



The New York Times

INTERNATIONAL EDITION | WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28, 2018

Russia bows to the Putin generation

Ivan Krastev
Contributing Writer

OPINION

The presidential election in Russia a week ago resulted in an impressive, if unsurprising, victory for Vladimir Putin. He was elected to a fourth term with a wide margin and high turnout in a vote that appeared to be the cleanest in Russia's recent history (at least when it comes to what happened on Election Day itself).

But this election was about more than just reinstalling Mr. Putin in the Kremlin. It signaled the beginning of post-Putin Russia. Because while the president has gained popular support for policies like annexing Crimea and confronting the West, the legitimacy of his next term will be determined by his success in reassuring ordinary Russians that his regime will endure even when he is no longer in the Kremlin.

The president is installing a cohort of young technocrats to assure that his regime will endure without him.

dignity and the restorer of its status as a great power. And contrary to Western fantasies, Russians under the age of 25 are among his strongest supporters.

They not only vote for him, many of them want to be like him. Seventy-six percent of people between 18 and 30 perceive working in the security services as "very prestigious," compared to 59 percent of those older than 60. As the analysts Andrei Kolesnikov and Denis Volkov observed, within the Russian public, "there is no debate about Putin."

"Almost no one questions his legitimacy as president," they wrote in a recent report for the Carnegie Moscow Center. "He is a constant, the portrait on the wall that can no longer be taken down."

The question is what will happen to those whose portraits are not on the wall. In late 2011, the magazine Russian Reporter published a study of Russia's elite that revealed that the most important predictor of membership in the elite circle (the top 300 government positions) was to have known Mr. Putin before he became president.

In short, a circle of friends has gone. **KRASTEV, PAGE 11**

The New York Times publishes opinion from a wide range of perspectives in hopes of promoting constructive debate about consequential questions.



A prototype of the OPod in Hong Kong. Designed by the architect James Law, the OPod would create a living space of about 100 square feet out of concrete drainpipe.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAM YIK FEI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

At home in a drainpipe

HONG KONG

Quirky ideas for solving Hong Kong's housing crisis and space squeeze

BY AUSTIN RAMZY

For eight years in a row, an international survey of nearly 300 cities has named Hong Kong the world's least affordable housing market.

It is not hard to see why. Located on a group of hilly islands and a corner of the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong has always been short of places to build. The government's reliance on land sales for revenue creates an incentive to keep prices high. Money pouring in from mainland Chinese investors pushes them even higher.

The extremes can be staggering. A single parking spot sold for \$664,000 last year. Apartments only slightly bigger, and in much less desirable parts of town, go for more than \$380,000. Living spaces have shrunk so much that a new term has emerged, "nano flat," for an apartment measuring around 200 square feet or less.

Many Hong Kongers have been



Preparing a party at Bibliotheque, a half-century-old Hong Kong building turned into sickly designed dormitory-like living spaces with shared kitchens and bathrooms.

priced out of the housing market, including young people forced to live with their parents. Their discontent is said to have contributed to recent street protests like the 2014 Umbrella Movement.

A government task force is considering a wide range of options for making

better use of available land. Architects and developers have also put forward some novel proposals, ranging from the quirky to the audacious. While some of the ideas may be repackaged versions of the cramped spaces the city has long known, others could reshape the future

of housing in Hong Kong. Here are some of the ideas:

STACKING TINY SPACES

The architect James Law was at a construction site in town when he noticed some concrete pipes left over from an infrastructure project. They were large enough to walk in, cool in the summer and surprisingly nicely finished.

"I had a eureka moment," he said. So he spent about a month designing and building the OPod, two sections of concrete drainpipe joined to create a living space of about 100 square feet. It includes a couch and foldout bed, a desk, shelving, a tiny kitchenette, a hanging closet and a shower.

The pods can be stacked up to five high, or placed in small, unused spaces between buildings and under bridges. A prototype is on display in a waterfront park, but there are no plans yet for commercial production.

"It is not a complete solution to what is a very complex problem," Mr. Law said. "But it is a fun, design-oriented way to stimulate debate and even, on a small scale, create model projects."

RETURN OF THE TENEMENTS

One idea is already a reality in a pair of 50-year-old buildings with distinctive Hong Kong, **PAGE 4**

Global order is assailed by powers that built it

NEWS ANALYSIS
LONDON

National interests capture primacy after decades of promoting cooperation

BY PETER S. GOODMAN

History was not supposed to turn out this way.

In the aftermath of World War II, the victorious Western countries forged institutions — NATO, the European Union, and the World Trade Organization — that aimed to keep the peace through collective military might and shared prosperity. They promoted democratic ideals and international trade while investing in the notion that coalitions were the antidote to destructive nationalism.

But now the model that has dominated geopolitical affairs for more than 70 years appears increasingly fragile. Its tenets are being challenged by a surge of nationalism and its institutions are under assault from some of the very powers that constructed them — not least, the United States under President Trump.

