeals to the people for support, 232; borrowings of foreign capital, 158; as chairman of Supreme Soviet, 329; creation of OMON, 105; economic advisers, 57; effects of failures of reforms of, 46; effects on democratization, 3; mentioned, 361; plummeting authori-

ty, 231; relationship with Primakov, 328-329; relationship with Zyuganov, 230, 231; restrictions on production and sale of vodka, 165; results in first round of presidential elections, 218, 220 Gorbachev Foundation, 301 Gorbachev government, 14 Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission, 286 Gorky (city), 289; see also Nizkny Novgorod Gorky Institute of Water Transport Engineering, 289 Gosudarstvennoe Upravlenie Okhrany Prezidenta (GUOP, presidential bodyguard), 126 Gosznak, 21 Gould, Jay, 185 Government: benefits from privatization, 94; changes of, 287-288, 311-320; effects of disparate composition of topmost officialdom on, 39; moral vacuum, 335; policies on alcohol, 166; popular confidence in, 29; role in economy, 339. See also Central government; Chernomyrdin government; Gaidar government; Gorbachev government; Soviet government; Yeltsin government Government activities, 172-173 Government bonds, 297. See also Short-term government bonds Government crisis (1993), 96–130; arrests during, 118; deaths during, 121, 123, 125, 126, 128–129; execution of White House defenders, 127; formation of combat detachments supporting Rutskoi, 120; negotiations, 117; violence during, at Smolensk Square, 119. See also Civil war in Moscow; Civil war in Moscow, chronology

Government crisis (1998), 287–294. See also Financial collapse Government debt, 301 Government ministers, 288–289 Government policy, after Stepashin's appointment, 353 Government Privatization Program, 89. See also Privatization Government property, 147, 148 Government regulation, 161 Government reserves, 29 Government savings, 29 Government service, 189 Government Statistics Committee, 22-23 Government subsidies, 63-64 Grachev, Pavel: appearance before Supreme Soviet, 97; attempts to garner military support for Yeltsin, 107; knowledge of Yeltsin's plans, 104; retirement, 221; at Rostropovich concert, 113 Grain, 30–31, 142. See also Food Granika, 152 Great Patriotic War, 229 Great Russia, 252 Great writers, 243 Greece, 163 Gromov, Boris, 322 Group of Eight, 283 Gulag system, 3 Gulf War, 332 Gumilyov, Lev, 239 GUOP (Gosudarstvennoe Upravlenie Okhrany Prezidenta, presidential bodyguard), 126 Gusinsky, Vladimir, 293, 295 Harvest 1990 campaign, 176 Haushofer, Karl, 238 Hay, Jonathan, 152 Health, 161–168 Health care spending, 163, 164

High technology production, 142-143 Hill, James J., 185 Hilton Corporation, 49 History of Russian Privatization (Istoriya rossiyskoi privitizatsii, Chubais), 95 Hobbit Company, 193, 194 Homicides, 166 Hotels, 180-181 Housing construction, 141–142 Humanist socialism, 275 Hungary, 50 "The Hussar Born of a Sow" (magazine article), 100 Hussein, Saddam, 332 Ideas, as possible bases for Russian revival, 84 Ideas, prominent, post-1996 elections, 225-226 Ideological Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU, 229 Ideologies: importance, 238; Khasbulatov's, 79; Marxism-Leninism, 2; of official government patriotism, 242; Shumeiko's, 79; of 20th century, 276; Yeltsin's, 238. See also Reform ideology; Zyuganov, Gennady, general features of ideology Ideologists, 80 Illarionov, Andrei, 281 Ilyin, Ivan, 238 Ilyumzhinov, Kirsan, 117, 126, 128, 174-175 Ilyushin, Viktor, 104 Ilyushin Aircraft Complex, 156 IMEMO (Institute of the World Economy and International Relations), 327-328 IMF (International Monetary Fund): credit to Russia, 302; decision on Russian debt payment reschedul-

Heavy engineering, 56

Hercules plant, 148

ing, 160; determinations of creditworthiness, 158; experts' views on structural transformations in Russia, 160; new loan to Russia, June 1998, 308; presentation of Russian economic reform program to, 18; Rakitskaya's criticisms of, 144; standard recommendations of, 15 Imperial state system, 243–244 Imported food products, 155 Imports, 302 Impulse (creative production association), 172 Income, 139, 280 Individualism, 65 Industrial accidents, 141 Industrial debt, 282 Industrial modernization, 150 Industrial policy, 337 Industrial production, 142, 282, 302 Industrial profitability, 280 Industrial properties, 146 Industrial workers, 3 Industry, 23, 338 Infallibility, 45 Infectious diseases, 167 Inflation: after privatization, 90; during 1992–93, 20, 175; during 1994–95, 139; during 1995, third quarter, 142; during 1996, 264; during 1997, 280; effects of, 28, 174; popular response to, 21-22; prior to 1996 presidential elections, 217; Yeltsin's and Gaidar's estimation of, 20; Infrastructure, 23 Inozemtsev, Nikolai, 327 Institute of Applied Policy, 200 Institute of Economic Forecasting, 58 Institute of Economic Policy, 15 Institute of Economic Problems, 294 Institute of Oriental Studies, 328

Institute of Sociology of Parliamentarism, 21-22 Institute of Systems Analysis of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 198-199 Institute of the World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), 327-328 Insurrection Square, 118 Intelligentsia, 219 Inter-Regional Group of Deputies (IRGD), 79 Interest groups, 316 Interest rates, 297 Internal market, 61–62 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 15 International Monetary Fund. See IMF Internationalism, 2, 249 Investment capital, 157 Investments: decline in 1994, 140; importance, 338; by new Russians, 182; purchase of factories at reduced prices, 93; sources of, 29. See also Capital investments: Iordansky, Vladimir, 179–180 IRGD (Inter-Regional Group of Deputies), 79 Irkutsk, 23 Isakov, Vladimir, 118, 234 Istoriya rossiyskoi privitizatsii (History of Russian Privatization, Chubais), 95 Italy, 164 Itogi (magazine), 317-318 Ivanovo-Voznesensk region, 143 Izmailovo (joint stock company), 180-181 Izvestia (newspaper), 134 Japan, 164, 167

Japan, 164, 167 Jewish diaspora, 260 Jobs, under privatization, 145 Joint stock companies, 89–92 Journalists, entry into White House, 117 Just social orders, 275

