

Consider interpretations of a pivotal event in modern Russia: the arrest of Mikhail Khodorkovsky as he boarded a private jet in Siberia in 2003. At the time of his arrest, Khodorkovsky was the richest man in Russia thanks to the hugely unpopular privatizations of the 1990s and some savvy business decisions on his part. He was also beginning to play an increasing role in politics by funding opposition parties and think tanks much to the ire of the Kremlin. Authorities accused the forty-one-year-old Khodorkovsky of tax evasion and violating privatization laws. After two trials, he served more than ten years in jail and lost control of the oil giant Yukos to a state-owned rival. While observers agree that the arrest of Khodorkovsky epitomized the reassertion of state control over the economy and curbed the political power of big business, they disagree about the motivations behind it.

One account emphasizes Putin's personal role in the affair. As a former KGB agent, Putin had little interest in building markets and democracy, and sought to lead a *revanche* by his cronies in the security services that would reassert state power over society. The nationalization of Yukos and its transfer to a company controlled by President Putin's close associate was just one step in this plan.¹⁶ This explanation is part of a broader line of argument that treats Russian politics as an extension of Putin's worldview and stresses his seeming omnipotence over society. If we want to understand Russian politics, we need to begin with Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin.

Another account points to Russia's exceptional history and culture. This view depicts the nationalization of Yukos as Russia reverting to its historical type. Russia's long tradition of fusing state and private property as well as the lack of public support for markets and democracy, doomed efforts to build private companies that could provide a check on state power. As one commentator noted, "What's remarkable about the uproar over President Vladimir Putin's battle with mega-oligarch Mikhail Khodorkovsky, who announced his resignation as head of Yukos Oil from his jail cell last week, is how eerily it strengthens the impression that Russian history is a continuum—no matter how dramatic the break between one era and the next."¹⁷ The "exceptional Russia" argument underscores the gravitational pull of Russia's authoritarian past and culturally

ingrained habits that (supposedly) make Russia and Russians distinct as the key to grasping its current politics.

Yet for all the emphasis on the seemingly unique characteristics of Putin and the distinctive aspects of Russia's history and culture, similar expropriations of energy companies via forced sales or contract renegotiations took place in countries as diverse as Algeria, Bolivia, Chad, Dubai, Ecuador, Senegal, and Venezuela in the mid-2000s.¹⁸ Looking more broadly, two researchers who examined all oil-rich countries between 1945 and 2006 found that when oil prices are high in autocracies, nationalizations are much more likely.¹⁹ This pattern indicates that the expropriation of Yukos was driven less by Putin's personality or Russia's historical patterns than by factors common to modern autocracies. As is often the case, events treated as specific to Russia are mirrored in autocracies around the world. To understand Russian politics, we need to recognize the general forces at play in autocracies.

Academics like me are partly to blame for the poor state of our national discussion on Russia. Much of our research appears only in academic journals, and we have not done the hard work of getting these findings out to a broader audience. While there is much great reporting and commentary on Russia, unraveling Russia's increasingly insular politics also requires the kinds of careful counting, focused comparisons, and deep country knowledge that academics can provide.

Academic research brings different strengths than much popular writing on Russia. Journalists have better access to the movers and shakers, and can publish quickly. They are frequently joined by think tankers, politicians, and political activists who have a strong interest in shaping the debate on Russia in one direction or another. Academic research is less timely, but it is more reflective and less partisan than much popular writing on Russia.

There's a reason that popular writing on Russia is indeed popular, and it is easy to argue that much of the popular writing on Russia is better than on many other countries.²⁰ Masterful writers on Russia employ telling anecdotes, bold investigations, and compelling personal stories that provide richness and detail most social scientists can only envy.²¹ These are tremendously powerful tools—sometimes too powerful, as they can

be persuasive even when they mislead. Summing up a range of research on “narrative bias,” sociologist Duncan Watts writes, “So powerful is the appeal of a good story that even when we are trying to evaluate an explanation scientifically—that is, on the basis of how well it accounts for the data—we can’t help judging it in terms of its narrative attributes.”²² We often deem simple explanations and arguments with informative details to be accurate even when they are not. The question is whether these anecdotes, investigations, and personal histories reflect more general developments within Russian society. This is where academic research can help.

One strength of academic research is the ability to gather large data sets that are subject to empirical testing that allow us to grasp broader trends. Arguments that come up short on evidence or logic, or are too partisan, will struggle to make it through peer review. Academic research serves as a necessary complement to, rather than as a substitute for, much of the kinds of deep reporting that dominates the best popular writing on Russia. We need both to get a full picture of what’s happening in Russia.

Russia as a Personalist Autocracy

In this book, I pull together much of this exciting new research to offer a different lens for interpreting Russian politics. Rather than viewing Russian politics as driven by an exceptional ruler governing an exceptional country, I highlight common patterns that Russia shares with other autocratic regimes ruled by a single individual. Rulers in these so-called personalist autocracies face a host of common challenges and constraints that differ from their counterparts in democracies and autocracies led by a single party or the military.

In studying personalist autocracies like Russia, it is tempting to focus on the personal quirks and characteristics of the leader—but in doing so, we lose sight of the features these types of autocracies share. While all countries have their own peculiarities, we can learn a good deal about Russia by viewing it alongside other states with similar types of governance: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s Turkey, Hugo Chávez’s Venezuela, Viktor Orbán’s Hungary, Alberto Fujimori’s Peru, and Nursultan Nazarbayev’s Kazakhstan among others. Understanding the inherent tensions

and constraints of modern autocracies is essential for grasping Russian politics.