In place of shared approaches to societal problems — whether trade disputes, security or climate change — national interests have become primary. The language of multilateral cooperation has been drowned out by angry appeals to tribal solidarity, tendencies that are heightened by economic anxieties.

"What we've seen is a kind of backlash to liberal democracy," said Amandine Crespy, a political scientist at Free University Brussels (ULB) in Belgium. "Masses of people feel they have not been properly represented in liberal democracy."

Even as nationalists take aim at globalists, the eventual shape of international relations remains an open question. In a sign that investors are optimistic that talks can yet avert a trade war between the United States and China, financial markets soared on Monday and rose on Tuesday in Asia and in the early going in Europe. And the United States, Canada and other European nations expelled Russian diplomats in solidarity with Britain over the poisoning of a Russian defector in London, enhancing hopes that old alliances will endure.

Still, public anger at traditional centers of power remains fierce in many lands, with Mr. Trump's election the most potent manifestation. He has **NATIONALISM, PAGE 8**

A NEW COLD WAR WITH RUSSIA?

Moscow may not be spreading revolution, but it is interested in disrupting the American-dominated order. **PAGE 6**

HOW THE E.U. AGREED TO PUNISH PUTIN

European leaders agreed with Britain that Russia had gone too far when it poisoned a former spy. **PAGE 6**

Reveling in her 'Constant Craving'



RYAN PFLUGGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

K. D. Lang, who is on a concert tour of the United States, said: "I'm really giving in to the fact that I am who I am. I'm too young to be a legend and too old to be pertinent."

PORTLAND, ORE.

K. D. Lang is long past her annoyance with the song that made her a star

BY PENELOPE GREEN

There's a touch of silver now in K. D. Lang's punk pompadour, which she still clips herself with whatever is at hand: grape shears, cuticle scissors, a paring knife. And she still performs barefoot, a habit acquired because she was tired of the plastic Payless boots she used to favor in deference to her vegan beliefs. But Ms. Lang, 56, has put aside the stirring androgynous character she inhabited 25 years ago, when she transformed herself from the curiously campy Canadian cowgirl with the languid vibrato into the torch singer behind the post-apocalyptic cabaret album, as she once described it, called "Ingénue."

The record, which went platinum,

made Ms. Lang a superstar, and its closing song, the erotic pop lamentation "Constant Craving," earned her a third Grammy. (She won a fourth in 2004 for "What a Wonderful World," recorded with Tony Bennett for an album of American standards).

It would also become Ms. Lang's "Free Bird": the song she would seemingly have to play at the close of every show for the rest of her life, extending her microphone toward her audience, as that ritual dictates, so they could render its refrain back to her, ecstatically off key. Not that she wasn't happy to do so. "That's what people want," she said, though when she wrote the song, she was annoyed by it. "I knew it was a hit, and I was mad at it for that. I felt that it was a sellout at the time."

Now, she's reveling in it. Ms. Lang's label, Nonesuch Records, has issued a remastered version of "Ingénue" with bonus tracks taken from her 1993 "MTV Unplugged" appearance. She has been playing all its songs straight through during concerts in 19 cities in the United States. **K. D. LANG, PAGE 2**



JAEGER-LECOULTRE POLARIS MEMOVOX
THE REBIRTH OF AN ICON

www.jaeger-lecoultre.com



NEWSSTAND PRICES

Andorra € 3.70
Austria € 4.00
Australia € 3.50
Belgium € 3.50
Bos. & Herz. KM 5.50
Canada CFA 2700
Cape Verde € 3.50
Croatia KN 22.00
Cuba CFA 2700
Czech Rep. CZK 110
Denmark Dkr 30
Egypt EGP 28.00
Estonia € 3.50
Finland € 3.50
France € 3.50
Gabon CFA 2700
Germany € 3.50
Greece € 2.20
Great Britain € 2.20
Hungary HUF 950
Israel / East NIS 11.50
Italy € 3.40
Ivory Coast CFA 2700
Jordan JD 2.00
Kazakhstan US\$ 3.50
Latvia € 2.90
Lebanon LBP 5,000
Luxembourg € 3.50
Malta € 3.40
Montenegro € 3.40
Morocco MAD 30
Netherlands € 3.50
Norway Nkr 30
Oman OMR 1.40
Poland ZL 15
Portugal € 3.50
Qatar QR 12.00
Republic of Ireland € 3.40
Romania € 3.50
Saudi Arabia SR 15.00
Senegal CFA 2700
Serbia Din 280
Slovakia € 3.50
Slovenia € 3.40
Spain € 3.50
Sweden Skr 35
Switzerland CHF 4.80
Syria US\$ 3.00
Tunisia Din 5.200
Turkey TL 11
U.A.E. AED 14.00
United States \$ 4.00
United States Military (Europe) \$ 2.00

Issue Number
No. 42,001