- Kadannikov, Vladimir, 35
- Kama River Auto Plant (Kamaz), 49
- Kamazova, Tatyana, 311–312
- Kara-Murza, Sergei, 257
- Karabakh, 4
- Karpov chemical and pharmaceutical plant, 193
- Karyakhin, Yuri, 79
- Kavelin, Konstantin, 80
- Kazakhstan: distribution of government-owned property, 166; economic treaty with Russia, 217; international recognition of, 4; life expectancy for men in, 162; reunification with Russia, 272
- Kemerovo, 23
- Kennan, George, 74
- Kerensky, Alexander, 361
- KGB, 330, 351
- Khasbulatov, Ruslan: background, 33; chairman of the Supreme Soviet, 18, 98; claims of size of protests, 116; confidence ratings of, 96; evaluation of, 128; Gaidar's blaming of, 21; ideology, 79; meeting with Zyuganov, 235; opposition to Yeltsin, 33; press conferences during government crisis, 112, 118; receipt of Yeltsin's decree, 105; response to Chernomyrdin's economic plan, 39; response to police withdrawal, 121; speech condemning economic reforms, 34; surrender to Alpha unit, 127

Khizha, Georgy, 27

- Khodorkovsky, Mikhail, 184–186
- Kholodkovsky, Kirill, 182
- Khoperinvest (financial pyramid scheme), 29
- Khristenko, Sergei, 288, 311

Khrushchev, Nikita, 3, 145, 261, 361 Kirgizia, 4, 217

- Kiriyenko, Sergei: as acting prime minister, 287; admirers, 311-312; appellations, 311; approval of new foreign loans, 308; characteristics, 312; effect of economic collapse on, 311; evaluation of, 289; head of Union of Right Forces party, 359; lack of respect for, 289; as part of Yeltsin team, 294; political independence, 317; political vacuum after reform government of, 5; promises about devaluation, 304; resistance to foreign loans, 301; role as parliamentary minority, 356; success as politician, 311; views on bondholders' risk, 310; views on economic crisis of May 1998, 298
- Kiriyenko government, 292, 302, 304, 309–310 Kislovodsk (city), 228 Kissinger, Henry, 33 Kiva, Aleksei, 65–66, 231
- Kivilidi, Ivan, 171
- Kleiner, Georgy, 287
- Klepikova, Yelena, 10
- Kobets, Konstantin, 126
- Kokoshin, Andrei, 323
- Kommersant (newspaper), 345
- Kommunist (magazine), 14
- Komponent (defense plant), 151
- Komsomol businessmen, 172
- Komsomol economy, 172, 289
- Komsomol (Young Communist League), 171–172, 289
- Konstantinov, Ilya, 119, 130, 234
- Koptyug, Valentin, 239, 258
- Kortunov, Vadim, 180
- Korzhakov, Aleksandr, 40, 126, 221
- Kostikov, Vyacheslav, 294
- Kostin, Georgy, 43
- Kosygin, Aleksei, 49, 335

Kozyrev, Andrei, 208, 217, 332 Krashennikov, Paul, 288 Krasnaya Presnya district, 114 Krasnaya Presnya District Soviet, 116 Krasnoyarsk-26 (secret town), 23, 62 Krasnoyarsk Aluminum Plant, 151 Krasnoye Sormovo shipyard, 154 Krasny Oktyabr (Red October, candy factory), 149 KRO (Congress of Russian Communities), 210-212 Kryshtanovskaya, Olga, 178–179 Kudrin, Deputy Finance Minister, 284 Kuibyshev Polytechnic Institute, 36 Kulidzhanov, Lev, 326 Kulikov, Anatoly, 287 Kuptsov, Valentin, 212, 235 Kurds, 332 Kurginyan, Sergei, 83 Kuznetsk Basin (Kuzbas), 143

Land ownership, struggles over, 2 Land privatization, 145–146, 147 Lapshin, Mikhail, 212 Large production units, 52 Latvia, 4, 167 Leadership: need for change in, 266–267; new political forces in, 46; transition of, 361-362 League for Assistance to Defense Plants, 153 League of Democratic Socialism, 79 Lebed, Aleksandr: election as governor of Krasnoyarsk regions, 294–295; election to Duma, 212; ending of war with Chechnya, 225; importance, 211, 295; in KRO leadership, 211; possible candidacy for premiership, 321-322; potential coalition with Zyuganov, 221; power in Yeltsin's administration, 222; response to his success in 1996

round of presidential elections, 218, 220; supporters' votes for Yeltsin, 223; Western responses to, 226 Lebed, Aleksei, 212 Left (political), 31, 205 Legislature, confidence ratings of, 96 Lenin, Vladimir: cavalry charge against capitalism, 145; mentioned, 2, 361; plan to rebury, 354; use of market methods, 49; Zyuganov's assessment of, 254 Leningrad Optical Mechanical Works (LOMO), 152 Leonidov, V., 25-26 Leontiev, Constantine, 239 Leontyev, Mikhail, 222, 344 Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR): opposition to Yeltsin's government, 132; results in 1995 elections, 358; results in 1999 elections, 359; support for, 133; support for government, 205. See also Zhirinovsky, Vladimir Liberalism, 78, 80, 276 Liberalization of prices. See Price liberalization Life expectancy, 162, 163 Lifestyles of Russian rich, 187-189 Ligachev, Yegor, 224, 250 Light industry, 56 Lipitsky, Vasily, 210 Lithuania, 4, 50, 167 Living standards, 24, 28 Livshits, Aleksandr, 311 Lobov, Oleg, 11, 94 London Club of creditor nations, 159 Lopukhin, Vladimir, 37 Lukyanov, Anatoly, 216, 329 Luzhkov, Yuri: agreement with Primakov, 355; discreditation of, 356; endorsement of Zubov, 295; possible candidacy for premier-

elections, 220; results in first

ship, 321–322; purchase

Luzhkov, Yuri (continued) of ZIL factory as municipal property, 177; response to pro-Yeltsin rally, 99; at Rostropovich concert, 113; views on privatization, 89; as Yeltsin representative, 117 Lysenko, Vladimir, 79 M. L. Mil Helicopter Works, 146 Machine-Building Association, 157 Madima (British company), 151 Magistral (Siberian youth center), 172 "Main Directions of Activity for the Security Council of the Russian Federation in the Present Period" (Lebed group), 221–222 Makashov, Albert: anti-Yeltsin press's acknowledgment of, 128; beliefs about government forces, 121: co-chairman of National Salvation Front, 234; command of Ostankino operation, 122; leadership of combat detachments, 120; motion to elect Zyuganov chairman of CPRF, 235 Malysh (children's store), 92-93 Managerial revolution, 176 Market complexities, 70-72 Market economies, use of symbolic prices, 148 Market infrastructure, 139 Market principles, 56 Market-reform measures. See Economic reforms Market relations, criteria determining maturity of, 29 Market romanticism, end of, 136–168; health disaster, 161-168; new Russia and the West, 153-161; privatization, new stage of, 145-153; thirteenth five-year plan, end of, 138-145