Comparing Russia to other countries can help us identify when Russia's politics and economics are driven by factors common to personalist autocracies, and when they are shaped primarily by factors unique to Russia. Where we see commonalities between Russia and other personalist autocracies, we can often attribute them to the political logic of this type of regime, but where we see differences that Russia has with other governments of this type, we can look for other explanations.

As we will see in more detail in chapter 3, three features common to personalist autocracies are especially helpful for understanding Putin's Russia, and each provides a useful counterpoint to conventional narratives on Russia.

First, while commentators focus on the seeming stability of Putin's rule, political life in Russia is inherently uncertain because Russia lacks strong institutions like the rule of law as well as free and fair elections to resolve political disputes that inevitability arise. Absent an electoral calendar and strong institutions to structure political competition, rulers can be removed at any time and typically without agreement on how to choose a successor. These weak institutions do not protect the autocrat after they leave office, making the stakes of losing power in politics in personalist autocracies like Russia much higher than in other types of governments.

Second, autocrats face difficult policy trade-offs. Rulers in a democracy can be removed via the ballot box; autocratic rulers can be removed via an elite coup or mass revolt. Because the dual threats of elite coup and mass revolt can rarely be reduced at the same time, personalist autocrats face inherent policy trade-offs that constrain their power. Policies that enrich cronies frequently come at the expense of the mass public and vice versa. Autocrats face hard choices about rewarding narrow interest groups or pursuing policies with broader benefits, using repression or persuasion against political opponents, and choosing how much to censor the media, cheat in elections, and violate human rights in order to stay in power. Rather than flowing directly from Putin's worldview or Russia's historical legacy, policy choices in Russia are

often the result of difficult trade-offs among and between political elites and the mass public.

Third, personalist autocracies have a range of tools—all rather blunt—for managing a modern society. Much popular commentary revolves around Putin as a master of repression to keep society in check. And it is true that crackdowns on free media, intimidation of political opponents, and arrests of human rights activists are part and parcel of political life in Russia. But repression is costly, not always effective, and rarely a first choice. Influential elites and the mass public do not automatically follow the leader but instead need to be convinced to do so, sometimes via fear, yet also via persuasion or self-interest. Autocrats like Putin prefer to rely on personal popularity, economic performance, manipulated elections, and foreign policy successes to stave off elite coups and popular revolts, but these commodities are usually fleeting and beyond the control of the ruler.

From this perspective, a view of Russia emerges that is less focused on President Putin's personality and seeming omnipotence, and less centered on Russia's unique history and culture. Rooting Russia's politics in common patterns of autocratic rule produces a picture of Russia that helps us see the constraints on Putin's power, recognize the difficult policy choices before him, and better understand Russia's politics.

That's not to say that all the research I will present introduces novel findings. Some elements of the common wisdom on Russia are upheld, and others are undermined. The point of social science is not to prove conventional wisdom wrong; it is to examine and test arguments. Because many common assertions about Russia are in tension—Russia's state is bumbling and inefficient, but conducts exquisitely sophisticated cyberattacks; Putin is popular, yet needs to cheat to win elections—these tests are badly needed to untangle these competing claims.

A comparative perspective that draws on academic research can tell us a lot about Russia—but it can't tell us everything. No single approach can. As we will see, this comparative approach sheds more light on Russia's domestic politics than on its foreign policy (although it is helpful there as well) and must be paired with deep knowledge of Russia.

And while it's much easier to do social science work in Russia than in other autocracies, this work still brings great challenges. Many top-flight Russian academics have left for greener and freer pastures. Those who remain in Russia must constantly assess what types of investigations are permissible and what types are not. Studying Russia is a contact sport, and like American football, it has a high rate of injury. Many Russians have paid dearly for their politics, and some academics too have suffered directly for their work. This is a far less dangerous task than being an investigative journalist in Russia, but still one must take care. Studying Russia has become much more difficult in recent years, and current trends—which I'll examine much more in the chapters to come—provide little optimism that the situation will improve in the short run.

In the next chapter, I present two approaches to studying Russia that generate much of the conventional wisdom. In chapter 3, I discuss recent research on authoritarian governments that provides an alternative. In successive chapters, I then explore what we know about Putin's popularity, elections, the economy, repression, media manipulation, foreign policy, and cyber campaigns abroad. The final chapter looks at what recent academic research tells us about Russia's future and offers some guidance about how we can improve our national discussion on Russia.

In the pages that follow, you will read about scholarly research that offers some of the best evidence available on many basic questions about Russia. How popular is Putin? Is corruption as high as they say? Why are relations with the United States so bad? Is Russian propaganda effective? Did Russian cyberwarriors swing the 2016 US presidential election? Do elections matter in Russia? These questions are not easily answered, but academics writing on Russia have given them careful consideration. Understanding Russia is more important than ever, and the solid evidence, clear logic, and transparency of academic research can help us cut through the disinformation, misinformation, and simple misperceptions about Russia that cloud our vision. So let's begin.

