

1. Relationship in the Institutional Framework at the Federal and Regional Levels

a. Laws Affecting the CPRF (Communist Party of the Russian Federation)

- What legislative constraints or frameworks directly impact the CPRF's functioning and strategy?

b. Regional Level: Activity, Relations, and Advocacy for Its Program

- To what extent can the CPRF influence regional politics, and how effective is it in promoting its agenda locally?

c. Power-Technology Dynamics

- Efforts to undermine, replace, or integrate the CPRF into a façade regime.
- Internal divisions:
 - The party does not act uniformly.
 - Three main factions:
 1. Conservative and dominant at the top, externally visible.
 2. Social-democratic faction prevalent within the party base.
 3. Nationalist faction, active but less dominant.

2. Defining the Research Problem and Key Question

a. Establishing CPRF's Unique Role within the Regime

- The CPRF occupies a specific position that provides both opportunities and limitations for political action.

b. Transformation of Putin's Regime

- Putin's regime has evolved, particularly in foreign policy and its attitude toward the Soviet past, aligning in some aspects with the CPRF's agenda.
 - *Legitimization of CPRF Discourse:*
 - Unlike in the 1990s, Putin has legitimized certain radical elements of CPRF discourse without fully endorsing or implementing them. Instead, these ideas were used as a source of inspiration (*Kurilla*).
 - *Factional Struggles within the CPRF:*
 - These struggles involve not only ideological conflicts but also differing approaches to dealing with Putin.
 - The CPRF must maintain a balance:
 - Avoid falling outside the institutional framework or becoming marginalized.
 - Retain voters to remain perceived as an opposition party.

3. Hypothesis

a. Passive Activity

- Differences between federal and regional levels:
 - Federal inactivity masked by strong rhetoric.
 - Regional activism shows more tangible efforts.

c. Regime Transformation and CPRF's Role

- Putin's regime has shifted in ways that align more closely with CPRF's ideals compared to Yeltsin's era.
 - *Putin's Inclusivity Strategy (Hauser):*
 - Putin's goal was not to exclude segments of society but to encompass as much as possible.
 - The differences between „régime discourse“ and „discourse supporting the régime“ (Robinson)

Indicators of CPRF's Position

- Electoral results.
- Party membership base.

4. Conclusion

a. Putin's Regime Lacks Ideology

- It draws upon communist sentiments and conspiratorial narratives.
- Suggestion: Instead of defining Putinism through a canon of authors and ideas, it should be understood as the result of political struggle – a chameleon-like regime.

b. Defining the CPRF

- The CPRF is a conservative and minimally transformed party.
- Despite being in opposition throughout the post-Soviet period and not achieving power, it has had an unexpected influence on Russian politics at the regime level.