Market system, 20 Marshall Plan, 73 Marx, Karl, 51 Marxism-Leninism, 2 Marxists, 195, 250 Maslyukov, Yuri, 323, 337-339 Mass audiences, 238 Mass popular movements, 83 Matches, 20 Mausoleum (Lenin's tomb), 354 Mavrodi, Sergei, 174 Meat, 23 Media, 318, 345 Medium-sized businesses. See Smalland medium-sized businesses Medvedev, Roy: election as people's deputy, 227; meeting with Putin, 352; meeting with Rutskoi, 100; meetings with Zyuganov, 227, 228; views on danger of radicalism, 102–103; views on idea of socialism, 274, 276 Medvedev, Zhores, 159, 161, 198 Mellon empire, 152, 153 Men, life expectancies, 161-164 Menatep Bank, 148, 186 Mercedes cars, 187 Metallurgic industry, 56 Mezhuyev, Vadim, 69 Microsurgery of the Eye company, 183 Middle class, 82, 355 Mikhalkov, Nikita, 209 Mikrodin company, 177 Military, 108 Military enterprises, 152, 153 Military expenditures, 55 Military-industrial complex, 23, 55-62, 62, 266 Military industry, 55 Military officers, 100 Military production, 57 Millionaires, 171. See also Rich Miners' protests, 279, 280, 293 Minin (merchant), 321 Mining, 64

Ministry for Municipal Economies, 52 Ministry of Atomic Industry, 157 Ministry of Industry and Trade, 338 Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), 104, 105. See also MVD forces Ministry of the Gas Industry, 37 Minsk Hotel (Moscow), 93 Mironov, Boris, 241 Mixed economy, 3, 258 MMM (financial pyramid scheme), 29, 146, 174 Moldavia, 4 Mondialism, 263 Monopolies, 52 Morgan, J. P., 185 Morozova, Natalya, 249–250 Moscow, 63, 142, 243, 267-268. See also Civil war in Moscow Moscow, Autumn 1993: Chronology of a Confrontation (book on Moscow civil war), 104 Moscow Electrode Works, 151–152 Moscow International Bank, 337 Moscow People's Bank, 336 Moscow Real Estate company, 186 Moscow stock exchange, 296–298 Moskali, 133 Moskovsky Komsomolets (magazine), 318 Mosmedpreparatory (Moscow Medical Preparations), 193 Most favored nation status, 154 Mounted police, 114 Mukhametshin, Anis, 191 Municipal property, 91 Murmansk, 23 Muscovites, indifference to government crisis, 109, 111, 115 MVD forces, 111, 114, 120, 128-129 MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs), 104, 105 My Fatherland (political party), 210

Narodniks (nineteenth-century Russian populists), 249 Nash Dom Rossiya (NDR). See Our Home Is Russia National Democratic Vanguard Foundation, 67 National idea, 77-81, 275 National income, 23 National-Patriotic Assembly, 226 National Patriotic Assembly of Russia (NPSR), 248 National republics, 3 National Salvation Front (NSF): banning of, 32, 132; founding of, 31; political activism, 119; suspension of operations, 129; Zyuganov's help in founding, 234. See also Zyuganov, Gennady National savings bank. See Sberbank National values, 64-67 Nationalist organizations, 31, 133 Natural gas, 37, 158 Natural resources, 258-259 Nature, as obstacle to capitalist development, 63-64 N.B. (pen name of political scientist), 205-206 NDR (Nash Dom Rossiya). See Our Home Is Russia Near abroad, 159 Nemtsov, Boris: appointment as vice premier, 280; description of, 312; effect of economic collapse on, 311; leader of negotiations with protesting miners, 289; meeting with Japanese businessmen, 312–313; reduction in power of, 286; relationship with Kiriyenko, 289; responsibility for government decision-making, 317; return to government, 84 NEP (New Economic Policy), 3 Neshchadin, A., 194 New class. See New Russians

New Communists, 245 New constitution, 131 New Economic Policy (NEP), 3, 49 New election law, 130–131 New government, Yeltsin's, 289-294 New reform program, 224 New Russia and the West, 153-161 New Russian revolution, 82. See also Capitalist revolution New Russians, 169–200: business elite, 1994-96, 182-187; business people in Gorbachev era, 170-174; characteristics, 180, 181-182; connection with criminal world, 200; continuity with criminals of shadow economy, 170; criticisms of, 199; evaluations of, 179-180; importance of consumer goods productions to, 189-194; lifestyles, 187-189; of 1992-93, 174-182; size of personal fortunes, 183; small businesses, 194-198; summary, 198-200. See also Rich New union treaty, 232 Nezavisimaya Gazeta (newspaper), 183, 324 Nicholas I, Tsar, 244 Nicholas II, Tsar, 361 Nigeria, 163 NIIgrafit (Scientific Research Institute of Graphite), 151-152 Nikolaev, A., 322; 1996, 264-265; 19th century, 274; '93 - October - Moscow (book on Moscow civil war), 104 Ninth Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, 97-99 Nishanov, Rafik, 330 Nixon, Richard, 350 Nizhny Novgorod (city, pre-Soviet and post-Soviet name for Gorky), 289 Nomenklatura, 53, 182, 326

Nomenklatura capitalism, 77, 184 Nomenklatura privatization, 177 Non-Russian languages, 1 Non-Russian religions, 1 Non-Russians, 242 Norilsk Nickel, 152 Norilsk (Siberian city), 64 Northwest Steamship Line, 148 Nouveaux riches. See New Russians Novgorodtsev, Pavel, 80 Novo-Lipetsk Metallurgical Complex, 152 Novodvorskaya, Valeria, 134–135 Novorossiysk, 154 Novoye Vremya (magazine), 81 NPSR (National Patriotic Assembly of Russia), 248 NSF. See National Salvation Front Nutrition, 167 Obsolete businesses, 150 October revolution, 2, 5 October Square, 119 Officers for the Rebirth of the Fatherland, 31 Official patriotism, 242–245 Oil cities, 285 Oil companies, 149 Oil exports, 159 Oil industry, 186 Oil prices, 158 Oil production, 284–285 Older people, 268–269 Oligarchs. See Business elite Olive oil, 163 OMON (special militia) forces: actions during government crisis, 115–116; beatings of White House defenders, 127; clashes with crowds, 113–114; confrontation with marchers, 120; at Crimea Bridge, 119; defense of Ostankino television tower, 122-123; in Moscow, 105; retreat from White House, 120; return to White House, 124–125;

on side of Supreme Soviet, 117; in White House cordon, 112, 113, 114 On Cooperatives (law), 170-171 On Individual Labor Activity (law), 170 "On Step-by-Step Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation" (Decree No. 1400), 105-106, 107 One-worldism, 263 Onikov, Lev, 326 "Opium for the people," 166 Opposition, 268, 271 Opposition parties, 132-134, 269 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 282 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 361 Organized crime, 100, 170 Organizing Committee for the Reestablishment of the Russian Communist Party, 235 Orlov, Vladimir, 136–137 ORT (television channel), 319 Orthodox, as driving force behind capitalist revolution, 83 Orthodox church, 249–251 Oryol province, 228, 229 Oryol Teachers Institute, 229 Ostankino television tower, 120, T 2 2 Our Beloved President (newspaper), 313 Our Home Is Russia (Nash Dom Rossiya (NDR), political party): creation of, 206; effects of government crisis on, 288; evaluation of, 205-206; hopes for 1995 elections, 208; renewal congress, 290; results in 1995 elections, 209, 358; results in 1999 elections, 359. See also Chernomyrdin, Viktor Stepanovich, political actions