INDEX

- abortion, 7
Abyzov, Mikhail, 198
Access Hollywood, 185
adat law, 116
ad hoc, 24
advertisements, 4, 71, 117–18, 233n31
Afghanistan, 3, 21, 132, 172–73, 211n1, 235n1, 245n1
African Americans, 181
Agora, 139–40
agriculture, 89, 95–96, 167–68, 202, 229n46
Albats, Evgeniya, 126
Alfa-Bank, 85
Alliance of Tolerance, 170
Amnesty International, 120
Amuragrocenter, 66
Anderson, Perry, 53
Angola, 160
Anticorruption Foundation, 123–24
Applebaum, Anne, 7, 212n11, 249n1
approval ratings, 47, 52–54, 57–59, 61–65, 92, 129
Arashukov, Rauf, 198
Argentina, 33, 75, 91
Armenia, 129, 154, 157, 171
Aslund, Anders, 227n13
Assad, Bashar al-, 18
Associated Press, 57
Australia, 166, 172
Austria, 159
authoritarianism, 14; elections and, 67, 69; exceptional Russia and, 9–10; media and, 144; Putinology and, 32, 35; reassessment and, 200, 205; repression and, 112, 130; scholarly study of, 6; U.S. public opinion on, 8
autocracy: Chávez and, 11, 23, 39, 52, 70, 72, 87, 170; China and, 6; coercion and, 40, 47–48; constraints and, 200; corruption and, 45; coups and, 12–13, 38–39, 43–49, 219n16, 220n24; courts and, 39–40, 42; democracy and, 6, 12, 39, 54, 69, 72, 201, 203, 223n3; dictatorships and, 39, 42–44; dilemmas of, 37–49; dual threats to, 44–47; economic issues and, viii, 86–93, 96–97, 99, 103, 105; elections and, 38–39, 42, 44, 48, 67–72, 76–77, 84; elites and, 40–41, 44–48, 219n9; Erdoğan and, 11, 21, 23, 39, 52, 70, 72, 117, 135, 171, 232nn25–26; foreign policy and, 14, 40, 152–53, 156–57, 165–74; human rights and, 12–13; Hungary and, 38–39; information, 134–40; Iran and, 6, 38; legalism and, 112–18; limits of, 37, 41, 47–49; media and, 134–35; military and, 11, 38–43, 46–47, 49; nuclear weapons and, 37, 152; oligarchs and, 41; personalist, 11–14, 23, 37–52, 84, 87–91, 97, 99, 135, 153, 170–71, 174, 200–1; police and, 48; political economy of, 96–99; polls and, 54–58; powerful minorities and, 244n71; protests and, 38, 42–48, 220n24, 220n27; public opinion and, 6, 49, 51, 54, 64, 134, 222n34, 244n71; Putinology and, 16, 19, 22–23, 25, 28, 35–36; Putin's popularity and, 51–54, 64–65; reassessment and, 200–5; repression and, 12–14, 38, 40,

- autocracy (*continued*)
47–49, 108–9, 115–16, 119, 122, 125, 129, 131, 220n24; term limits and, 17, 23, 50–51, 130, 199; Venezuela and, 6, 10–11, 23, 39–40, 52, 70, 87, 99, 115, 170; weak institutions and, 12, 40–44
- Azerbaijan, 39, 171, 226n41
- Baker, James, 187
- Balkans, 159, 164
- Baltics, 21, 155, 157, 166, 173
- Banker* (magazine), 86
- Bank Rossiya, 96
- banks, 5; Alfa-Bank, 85; Anticorruption Foundation and, 123; European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 94; hackers and, 176, 188; modernization of, 161; money laundering and, 23, 85–86; Putin's popularity and, 18; reduced number of licenses and, 86; Russian Central Bank, 86, 149, 161; Sberbank, 85; *Wall Street* and, 4; weak position of, 91; World Bank, x, 91, 95, 102, 167
- Bank VTB, 85
- Bank Yugra, 86
- Bashkirova and Partners, 54
- Bashneft', 100
- Bechev, Dimitar, 164
- Belarus, 23, 39, 154, 156–57, 169
- Bellingcat, 190
- Belton, Catherine, 212n20, 214n24
- Benford's law, 73
- Berkman Klein Center for Internet and Society, 138, 185
- Berlin Wall, 4–5
- Beslan attacks, 143
- Bible, 7
- billionaires, 9, 61, 89, 94–95, 143, 210, 212n16
- blackmail, 99, 129
- Blaydes, Lisa 232n16
- blogs, 121–22, 138–40, 143
- Bloomberg*, 101
- Boligarchs, 87
- Bolivia, 10, 40, 157
- Bolotnaya Square (Swampy Square), 78
- Bolshoi Theater, 126
- Borisova, Ekaterina, 126
- Borogan, Irina, 141
- Bortnikov, Alexander, 110
- Boycko, Maxim, 29
- Brazil, 38–39, 91, 95, 237n17
- Brexit, 183
- Brezhnev, Leonid, 2, 27, 38, 41, 56, 112, 157
- bribery, 28, 48, 93, 99, 102–3, 112, 198
- Britain, 32, 91, 111, 124, 155, 159, 165, 179, 183
- British Broadcasting Company (BBC), 177
- brokers, 5, 18, 75, 172
- Brondum, Kevin, 224n19
- Brown, Archie, 215n41
- Browning, Robert, 152
- Browder, William, 212n20
- Bryan, James D., 159
- Buckley, Noah, 103, 232nn19–20
- Bush, George W., 21, 149, 162
- Buzin, Andrei, 224n19
- Byrne, David, 3
- Calvey, Michael, 198, 235n64
- Canada, 30, 91, 166, 172
- Cannes, 126
- capital flight, 22, 43, 100
- capitalism, 4, 133, 157
- Carnaghan, Ellen, 67
- Caro, Robert, 19
- Carothers, Tom, 180
- Carroll, Rory, 87
- Casey, Adam, 183, 247n23
- Castro, Fidel, 24
- cell phones, 34, 143
- editorship, 12, 117, 119, 135, 141–44, 148–49, 222n19, 239n56
- Center for Economic and Political Reform, 31, 142
- Central Election Commission, 80
- Chad, 10
- Channel One, 146, 148–49

