

## *Contents*

*Preface and Acknowledgments* xi

*Chronology of Putin's Russia* xvii

### **ONE**

**Economic Roller Coaster: 2000–17** 1

*Rise and Decline of Growth Rates* 4

*The Lost Decade* 7

### **TWO**

**Transformation Derailed** 13

*The Gradual Opening of Russia* 14

*Removing Allies* 18

*Winner Takes All* 23

*Put Yourself in Putin's Shoes* 24

**THREE****The Key Element of Control 29***Enemy Number One: The Media Tycoon* 31*Too Dangerous to Have Such a Friend* 36*New Fears* 42*There Is No Him without Cronies* 43*Self-Censorship* 45*Attack on the Runet* 48*A Tried and True Tool* 54*Just Business* 58*Sovereign Internet* 60**FOUR****A Unifying System of Power 71***Building from Scratch* 72*Checks and Balances* 73*A Major Threat* 74*Getting Off the Political Stage* 76*The Court Says “Stop!”* 82*Dotting the i’s* 83*Everybody Is under Control* 87*Deceptive Concession* 90*Financial Leash* 93**FIVE****Just a Dream 107***There Was No Need* 107*First Rollbacks* 109*Judicial Hierarchy* 110

<i>A Furtive Plan</i>	112
<i>The Other Side of the Coin</i>	114
<i>Demolishing the Pillars</i>	114
<i>Under the Kremlin's Control</i>	116
<i>No One Is Immune</i>	117
<i>Relying on Parliament</i>	119
<i>Rule by Telephone</i>	121
<i>An Overactive Justice</i>	124
<i>The Second Advent</i>	127
<i>Humiliation</i>	128
<i>A Creative Justice</i>	129
<i>The Purge</i>	130
<i>An Irremovable Justice</i>	132
<i>An Unwanted Institution</i>	134
<i>Was There a Reason?</i>	136
<i>Purge at the Top</i>	137

## SIX

<b>Preventing Competition</b>	149
<i>Cohabitation Was Possible</i>	150
<i>From Hatred to Friendship</i>	152
<i>Bureaucracy Subdues Politicians</i>	154
<i>Control over the Duma</i>	155
<i>The Oligarchs' Revenge: Fear of the Past</i>	160
<i>No Space for Opposition to His Majesty</i>	162
<i>The Upper Chamber Has Not Been Forgotten</i>	165
<i>Indiscreet Desire</i>	167
<i>Prokhorov's Comet</i>	173
<i>No Right to Be Elected</i>	176

<i>An Unexpected Occurrence</i>	177
<i>Forget It—The Thaw Has Ended!</i>	181
<i>Absolute Dominance</i>	182
<i>There Is No Room for Coincidence</i>	187

## SEVEN

<b>Risky Business</b>	205
<i>Carrying Out the President's Orders</i>	206
<i>Gray Whales Are to Be Loved</i>	212
<i>Pushed Out in a Friendly Way</i>	216
<i>A Story with a Happy Ending . . .</i>	222
<i>. . . And Then Putin Called</i>	226
<i>When Partners Can't Agree</i>	233
<i>We Are Just Returning What Has Been Privatized</i>	241
<i>Abiding by the Law</i>	246
<i>No Way but to Sell</i>	253
<i>Walking a Tightrope</i>	256
<i>But One Claw Snagged, the Bird Is Bagged</i>	263
<i>You Cannot Hide behind Property Papers!</i>	265

## EIGHT

<b>Nothing Personal, Just Your Business</b>	281
---	-----

## NINE

<b>Looking Forward</b>	299
------------------------	-----

<i>Index</i>	315
--------------	-----

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>FIGURE 1-1.</b> Russian Economic Growth, 1998–2018	2
<b>FIGURE 3-1.</b> Death of Independent Television: Shares of News Channels Viewed by the Moscow Television Audience	41
<b>FIGURE 3-2.</b> Consumption of News Sources in Russia	44
<b>FIGURE 3-3.</b> Shares of Individual Age Categories in Total Television-Viewing Audience (Age 18+) and Internet Penetration (Age 16+) in Russia	50
<b>FIGURE 3-4.</b> Number of Prosecutions (Criminal Cases and Convictions) on Political Grounds in Russia, 2011–August 2018	57
<b>FIGURE 4-1.</b> Competition in the Gubernatorial Elections in Russia, 2000–04 and 2013–17	92
<b>FIGURE 4-2.</b> Share of Regional Budgets in the Russian Federation’s Consolidated Budget Revenues and Expenditures	96
<b>FIGURE 5-1.</b> Number of Changes to Laws Regulating the Russian Judicial System, 2001–18	125
<b>FIGURE 6-1.</b> Evaluation of Fraud during the Vote Tabulation in the December 2003 State Duma Elections	158
<b>FIGURE 6-2.</b> Evaluation of Fraud during the Vote Tabulation in the March 2000 Presidential Election	159
<b>FIGURE 6-3.</b> Electoral Ratings of United Russia Party, 2006–11	167
<b>FIGURE 6-4.</b> Evaluation of Fraud during the Vote Tabulation in the March 2008 Presidential Election	172
<b>FIGURE 6-5.</b> Evaluation of Fraud during the Vote Tabulation in the December 2011 State Duma Elections	179
<b>FIGURE 6-6.</b> Evaluation of Vote Fraud during the Vote Tabulation in the December 2016 State Duma Elections	185
<b>FIGURE 6-7.</b> Distribution of Electoral Districts in the 2016 State Duma Elections Based on the Turnout and United Russia’s Official Election Results	186
<b>FIGURE 8-1.</b> Criminal Cases and Sentences against Entrepreneurs, 2008–17	288

<b>FIGURE 8-2.</b> Russia's Position in the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business Ranking and Global Competitiveness Index	290
<b>FIGURE 8-3.</b> Russia's Position on Certain Components of the Institutions Subindex of the Global Competitiveness Index, 2005–16	291

#### LIST OF TABLES

<b>TABLE 3-1.</b> Methods of Restricting Free Speech in Russia, 2011–17	53
<b>TABLE 6-1.</b> Indicators of Political Competition in Russia Based on the Results of State Duma Elections, 1995–2016	191
<b>TABLE 6-2.</b> Election Fraud in Russia, 1999–2018	193
<b>TABLE 8-1.</b> Growing Activity of the Secret Police in Russia, 2011–17	292
<b>TABLE 9-1.</b> Number of Changes to Laws Regulating the Russian Electoral System and Political Competition	305