Outside ownership of privatized businesses, 177 Pamfilova, Ella, 137, 208 Panics, financial, 296–298 Panikin, Aleksandr, 75-76, 192, 193 Paninter (newspaper), 192 Paninter textile company, 192, 194 Parasitism, 180 Paris Club of creditor nations, 159 Parliament, 271. See also Congress of People's Deputies; State Duma Party of power, 315. See also Our Home Is Russia Party of Russian Unity and Concord (PRES), 132, 209 Party of Social Democracy, 207 Party of Workers Self-Management, 210 Patriotic parties, 31 Patriotism, 65 Pavlenko, Sergei, 280 Pavlov, Valentin: hope for Western aid, 73; mentioned, 232; privatization under, 145; response to failure of Gorbachev's reforms, 46; views on subsidized industries, 64 Pavlovsky, Gleb, 104 Payment in kind, 265 Pchelintsev, Oleg, 70 Peasant Party, 207 Peasants, 3 People's deputies, 35, 233, 234. See also Congress of People's Deputies People's power, 245–246 People's privatization, 89, 91 Perestroika, 172–173, 231–232 Perm Motors, 156 Permanent Presiding Committee (USSR Congress of People's Deputies), 31 Petrakov, Nikolai, 11, 57 Petrodollars, 284 Petty bourgeoisie, 170

Philip Morris Corporation, 149 Piyasheva, Larisa (L. Popkova), 66 Planned economies, 59 Plekhanov Institute of the National Economy, 33 Pluralism, 258 Pochinok, Aleksandr, 109 Poisonings, 166 Poland, 50, 75, 159 Police forces: beatings of White House defenders, 127; disappearance from central Moscow, 121; response to Yeltsin's dissolution of legislative branch, 109; return to White House, 124-125; on White House Cordon, 117; withdrawal from White House, 120-121. See also MVD forces Polish Social Democrats, 47 Politburo, 49, 330 Political conflict, spring 1993, 96-102 Political crises, 30. See also Government crisis "Political Declaration of the Left and Right Opposition" (opposition position statement), 31 Political economy, 51–52 Political leaders, 5, 80 Political life, 206 Political parties, 3, 31, 348. See also Agrarian Party; Bolshevik party; Civic Alliance; Communist Party of the Russian Federation; Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Liberal Democratic Party of Russia; Opposition parties; Our Home Is Russia; Party of Russian Unity and Concord; Pro-Yeltsin parties; United Industrial Party; Women of Russia Political system, under Gorbachev, 3 Political vanguard, 269 Politics, requirements for success in, 359

Polozkov, Ivan, 235 Poltoranin, Mikhail, 40, 118, 137, 208 Poor, 280 Popkova, L. (Larisa Piyasheva), 66 Popov, Gavriil, 78-79, 132, 210 Poptsov, Oleg, 9-10 Popular resistance to economic reforms, 67-70 Population, size after dissolution of the Soviet Union, 133 Post-industrial capitalism, 283 Post-Soviet elite, 182 Post-Soviet system, 169 Power abuses of, 137 Power ministers, 107, 108, 214 Power ministries, 40, 108, 136–137 Power transfers, 361–362 Pozharsky (military leader), 321 Practical liberalism, 178 Pratt and Whitney, 156 Pravda (Communist Party newspaper), 217, 253, 326-327 Predators, economic, 299 Predictions of Russia's future, 273-274 Presidency, 213–214, 214 Presidential bodyguard, 126 Presidential elections, 1996, 213–226; first round, 218; importance, 214; second round, 220-223; significance, 215; Western attitude toward, 226 Presidential elections, 2000, 295 Presidium (Presiding Committee) of the Supreme Soviet, 97, 106–107 Press representatives in White House, 113 Price increases, 19, 23, 39, 282 Price liberalization, 18, 19–22, 23, 174 Price monitoring, 18 Primakov, Yevgeny Maksimovich: Arab connections, 327; biographical sketch, 325-335; as chairman of Supreme Soviet, 330; as

compromise figure, 324–325; constancy of views, 333-334; discreditation of, 356; election as full member of Academy of Sciences, 328; evaluation of, 325; as foreign minister, 332; influence as foreign minister, 332-333; as influential politician, 359; intentions to run for president, 357; main reasons for ouster, 346-347; media evaluations of, 323-325; member of nomenklatura, 326; perceptions of dismissal of, 353; possible candidate for premiership, 320, 323; public confidence in, 347; reasons for dismissal of, 343-348; relationship with Gerashchenko, 336; relationship with Gorbachev, 329; report on defense technology, 154; return of, 354-355; role as parliamentary minority, 356; on staff of Pravda, 326-327; views on foreign and domestic policy, 334; work relationships, 331; Yavlinsky's support for, 320 Primakov government, 335 "Primakov move," 355 Primakova, Laura, 326 Private farming, 41–42 Private gardening, 270 Private property, 47-48 Private sector, support of, 61 Private trade, 49 Privatization, 86-96; Bendukidze's views on, 93; Chubais's views on, 88; disputes over means to achieve, 89; effects on managers' wealth, 176-177; effects on production performance, 150; end of program of, 217; as gifts to individuals, 150; goals for, 86-87, 94-95; income from, in 1996, 265; monetary phase of, 150; new stage of, 145-153; of obsolete businesses, 150; pace of, 94;

popular opinion of, 95-96; of profitable businesses, 148–149; receivers of property from, 177-178; return after 1996 elections, 225; supervision of, 87; voucher form of, 146. See also Economic reforms; Privatization accounts, 89-90 Privatization certificates, 90 Pro-Yeltsin parties, 132–134 Processing industries, 264 Production, 20, 52, 140, 141. See also Agricultural production; Consumer goods, production of; Industrial production; Military production; Vehicle production Production investments, 280 Productivity, 92 Professional party leaders. See Nomenklatura Profitable businesses, privatization of, 148–149 "A Program for Deepening the Reforms" (government program of activities), 27 Prokhanov, Aleksandr, 238, 248 Proletariat, 2 Property distribution, under privatization, 145 Property owners, 24–25, 178 Protest, 272-276 Protest actions, 67 Protestant Reformation, 66-67 Provinces, support for Supreme Soviet, 108 Prusak, Mikhail, 288 PS-90 (aircraft engine), 156 Pseudo privatization. See Privatization Public discontent, 269–270 Public opinion, 226, 271 Pugachova, Alla, 295 Pugo, Boris, 232 Putin, Vladimir, 351–355: alliance with Communists, 356; back-