- Chávez, Hugo: autocracy and, 6, 10–11, 23, 39–40, 52, 70, 72, 87, 99, 115, 170; courts and, 39, 232n26; economic issues and, 87; elections and, 70, 72; foreign policy and, 170; legislative powers and, 39; media and, 135; Putinology and, 21, 23; Putin's popularity and, 65; Venezuela and, 11, 21, 23, 39, 52, 65, 70, 72, 87, 135, 170, 232n26
- cheating: arms control treaties and, 165; ballot box stuffing and, 67, 69, 73–74, 78, 80; elections and, 12–13, 67–69, 73–74, 76, 78, 79–82, 80, 84, 200; foreign policy and, 165
- Chechnya, 107–8, 114–16, 138, 141
- chemical weapons, 18, 124
- Chernenko, Konstantin, 3
- Chernobyl, 133
- Chile, 109
- China, 55; autocracy and, 6; Communist Party and, 38; Cultural Revolution and, 112; economic issues and, 33, 95, 98–99, 200–1; foreign policy and, 154–56, 166; great firewall of, 140; hackers and, 190, 193; media and, 140; repression and, 112; Tiananmen Square and, 117; Xi Jinping and, 154
- Churov, Vladimir, 80
- CIA, 138
- Citizen Observer, 74
- civil liberties, 54, 64, 118
- Clapper, James, 28, 176, 184
- Clemson University, 180–81
- Clinton, Bill, 187
- Clinton, Hillary, 61, 140, 184–85, 187
- CNN, 54
- coercion: autocracy and, 40, 47–48; blackmail and, 99, 129; digital coercion and, 177, 188–94; digital persuasion and, 177–88, 191–92, 195, 245n3; economic issues and, 99; elections and, 66–69, 74–75, 80–81; hackers and, 175, 177, 188–95, 245n3; increased, 17; intimidation and, 13, 36, 54, 67, 75, 108, 118, 130, 138; jail and, 54; legalism and, 112–18; media and, 135; repression and, 17, 47–48, 108–9, 112–17, 121, 130; social costs of, 113; targeted, 112–16
- Colbert, Stephen, 66
- Cold War, 1, 3, 8, 33, 38–39, 68, 160–62, 180, 206, 245n86, 250n15
- Colton, Timothy, 71, 84, 223n4, 226n46, 250n14
- Columbia University, 4–5, 106, 112, 163, 176, 209
- Committee to Protect Journalists, 138
- commodity prices, 59, 90–91, 96
- Communist Party: Brezhnev and, 112; Chernenko and, 3; China and, 38; coups and, 5; fall of, 33; KGB and, 110; Khrushchev and, 24, 41; national character and, 31; politburo of, 41, 48; public debate and, 2; Soviet Union and, 2–3, 5, 24, 30, 33, 38, 41, 76–77, 110, 112–13, 125; travel restrictions and, 33, 125; voter turnout and, 30–31; Yeltsin and, 76
- Communist Party of the Russian Federation, 77, 98, 104, 143
- Communist Youth Organization (Komsomol), 133
- Constitution: international law and, 50; Parliamentary powers and, 50; referendum and, 52, 221n6; State Council and, 50, 199; term limits and, 17, 23, 50–51, 130, 199
- Constitutional Court, 51
- continuity thesis, 159–65
- corporate raiding, 6, 99–101, 128
- corruption: acceptance of, 28; Anticorruption Foundation and, 123; autocracy and, 45; blackmail, 99, 129; Brezhnev and, 1–2; bribery, 28, 48, 93, 99, 102–3, 112, 198; cheating, 12–13, 67–69, 73–74, 76, 78–82, 84, 165, 200; coercion, 17, 40, 47–48, 68–69, 74, 80, 99, 108–9, 112–17, 121, 130, 135, 175, 177, 188–95, 245n3; corporate raiding, 6, 99–101, 128; cronyism, 9, 12, 22, 45–47, 87, 95, 97, 105, 200, 227n12; digital persuasion,