ground, 351; candidate for

Putin, Vladimir (continued) Yeltsin's successor to presidency, 349; characteristics, 352-353; grant of amnesty for Yeltsin, 350; as influential politician, 359; ruthless prosecution of Chechnya war, 356 "Putin move," 355 Question of Russia. See Russian idea Racketeering, 23 Radayev, Mikhail, 185 Radical Communists, 212 Radical nationalist organizations, 133 Radical Nationalists, 248 Radical nationalists, 134, 259 Radical parties, 269 Radicalism, 103 Rakhimov (head of Bashkiria), 221 Rakitskaya, Galina, 144 Rallies, 99, 118 Rasputin, Valentin, 234 Rastorguyev, V., 211 Ratobank, 148 Raw materials, 154–155, 174, 283, 284 RD-120M (rocket engine), 156 Reagan, Ronald, 261 Real estate, 175, 189 Real incomes, 302 Red directors, 60-61 Reddaway, Peter, 96 Reds and Whites, 251–252 Referendums on support for Yeltsin, 99-100, 101 Reform Foundation, 336 Reform ideology, 77-81 Reform programs, Yeltsin's, 4-5. See also Economic reforms Reformers, 46, 48 Reforms, importance of popular views to, 66 Refugees, 162 Renegade deputies, 116, 117

Resources, lack of, 72-74 Retirees, politically active, 268-269 Revolution from above, capitalist, 5 Revolution (of August 1991), 4, 46, 232 Revolutionary violence, 257 Revolutions, 77, 81, 257. See also Anti-Communist revolution; February revolution; October revolution Rich, 183, 187–189 Riches, growth in, 171 Robber barons, 185 Rocard, Michel, 276 Rockefeller, John D., 185 Rogozin, Dmitry, 211 Rokhlin, Lev, 209, 322 Romanov, Pyotr, 234 Rosneft (oil company), 296 Rossiyskaya Gazeta (government newspaper), 77, 108, 111, 134 Rossiysky Obozrevatel (Russian Observer) magazine, 199 Rostropovich, Mstislav, 113 Rozhetskin, Leonid, 152 RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic), 17-18 Ruble: exchange rate, 281, 296–297, 303, 304; as tradable currency, 139 Ruhrgas, 37 Rumyantsev, Oleg, 127 Rural areas, 145–146 Rural banking system, 42 Rural population, 269 Russia: assumption of USSR's debts, 158; at beginning of twentieth century, 1; as debtor nation, 160-161; leaders of, during twentieth century, 361; problems of, in 1993, 103; Zyuganov's views on uniqueness of, 240-242; Russian Academy of Sciences, 43–45, 58. See also Institute of Systems Analysis; Sociology Institute

Russian All-People's Alliance, 31 Russian authorities, strategic errors, 28-29 Russian civil war, 251 Russian Communist movement, 227 Russian Communist Party, 31 Russian Communist Workers Party, 31, 129, 132 Russian Economics Academy, 195 Russian empire, 2 Russian Federation, 4, 10, 248–249 Russian idea, 246–249, 250 Russian language, 1 Russian men, life expectancy, 164 Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, 132 Russian nation, 246–249 Russian National Assembly (Russky Naordny Sobor), 31, 234 Russian National Unity (ultranationalist organization), 112, 129 Russian Orthodox Church, 1, 249-251 Russian party, 83 Russian Party of National Revival, 3 I Russian people, 64–65, 247, 248 Russian Presidency, 40 Russian press, 184 Russian Privatization Center, 152-153 Russian Socialist Party, 189 Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), 17–18 Russia's Choice Party, 132, 205, 207 Russkove Lotto, 176 Rutskoi, Aleksandr: activities as vice president, 100; assumption of presidential powers, 107; campaign against, 100; evaluation of, 128; meeting with author, 100; military support for, 108; orders for seizure of mayoralty building, 122; press conference during government crisis, 118–119; refusal

to endorse decree of special administrative rule, 97; relationship with Yeltsin, 30, 31, 97, 101-102; response to agricultural policies, 31; response to police withdrawal, 121; speeches to defenders of parliament, 113; surrender to Alpha unit, 127 Rvabov, Andrei, 82 Ryabov, Nikolai, 109 Ryazan paratroop division, 124 Ryazantsev, Valery, 181 Rybkin, Ivan, 205, 207, 209–210 Rybkin Bloc, 207 Ryzhkov, Nikolai: authorization of formation of cooperatives, 171; criticisms of, 158; mentioned, 14; privatization under, 145; views on participation in new cabinet, 288 Sachs, Jeffrey, 15, 84 Sadko-Arkada, 146 Sadovoye Koltso (Garden Ring), 114-115 Salt, 20 Samogon (homemade vodka), 165 Sashviashvili, Ivan, 127 Savings, 28-29. See also Sberbank Savings bank accounts, 28 Savings bank depositors, 28–30 Savings banks, 29 Sberbank (national savings bank), 29, 305, 307 Science and education, investment in, 300 Science cities, 144 Scientific intelligentsia, 270 Second Chechnya war, 356–357

Secret military plants, 56, 62 Secret towns, 23, 62, 143 Secret world conspiracy, 260–263

Security Council, 214, 330, 351 Segodnya (newspaper), 318, 319

Seleznyov, Gennady, 213, 295

Semyonov, Viktor, 288

Seneca (philosopher), 333 Separation of church and state, 1 Serov, Andrei, 300 Service industry, 91, 139 Seventh Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR, 32, 34, 35, 38 Shadow economy, 170, 265, 295 Shakhrai, Sergei, 40, 132, 209 Shakkum (presidential candidate), 220 Shatalin, Stanislav, 57, 73 Shepilov, Gennady, 81 Shield Union of Military Personnel, 129 Shilov, Boris, 153 Shock therapy: disadvantages of, 53; effects on Yeltsin's reelection, 218; evaluation of, 43-45; as part of economic reforms program, 18; popular reaction against, 133; results of, 24. See also Economic reforms Shokhin, Aleksandr, 15, 40, 150 Short-term government bonds: description, 305-306; foreign financial institutions holdings of, 337; foreigners' purchase of, 307; interest rates, 306; origin of system of, 306; pyramid scheme, 305-308; risk factors, 310; selloff of, 303 Shortages, elimination of, 139 Shostakovsky, Vyacheslav, 79 Show business, 172 Shumeiko, Vladimir: criticism of, 40; ideology, 79; influence on privatization process, 149; intention to remain in government, 38; position in Yeltsin's government, 27; resignation from government, 137; votes for, as chairman of Council of Ministries, 35 Shuttle trade, 171, 197 Siestas, 163 Sikorsky, 146