- corruption (*continued*)
177–88, 191–92, 195, 245n3; economic issues and, 101–6, 229n50; elections and, 67, 69, 73–74, 78–83, 87–88, 90; extent of, 14, 199; foreign policy and, 157, 165–66; fraud, 6 (*see also* fraud); government trolls and, 140, 150, 176–77, 179, 181, 185–86, 194; hackers and, 179; kickbacks, 102, 105; legitimacy and, 52, 67, 69–72, 122, 153, 221n8, 225n26; media and, 5–6, 135–38, 196; money laundering, 23, 85–86; murder, 8, 107–8, 112, 116, 138, 198, 237n17; protection rackets, 5; Putinology and, 18, 28, 45; Putin's popularity and, 56, 58, 60, 63; reassessment of, 200, 202; repression, 108, 111, 114, 117, 121–24, 127–30; security agencies (*siloviki*) and, 47, 108–12, 114, 117, 165, 231n5; societal costs of, 101–2
- Così fan tutte* (opera), 126
- Council on Foreign Relations, 190, 195
- coups: autocracy and, 12–13, 38–39, 43–49, 219n16, 220n24; Communist Party and, 5; democracy and, 219n16; foreign policy and, 13; Red Army and, 5; repression and, 117, 220n24
- courts: autocracy and, 39–40, 42; Chávez and, 39, 232n26; Constitutional Court, 51; dismantling of, 36; economic issues and, 86, 88, 99, 101, 229n50; Erdoğan and, 232n26; European Court on Human Rights, 120, 123, 233n41; media and, 149; Putin's popularity and, 51, 57, 63; repression and, 108, 115–16, 118, 120, 122–23; Russian Supreme Court, 233n41
- COVID pandemic: autocratic pathologies and, 93, 239n62; ban on protests and, 121; economic effects of, 52, 89–90, 96, 105, 130, 167, 231n74; extent of, 34; public opinion and, 17, 46; vaccines and, 93–94
- Credit Suisse, 94
- Crimea: annexation of, vii, 17–18, 52–53, 58–62, 65, 81–82, 84, 107, 130, 145–46, 153–54, 157, 160, 162–69, 171, 188–89, 197, 240n6, 245n86; economic issues and, 102; elections and, 81–82, 84; foreign policy and, 153–54, 157, 159–69, 171, 240n6, 245n86; hackers and, 188–89; media and, 145–46; popularity issues and, 52–53, 58–62, 65; Putinology and, 17–18, 21, 214n22; Putin's popularity and, 17, 52–53, 58–62, 65; reassessment and, 197; repression and, 107, 130; sanctions and, 60–61, 160, 166, 189; Ukraine and, 21, 59, 107, 146, 154, 162–66, 169, 188; United States and, vii, 60–61, 157, 163, 166, 189, 245n86
- Croatia, 164
- cronyism, 9, 12, 22, 45–47, 87, 95, 97, 105, 200, 227n12
- crowdsourcing, 75, 122
- Cuba, 3, 24, 157, 160, 222n34
- cyberattacks, 13, 154, 177, 187, 190–95
- czars, 15, 28, 65, 134, 156–57, 159, 220n28
- Czech Republic, 94–95, 162, 183
- Davenport, Christian, 130
- “Day of Health” (Amuragrocenter), 66
- Day of the Defenders of the Motherland, 80
- Death of Expertise, The* (Nichols), 196
- democracy: authoritarianism and, 8; autocracy and, 6, 12, 39, 54, 69, 72, 201, 203, 223n3; coups and, 219n16; cultural values and, 32; current state of, 196, 201; elections and, 69, 72, 76–77, 223n3; foreign policy and, 157; hackers and, 180, 183–84, 188; media and, 133, 142, 145; nationalization and, 9; powerful minorities and, 244n71; Putinology and, 30–32; surveys and, 250n14; United States and, vii, 32, 133, 188, 196, 203
- Democrats, 7, 24–25, 184–85, 192
- denial-of-service attacks, 176, 191
- Denmark, 180, 189–90
- Deripaska, Oleg, 167, 243n53
- devaluation, 33, 88, 226n1
- dictatorships: autocracy and, 39, 42–44; constraints and, 8; elections and, 69, 71; media and, 6, 134; Putinology and, 35

- digital coercion, 177, 188–94
- digital persuasion: effectiveness of, 181–88;
hackers and, 177–88, 191–92, 195, 245n3;
scope of, 177–81
- Dissnet.ru, 104
- dissidents, 54, 112, 178
- Donetsk, 147, 157
- Dostoyevsky, Fyodor, 216n48
- Dubai, 10
- Dud', Yuri, 143
- Dugin, Aleksandr, 18, 213n16
- Duterte, Rodrigo, 39
- East Germany, 3–4, 16, 21, 29, 48, 112
- economic issues: autocracy and, viii, 86–93,
96–97, 99, 103, 105; banks and, 4–5, 18,
85–86, 90–91, 94–96, 102, 123, 149, 161,
167, 176, 188; billionaires and, 9, 61, 89,
94–95, 143, 210, 212n16; bribery, 28, 48, 93,
99, 102–3, 112, 198; capital flight and, 22,
43, 100; capitalism and, 4, 133, 157; Chávez
and, 87; China and, 33, 95, 98–99, 200–1;
coercion and, 99; commodity prices and,
59, 90–91, 96; corporate raiding and, 6,
99–101, 128; corruption and, 101–6, 229n50;
courts and, 86, 88, 99, 101, 229n50; COVID
pandemic and, 52, 89–90, 96, 105, 130, 167,
231n74; Crimea and, 102; devaluation
and, 33, 88, 226n1; education and, 25, 94,
97, 102–4, 128, 202, 211n5; elections and,
93, 97, 100, 103; elites and, 87, 89, 97; en-
ergy sector and, 10, 59, 91–92, 95, 97, 105,
155–56, 167, 172–73, 205; Erdoğan and, 52;
foreign direct investment (FDI) and, 89,
165; foreign policy and, 153–54, 156, 159–60,
164–68, 173–74; fraud and, 104, 113; Ger-
many and, 91, 95, 98–99; hackers and, 183,
191–92, 195; Hungary and, 33, 87, 94–95,
99; inequality, 58, 94–95, 128, 202; infla-
tion, 86, 90, 149; living standards, 17, 25,
33, 35, 46, 48, 64, 88, 113, 165, 171; Malaysia
and, 91; May Decrees and, 25; media and,
135, 142, 148–50; middle class and, 34, 62,
142; millionaires and, 94; offshoring and,
101, 202–3; oil prices and, 18, 155, 166
(*see also* oil prices); oligarchs and, 87, 101,
106; pensions, 18, 51, 53, 58, 75, 92, 96, 149;
political economy and, 96–99; polls and,
93; poverty and, 8, 33, 89, 92; protests
and, 86; public opinion and, 93; purchas-
ing power parity and, 33, 156, 226n1; Putin's
popularity and, 130; Saint Petersburg
International Economic Forum and, 127;
sanctions and, 60 (*see also* sanctions);
stagnation, 87, 96, 130, 199; surveys and,
93–94, 100–1, 103; taxes and, 97, 101, 103;
Turkey and, 87, 91, 95, 99; Ukraine and,
90; United States and, 94–95, 98–99;
Venezuela and, 87, 91, 99; *Wall Street* film
and, 4; wealth of Putin's inner circle,
96–97
- Ecuador, 10
- education, 25, 94, 97, 102–4, 128, 202, 211n5
- Egypt, 6
- elections: appearance of legitimacy and,
69–72; authoritarianism and, 67, 69; au-
tocracy and, 38–39, 42, 44, 48, 67–72,
76–77, 84; ballot box stuffing and, 67, 69,
73–74, 78, 80; bias in, 77; Chávez and, 70,
72; cheating and, 67, 69, 73–74, 78–82, 200;
cheating in, 12–13, 68–69, 76, 84; Churov
and, 80; coercion and, 66–69, 74–75, 80–81;
corruption and, 67, 69, 73–74, 78–80, 82–83,
87–88, 90; Crimea and, 81–82, 84; crowd-
sourced violations and, 75; democracy
and, 69, 72, 76–77, 223n3; dictatorships
and, 69, 71; economic issues and, 93, 97,
100, 103; elites and, 84; Erdoğan and, 70,
72; fair, 12, 38–39, 42, 51–52, 67, 69, 76–77,
79, 93, 224n16; foreign policy and, 155,
166; fraud and, 6, 45, 67–84, 122, 126, 136,
139, 180, 204, 224n14, 225n26, 226n41;
free, 3, 38, 68–69, 77; gerrymandering
and, 71; Golos and, 67, 75; GRU and, 111;
hackers and, 24–25, 155, 175–94, 245n3;
Hungary and, 70, 72; internet and, 78;

- elections (*continued*)
intimidation and, 67, 75; Levada Center and, 55, 222n20; media and, 134–36, 140–41, 145, 149–50; menu of manipulation for, 72–76; military and, 82; misfire of December 2011 and, 76–82; monitoring, 67, 74, 76, 81; Navalny and, 122–23; oligarchs and, 17; police and, 78–79; popularity and, 68, 77, 81–82; pressured employees and, 66–67, 74–75, 81; protests and, 68, 77–80, 83; Putin's popularity and, 51–52, 55, 65, 77; reassessment and, 200; redistricting and, 81; repression and, 111, 113–14, 121–24, 129–30; social media and, 71, 78; Soviet Union and, 77, 82; statistics and, 73–74; surveys and, 67, 74–75, 77, 79, 223n3, 225n30; Trump and, 7, 176, 181, 184–88, 192; Turkey and, 232n25; United States and, 14, 24, 30, 70–71, 111, 155, 175, 180, 183, 187–88, 191–94; Venezuela and, 70, 155
- elites: autocracy and, 40–41, 44–48, 219n9; business, 20, 212n16; cronyism and, 12, 22, 45–46, 97, 105; cues from, 197; economic issues and, 87, 89, 97; elections and, 84; foreign policy and, 13, 157, 159–60, 167, 170–71, 201; influence of, 8, 13; managing conflicts between, 41; media and, 137; military, 41, 110, 201; offshoring and, 202–3; one-party regimes and, 41; polls and, 49; Putin's inner circle and, 33; Putin's popularity and, 51–52; reassessment and, 202–3; repression and, 109–11, 114, 116, 121; successors to Putin and, 199
- emails, 18, 98, 117, 141, 180, 184–85, 190, 192–93
- energy sector: Bashneft' and, 100; economic issues and, 91–92, 95, 97, 105; foreign policy and, 155–56, 167, 172–73; Gazprom and, 92, 227n21; Putin's popularity and, 59; reassessment and, 205; Rosneft' and, 92, 100, 198, 236n16; Saudi Arabia and, 155; Yukos and, 9–10, 95, 99
- Engels, Friedrich, 33
- Enikolopov, Ruben, 224n19, 238n43
- Erdoğan, Tayyip: autocracy and, 11, 21, 23, 39, 52, 70, 72, 117, 135, 171, 232nn25–26; courts and, 232n26; economic issues and, 52; elections and, 70, 72; foreign policy and, 171; media and, 135; Putinology and, 21, 23; repression and, 117
- Ernst, Konstantin, 239n51
- espionage: Cold War and, 1, 3, 8, 33, 38–39, 68, 160–62, 180, 206, 245n86, 250n15; Federal Security Service (FSB), 17, 35, 99, 110–11, 124, 190, 192, 198; hackers and, 176 (*see also* hackers); KGB and, 9 (*see also* KGB); poisoning and, 111, 113, 123–24, 143, 157, 179; Trump election and, 176
- Estemirova, Natalya, 114
- Estonia, 154, 176, 191
- Euromoney* (magazine), 86
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 94
- European Convention on Human Rights, 120
- European Court of Human Rights, 120, 123, 233n41
- European Union, 156, 171
- exceptional Russia, 9, 11, 205; classical literature and, 27–28; foreign policy and, 160, 164; Homo Sovieticus and, 28–32; mentality of, 28; Putinology and, 26–33
- exile, 43
- Facebook, 137, 140, 177, 179, 181, 185, 235n65
- fake news, 185–86
- Far Right, 181, 196–97
- FBI, 184
- Federal Security Service (FSB), 17, 35, 99, 110–11, 124, 190, 192, 198
- Finifter, Ada, 29
- Finland, 95, 102
- First Person* (Putin), 20–21
- Fitzpatrick, Ryan, 132
- FOM, 54, 169
- Forbes* (magazine), 95–96, 137