Silaev, Ivan, 11, 157 Sink or swim principle, 195, 197 Six Day War, 327 Sixth Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR, 32-33 Skilled workers, 56 Skokov, Yuri, 11, 35, 97, 211 Skoptsov, Leonid to, 38 Slavic unity, 252 Slavophiles, 69 Slogans, 268 Small- and medium-sized businesses, 194-198: Communist parties' support for, 196; importance, 197; persecution of, 1930s to 1970s, 196–197; support from government, 194; treatment of in Soviet Union, 52 Small businessmen, 173 Small workshops, 170 Smolensk Square, 119 Snipers, 125–126 Sobchak, Anatoly, 87, 132, 221, 352 Sobor. See Russian National Assembly Social activists, 80 Social democratic ideas, 257-258 Social democratic parties, 225 Social development, 51 Social disturbances, 166 Social equality, 61 Social justice, 65, 173 Social programs, 23 Social protests. See War on the rails Social safety valves, 269-270, 271 Social spending, 217 Social systems, 51 Social tensions, 167 Socialism: description of, 3; discreditation of concept of, 245; as feature of Zyuganov's ideology, 256-257; importance of moral ideas of, 275; sustainable development as an argument for, 258-259

Socialist ideas, 250 Socialist movement, 274 Socialist Party of Working People (SPT): first congress, 233; mentioned, 225; as part of KRO bloc, 211; participation in new elections, 132; as party of the left, 31; possible collaborations, 100; Rybkin as co-chair of, 205 Socialist planned economy, 52 Socialist societies, 48-49 Social justice, 65, 173 Social programs, 23 Social protests. See War on the rails Social safety valves, 269-270, 271 Social spending, 217 Social systems, 51 Social tensions, 167 Society, criminalization of, 200 Socioeconomic formations, 50–51 Socioeconomic systems, 3 Sociology Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 182, 187-188 Sogrin, Vladimir, 79 Sokolov, Veniamin, 115 Solidarnosc, 280 Solovyov, Vladimir, 10, 246 Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 241 Somalia, 162 Sorokin, Konstantin, 300–301 Soskovets, Oleg: in Chernomyrdin's cabinet, 39; dismissal of, 221; as presidential representative, 116, 117; responsibility for government decision-making, 317 Southern Ossetia, 4 Sovet Narodno-Patrioticheskikh Sil, SNPS (Council of People's Patriotic Forces), 233 Soviet, meaning of term, 187 Soviet Academy of Sciences, 325 Soviet Bank of Foreign Trade, 336 Soviet Communist Party, 4, 196 Soviet government, 9 Soviet society, 260-261

Soviet Square, 113 Soviet Union. See Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Space program, 56 Spain, 163 Special administrative rule, 96 Speculation-oriented capitalism, 82 Speech, relative freedom of, 271 Spirit of capitalism, 67 Spirit of enterprise, 64-67 SPT. See Socialist Party of Working People St. Petersburg, 221 Stalin, Joseph: appeal for unity during Great Patriotic War, 252; collectivization, 145; increasing adulation of, 226; influence on Communist Party, 2; mentioned, 361; Zyuganov's views on, 255 Stalinism, 254-256 Stankevich, Sergei, 79 Stanova, Yelena, 300 Starovoitova, Galina, 32, 73, 79 State, central role in economic reforms, 61 State Bank of the USSR, 336 State Committee for the Management of State Property, 87, 147, 150, 151 State Committee for the State of Emergency, 232–233. See also Coup attempt (August 1991) State Committee on the State of Emergency, 32 State Duma: Committee on Property and Privatization, 152; December 1999 election results, 356; election results, 132; elections to, 130–135; impeachment preparations, 346; proposal for elections for, 106; responsibilities, 320; voting on Chernomyrdin's candidacy for premiership, 318, 319; Zyuganov's views on, 236 State Duma, elections, December 1993, 130-135, 203

State Duma, elections, December 1995, 203-213: Agrarian Party in, 212; Communist Party of the Russian Federation in, 212–213; Congress of Russian Communities in, 210–212; description, 204–207; Gaidar's failure, 207-208; Radical Communists in, 212; results, 213, 358; Rybkin's block, defeat of, 209-210; Yavlinsky's showing, 208-209 State Duma, elections, December 1999, 355, 358-359 State feudalism, 3 State property, 147, 148 State Property Committee. See State Committee for the Management of State Property State socialism, 48 State Statistical Committee, 141 Stavropol territory, 30 Stepankov, Valentin, 97, 107 Stepashin, Sergei Vadimovich: appointment as premier, 344; comparison with Primakov, 347; dismissal of, 349-350; return to government, 294; self-characterization, 352 Sterligov, Aleksandr, 234 Stock exchanges, 172, 284, 296-298 Stock market, as gambling, 299 Stojanovic Svetozar, 83 Stolen goods, 189 Stolypin, Pyotr, 65 Strategy Foundation, 26 Street peddlers, 41 Strelyany, Anatoly, 95 Stroyev, Yegor, 221 Structural Changes in the Soviet Economy (Yaremenko), 57 Structural reforms, 48 Strugatsky, Arkady, 13 Struve, Peter, 80 Subsidies, 63-64

Sudan, 162 Suharto regime, 294 Suicide rates, 167 Sukhoy (military planning and design office), 153 Super-nomenklaturas of New York and Moscow, 83 Supreme Soviet: adoption of Presidium's resolutions, 107; condemnation of Yeltsin, 97; demands during negotiations with Yeltsin, 117; possible elimination of, 33; Rutskoi's crime report to, 100; suppression of, 4; Yeltsin's battle with, 101–102 Sustainable development, 258-259 Sverdlov Works (Perm Motors), 156 Sverdlovsk mafia, 10, 88–89 Svyato-Danilovsky (St. Daniel's Monastery), 116, 118, 119 Svyazinvest Corporation, 313 Sweden, 163 Switzerland, 163 Synthetic fiber, 143 Systems of values, 64 Sysuyev, Oleg, 280, 286, 289, 311

II

Table of Ranks, 13 Tajikistan, 4 Tanzania, 164 Tarasov, Artyom, 176 Tatarstan, 241 Tax policies, 298 Tax rates, 43, 199, 265 Taxes, entrepreneurs' payments of, 43 Taxi service, 91 Taylor, Lance, 54–55 Tbilisi, 326 Technical intelligentsia, 270 Telephone systems, 152 Television, 134, 271 Television news, 123 Television system, 108 Television viewers, 317

Tenth (Extraordinary) Congress of People's Deputies, 107 Terrorism, 274 Theft, as source of wealth, 189 Third Estate, 83 Third Republic, 203 Third way, chosen by Russian National Assembly, 234 Thirteenth five-year plan, end of, 138-145 Tibet (financial pyramid scheme), 29 Timber exports, 175 Tinbergen, Jan, 275 Titov, Konstantin, 288 TNCs (Transnational corporations), 76-77 Tobacco factories, 149 Tobacco products, 166 Togliatti (city in Samara province), 60-61 Toiling Russia (Trudovaya Rossiya, political party): activists at Smolensk Square, 119; May Day demonstration, 101; organization of rally at October Square, 119; as party of the left, 31; results in 1995 elections, 212; suspension of operations, 129 Tokobank, 291 Torture, 127 Totalitarian systems, 3, 335 Tourism, 172 Trade, 21, 189. See also Commercial trade; Foreign trade Trade barriers, 75 Trade unions, 109, 210 Trade Unions for the Elections (political group), 210 Traditions, 65 "The Transition of an Economy from Socialism to Capitalism" (Academy of Finance), 75 Transnational corporations (TNCs), 76-77 Transportation system, 141 Travel, freedom of, 270-271