- foreign direct investment (FDI), 89, 165
- foreign policy: autocracy and, 14, 40, 152–53, 156–57, 165–74; Chávez and, 170; cheating and, 165; China and, 154–56, 166; continuity thesis and, 159–65; corruption and, 157, 165–66; coups and, 13; Crimea and, 153–54, 157, 159–69, 171, 240n6, 245n86; democracy and, 157; *derzhavnost'* (great power status) and, 59, 61, 153, 158–61, 164–65, 168–70, 244n71; diminished power and, 154–57; economic issues and, 153–54, 156, 159–60, 164–68, 173–74; elections and, 155, 166; elites and, 13, 157, 159–60, 167, 170–71, 201; Erdoğan and, 171; exceptional Russia and, 160, 164; gaining influence and, 153–56, 160, 164–65, 170; hackers and, 176–77, 189, 195; human rights and, 170; Hungary and, 162, 171; Iran and, 164, 172; media and, 134–35, 148; military and, 152–61, 169, 171–72; Monroe Doctrine and, 160; NATO and, 5, 21, 27, 61–63, 66, 155–56, 161–63, 166, 170–73, 191, 240n6; oil prices and, 166–67; oligarchs and, 167; opaque nature of, 240n5; playing weak hand and, 153; polls and, 157, 169–70, 245n86; propaganda and, 6–7, 170; protests and, 169; public opinion and, 157, 168; Putin's popularity and, 52–53, 59, 63; reassessment and, 200–4; sanctions and, 154–55, 160, 166–67, 169, 243n53; social media and, 154–55; Soviet Union and, 154, 156, 159–64, 173; surveys and, 159, 168–69; Syria and, 154–57, 164, 169, 172; Trump and, 156, 171–72; Turkey and, 171–72; Ukraine and, 154–57, 162–66, 169, 173; United States and, 154–74; UN Security and, 152, 156; Venezuela and, 154–55, 157, 170, 241n21
- Fox News, 144, 186
- France, 34, 207; democratic cultural values and, 32; economic issues and, 91, 94; elections and, 70, 183, 191; foreign policy and, 159, 162, 165; Macron and, 124, 180, 183; Navalny poisoning and, 124; nuclear arsenal of, 55
- fraud: academic, 104; appearance of legitimacy and, 69–72; autocracy and, 45; dangers of heavy-handed, 82–84; economic issues and, 104, 113; elections and, 6, 45, 67–84, 122, 126, 136, 139, 180, 204, 224n14, 225n26, 226n41; hackers and, 180–82; media and, 136, 139; menu of manipulation for, 72–76; misfire of December 2011 and, 76–82; repression and, 113, 122, 126; tax, 113, 115
- Fredheim, Rolf, 137
- free press, 36, 38–39, 54, 119, 197
- frenemy parties, 77
- Fujimori, Alberto, 11, 38, 112
- furbinza*, 32
- Future Is History, The* (Gessen), 29
- G-8 group, 160
- Gaddy, Clifford, 35, 213n6
- Galeotti, Mark, 24
- Gallup, 57, 245n86
- Gallyamov, Abbas, 141–42
- gay rights, 157
- Gazeta.Ru* (newspaper), 137
- Gazprom, 92, 227n21
- Geddes, Barbara, 219n12
- Gehlbach, Scott, 56, 132
- Gel'man, Vladimir, 129–30, 218n74
- Georgia, 2, 4, 45, 110, 154–55, 162, 189, 191, 193, 222n33
- Germany: democratic cultural values and, 32; East, 3–4, 16, 21, 29, 48, 112; economic issues and, 91, 95, 98–99; foreign policy and, 162, 172; hackers and, 183, 191; media and, 136; Navalny and, 124; Nazi, 48, 176
- gerrymandering, 71
- Gessen, Masha, 29, 212n20
- GFK, 54
- Gibson, James, 30
- Giles, Keir, 160
- Gini coefficient, 95