Travkin, Nikolai, 33 Tretyakov, Vitaly, 102, 281 Trudovaya Rossiya (political party). See Toiling Russia Tsar, importance, 1 Tsepura, Pavel, 293 Tsipko, Aleksandr, 78 Tuberculosis, 167 Tuleyev, Aman, 33, 221 Tumanov, Vadim, 173–174 Turkmenia, 4 Twentieth Century and the World (magazine), 104 Twenty-Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 79 Twenty-Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 329 27th Motorized Infantry Division, 124 Two parties conception of Communist Party, 252-254 2000 presidential elections, 295 Tyumen province, 23 Ukraine: death rates, 166; delivery of energy sources to, 159; dependence on Russian oil, 285; international recognition of, 4; men's death rate, 162

Ulyukaev, Aleksei, 47, 68, 84–85, 178

Uncontrolled population growth, 275

Unemployment, 264, 280

Unified Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of, 109–110 Union Council, 329

Union of Communists, 31

Union of Officers, 31, 129

- Union of Right Forces, 359
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR): creation of, 2; destruction of, 261; disintegration of, 4; dissolution, 233; effects of arms

race on, 58; as logical continuation of Russian empire, 242; ruling circles of, comparison with democratic nomenklatura, 146-147; Russia's assumption of debts of, 158. See also Russia; Russian Federation United Front of Toilers, 129 United Industrial Party, 210 United States, 58, 68, 165, 167 United States citizens, 152 United States Congress, 154 United Technologies, 156 Unity bloc, 356, 358–359. See also Putin, Vladimir University students, 268 The Unknown Andropov (Medvedev), 352 Uralmash (Urals Machinery Manufacturing Plant), 93, 146, 177 Urals Machinery Manufacturing Plant (Uralmash), 93, 146, 177 Urban construction projects, 142 Urban housing, 145 Urban real estate, 147 Urban residents, 269 "Urgent Appeal to the Future Communist President" (Morozova), 249–250 USSR. See Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Utkin, Anatoly, 199 Uvarov, Sergei S., 244 Uzbekistan, 4 Values, differences between Russian and Western, 67 Values, systems of, 64 Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 185 Vartazarova, Lyudmila, 109 Vehicle production, 143 Video markets, 172 Videos, 271

Vityaz brigade, 122–123 Vlastelina (financial pyramid scheme), 29 Vnukovo Airlines, 148 Vodka, 165, 166, 167–168, 270. *See also* Alcohol Volsky, Arkady, 132 Vorkuta (mining city), 64, 143 Voronin, Yuri, 97, 117 Voucher funds, 92 Voucher privatization, 90, 94, 146. *See also* Privatization Vyakhirev, Rem, 183 Vyugin, Oleg, 299

Wages: delayed payment of, 265, 282; in-kind, 21; 1992 increase in, 20; uses of money for, 175 War on the rails, 279-301; Chubais's bluff, 280-282; economic results, first quarter of 1998, 282-285; effects of 1998 government crisis, 288-294; fall of Chernomyrdin, 285–288; growing threat of chaos, 294–296; lull in, 298–301; stock exchange panic, 296-298 Wars. See Chechnya; Great Patriotic War Washington Post, 296 Weapons systems, 56. See also Arms market Weber, Max, 66-67 West: interest in Soviet defense technology, 154; new Russia and, 153-161; reasons for privatization in, 86; response to alcoholism, 165; as Russia's enemy, 259-260; support for Yeltsin, 109 Western analysts, 39 Western businesses, 149, 154, 155-156 Western capitalism, 74 Western consumers, 283 Western democracy, 260

VIL, 148

Vietnamese, 174

Westerners, 247 Western Europe, 195 Western investors, 294, 295 Westernism, 67–69 Westernizer ideology, 69 Westernizers, 69 Western press, 184–185, 345 White House (Russian): blockade of, 113–114, 114, 120; bombardment of, 123–125; cordon around, 111, 112, 115; rationing of food and water, 119. See also Congress of People's Deputies Government crisis; Supreme Soviet Whites and Reds, 251-252 WHO (World Health Organization), 161, 162, 167 Wholesale prices, 23 Wine, 163 Wirtschaftswoche (news weekly), 185 Women, 161, 162, 163 Women of Russia (political party), 132, 209 "A Word to the People" (Zyuganov), 231–232 Working capital, 21, 29 World arms market, 157 World Bank, 61, 282 World Health Organization (WHO), 161, 162, 167 World market, discrimination against Russia, 140

Yabloko (electoral bloc): as opposition party, 132; program of, 219; results in 1995 elections, 208, 358; results in 1999 elections, 359. See also Yavlinsky, Grigory Yakovlev, Aleksandr, 229, 231 Yakutia, 23 Yanaev, Gennady, 232 Yaremenko, Yuri, 57, 58, 59–60 Yarov, Yuri, 39 Yasin, Yevgeny, 48, 311 Yastrzhembsky, Sergei, 294, 314, 323

Yavlinsky, Grigory: candidate for president, 357; conditions for alliance with Yeltsin, 221; as head of Yabloko, 132; nominator of Primakov, 320; plan for radical market reforms, 73; potential coalition with Zyuganov, 221; relationship with Gaidar, 208; results in first round of presidential elections, 218, 219; role as parliamentary minority, 356; showing during 1995 elections, 208; speech supporting Primakov, 323; views on Chernomyrdin, 318; Yeltsin's rejection of, 11

Yefimov, Igor, 71–72

Yeltsin, Boris: benefits of insurgency to, 122; criticism of, 33, 294; criticism of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 79; discussion of Moscow civil war in memoirs, 104; economic advisers, 57; effects of 1998 government crisis on, 292–293; election of, 361; emergency powers, 18-19; end of era of, 313-315; health, 98-99, 204, 280, 360-361; ignorance of Russia's situation, 10, 314; influence on Chernomyrdin government, 40; interviews during government crisis, 112; lack of clear ideology, 238; lack of concern over new economic problems, 285-286; lack of support, 96, 204; Medvedev's criticisms of, 102-103; objectives, 224; opposition to, 325; opposition to policies of, 31; perception of, as source of instability, 293; personal qualities, 16-17; political positions held, 13, 17; popular support for, 80, 347; power after failed coup attempt, 9; powers as

Yeltsin, Boris *(continued)* president, 347; pressure on, concerning proposed premier, 323; privatization under, 4; at Rostropovich concert, 113; support for, 32, 135; as symbolic figure, 218; use of language of social democracy, 69; use of term capitalism, 47. *See also* Our Home Is Russia

- Yeltsin, Boris, in 1996 presidential elections: actions to secure presidency, 221; approval ratings, 215; campaign for reelection, 216–217, 225; coalition with Lebed, 221; health, after June 23, 1996, 223; meetings with opposition candidates, 220; new social orientation, 217; pre-election survey on, 215–216; problems during presidency of, 215
- Yeltsin, Boris, political actions: annulment of constitution, 204; appeals to the people for support, 232; appointments, 137, 351; approval of Kiriyenko's decisions, 312; assumption of control by, 9-10; attempts to bribe deputies, 112-113; banning of National Salvation Front, 32; battle with Supreme Soviet and Congress of People's Deputies, 101–102, 105; calls for defense of government, 123; calls for economic assistance, 301; changes to government personnel, 25; consideration of candidates for prime minister, 11; decision to retire Kiriyenko government, 310; declaration of state of emergency, 123; decree of special administrative rule, 96-97; decree on privatization, 89; decrees on alcohol, 166; differing guises, 224-225; dismissal of Primakov, 343; dispersal of Congress of People's Deputies,

84; economic changes carried out by, 4; encouragement of Russian industry, 76; forcing of cabinet's resignation, 287-288; inability to function, 315; lack of activity, August-September 1998, 314-315; as leader of 1991 revolution, 5; meeting with business elite, 299; meeting with Gaidar, 15–16; meeting with Patriarch Aleksiy II, 116; miscalculation about support at Seventh Congress of People's Deputies, 34-35; at Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, 98; plans for abolishing Russian parliament, 104–105; promises about devaluation, 304; "Putin move," 355; reasons for hasty elections, 131–132; reform program, 4–5; renomination of Chernomyrdin, 315-316; resignation, 360; response to referendum, 101; against Rutskoi, 100, 101–102; search for national idea, 77; signing of privatization decree, 87; term as president of Russian Federation, 203–204; timing of dismissal of Primakov, 347; violation of laws and constitution, 130; voluntary resignation, 362; vote to impeach, 99; withdrawal from premiership, 27. See also Gaidar, Yegor

- Yeltsin, Boris, relationships: with Burbulis, 12–13, 26, 27; with business elite, 293; with Chernomyrdin, 37–38, 292, 316; with Lopukhin, 37; with parliament, 347; with people's deputies, 32–33; with Primakov, 345; with Prosecutor General's Office, 347; with Rutskoi, 30, 31
- Yeltsin, Boris, views: on economic reform, 19; on Gaidar, 16; on market reform, 20

Yeltsin era, end of, 313–315, 360 Yeltsin-Gaidar regime, 62, 155

Yeltsin government: additions to,

- 27; analysis of, 224–225; bureaucracy as main support of, 135; creation of new political party, 205; defeat of supporters in 1993 elections, 204–205; effects of economic policies, 161; effects on factories, 63; forced cabinet resignations, 287–288; lack of motivation for solving economic crisis, 266; main social support of, 84; naivety about economic reforms, 61; protection of Chubais, 147; reshuffling of team, 11
- Yeltsin government, reasons for success: absence of inspiring ideas and slogans, 268; absence of political vanguard, 269; democratic elections, 271; freedom of emigration, 270–271; freedom of speech, 271; freedom of travel, 270-271; marginalization of protest, 272-276; politically active retirees and politically passive youth, 268–269; role of opposition in parliament, 271; role of television, 271; rural population as primary support of the opposition, 269; social safety valves for public discontent, 269-270; unevenness of economic development and depression, 267-268 Yeltsin-Lebed alliance, 221, 222
- Yeltsin reformers, 47
- Yeltsin team, 294
- Yepifanov, Aleksandr, 177
- Yerin, Viktor, 97, 104, 113, 121
- Yevtushenko, Yevgeny, 133
- Young Communist League (Komsomol), 171–172, 289 Youth, politically passive, 268–269 Yugoslavia, 353

Yukos oil company, 149, 186 Yumashev, Valentin, 294 Yuzhanov, Ilya, 288

- Zaslavsky, Ilya, 79
- Zatulin, Konstantin, 175, 211
- Zaviryukha, Aleksandr, mentioned,
- Zavtra (newspaper), 234-235
- Zhirinovsky, Vladimir: candidate for president, 357; effect of Yeltsin or Zyuganov alliance with, 221; election results, 210, 219–220; liberalism, 78; reasons for large vote for, 133, 134; supporters' votes for Yeltsin, 223; views on Russia, 241. See also Liberal Democratic Party of Russia
- Zhvanetsky, M., 66
- ZIL auto plant, 93, 177
- Zorkin, Valery, 18, 97, 98, 114
- Zubov, V., 295
- Zyuganov, Gennady: approval ratings, comparison with Yeltsin's, 215, 216; background, 228–229; campaign for presidency, 218, 357; description of work for Central Committee, 230; election results, 212, 218, 219; endorsement of Zubov, 295; as head of CPRF, 132; party career, 229; personal qualities, 237-238; place in public opinion polls, 354; popular support for, 321; pre-election survey on, 215–216; proposal for political coalition, 221; references to Stalin, 219, 226; response to 1996 presidential election, 214; self-evaluation, 237; Sovetskaya Rossiya's evaluation of, 222–223; as symbolic figure, 219; travels, 229-230; views on judging the past, 254; views on reform mechanisms, 230; views on Yeltsin, 218

Zyuganov, Gennady, as politician and ideologist, 227-263; actions during civil war in Moscow, 235; activities, 233, 234; appearance on television during civil war in Moscow, 235–236; assistance in founding National Salvation Front, 234; author's impressions of, 228; campaign as presidential candidate, 236-237; conception of Russia's path to socialism, 230; letter to Yakovley, 231; means of earning a living, 233; member of editorial board of Den, 234–235; nomination as presidential candidate, 236; participation on Organizing Committee for the Reestablishment of the Russian Communist Party, 235; perception of, as influential, 227; personal characteristics, 228; political positions held, 230, 233, 234, 235; public protest against perestroika, 231–232; travels, 236; work in the Duma, 236

Zyuganov, Gennady, general features of ideology, 238-263; attitude toward Stalinism, 254–256; consistency, 238; inherent contradictions, 239-240; official patriotism, 242–245; oneness of Reds and Whites, 251-252; people's power, 245-246; renunciation of revolutionary violence, 257; response to criticisms of, 239; Russia as exceptional and unique, 240–242; Russian idea and the Russian nation. 246-249; secret world conspiracy, 260–263; Slavic unity, 252; social democratic ideas, 257-258; socialism, 256-257; sources, 238–239; special role of Orthodox church, 249–251; sustainable development, 258–259; two parties inside Soviet Communist party, 252–254; West as Russia's enemy, 259-260 Zyuganov family, 228

394