- glasnost, 1
Godfather (film), 196
Goemans, Hein, 201
Golos, 67, 75
Golunov, Ivan, 127
Google, 137
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 1–3, 132
Gore, Al, 149
graffiti, ix, 119
Graham, Thomas, 152, 160
Grani.Ru (newspaper), 137
great firewall, 140
Greece, 91, 164
Greene, Samuel, 59–60, 64, 217n68, 222n27, 222n29, 223nn40–44
Gromyko, Andrei, 160
GRU, 111
Grudinin, Pavel, 143
Gudkov, Lev, 28–29, 32
“Guess Who Won Russia’s Election?” (Colbert), 66
gulag, 143
Gunitsky, Seva, 160, 164–65, 237n24
Guriev, Sergei, 134, 212n19, 231n2
- hackers: banks and, 176, 188; China and, 190, 193; coercion and, 175, 177, 188–95, 245n3; corruption and, 179; Crimea and, 188–89; cyberattacks and, 13, 154, 177, 187, 190–95; democracy and, 180, 183–84, 188; Democratic National Committee and, 24, 184–85, 192; denial-of-service attacks and, 176, 191; digital coercion and, 177, 188–94; digital persuasion and, 177–88, 191–92, 195, 245n3; economic issues and, 183, 191–92, 195; elections and, 24–25, 155, 175–94, 245n3; emails and, 180, 184–85, 190, 192–93; Estonia and, 154; false news and, 179–80, 185–86; foreign policy and, 176–77, 189, 195; fraud and, 180–82; Germany and, 183, 191; human rights and, 179; internet and, 176–81, 185–89, 191, 193; Iran and, 193; malware and, 194; military and, 191; phone conversations and, 188; police and, 190; propaganda and, 181–82, 186, 190, 197; protests and, 181, 186; public opinion and, 177, 180, 194; sanctions and, 189, 195; social media and, 175, 177–79, 183–87, 192, 194; Soviet Union and, 175–76, 178, 182–83, 187, 191; stolen emails and, 180; surveys and, 181–82, 186; trolls and, 140, 150, 176–77, 179, 181, 185–86, 194; Trump election and, 7, 176, 181, 184–88, 192; Ukraine and, 179, 182–83, 188–93; United States and, 24, 110–11, 155, 175–83, 187–95
- Hale, Henry, 67, 71, 219n9, 223n3
Hartog, Eva, 29, 32
Hazard, John, 112
Healey, Jason, 176
health care, 25, 93–94, 102–3
Hemingway, Ernest, 42
Higher School of Economics (HSE), viii, 5, 33, 105, 127–28, 136, 207, 211n5, 235n65
Hill, Fiona, 213nn6–11, 231n73
Hitler, Adolf, 7
HIV, 143
homosexuality, 136, 157
Homo Sovieticus, 28–32
Honecker, Erich, 48
honesty, 30, 144, 184, 209
honor killings, 116
house arrest, 86, 126–27
human rights: autocracy and, 12–13; European Court of Human Rights and, 233n41; foreign policy and, 170; hackers and, 179; media and, 139, 141; repression and, 113–15, 118, 120, 123, 127; Western governments and, 203
Human Rights Watch, 118
Hume, David, 37
Humphrey, Hubert, 187
Hungary, 5, 36; autocracy and, 38–39; cronynism and, 87, 227n12; economic issues and, 33, 87, 94–95, 99; elections and, 70, 72; foreign policy and, 162, 171; Kadar

- and, 38; media and, 135; Orban and, 11, 21, 39, 52, 70, 72, 87, 135, 171; Putin's popularity and, 52; repression and, 115; Treaty of Trianon and, 171
- Hussein, Saddam, 38, 112
- Ignat'ev, Sergei, 149
- Il'in, Ivan, 18–19
- Imperial Russia, 15, 28, 65, 134, 159–60, 220n28
- India, 32, 56, 155
- Indonesia, 32, 75, 91
- inequality, 58, 94–95, 128, 202
- inflation, 86, 90, 149
- informational autocracy, 134–40
- Information USA* (exhibit), 1, 4
- InfoWars, 186
- Interior Ministry, 111, 119
- international law, 50
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 180
- internet: elections and, 78; government trolls and, 140, 150, 176–77, 179, 181, 185–86, 194; hackers and, 176–81, 185–89, 191, 193; increased use of, 34; media and, 135, 138–43, 150; privacy and, 139; Putin's attitude against, 138; repression and, 117, 124
- Internet in Russian Society, 138
- Internet Research Agency, 124, 140–41, 179, 181, 185–86, 246n7
- intimidation, 13, 36, 54, 67, 75, 108, 118, 130, 138
- Investigative Committee, 111, 123, 198
- Ioffe, Julia 212n20
- Iran: autocracy and, 6, 38; foreign policy and, 164, 172; hackers and, 193; nuclear weapons and, 21, 172–73, 193; public opinion and, 223n34
- Iraq, 38, 112, 172
- Ishayev, Alexander, 198
- Israel, 20, 155, 172, 190, 193
- jail: autocracy and, 43; businessmen and, 9, 101, 198; Calvey and, 198, 235n64; civil liberties and, 54; coercion and, 54; dissidents and, 54; Golunov and, 127; Khodorkovsky and, 9; Petrov and, 198; pretrial incarceration and, 101; repression and, 101, 108, 115, 117, 120–23, 125, 127; Ulyukayev and, 198; Yakobashvili and, 198
- Jamieson, Kathleen Hall, 184
- Japan, 29, 32, 94, 159
- Jensen, Benjamin, 190–91
- Jews, 20
- Johnson, Juliet, 226n3
- Johnson, Lyndon, 19
- Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, 173
- Jones, Alex, 186
- Judah, Ben, 54
- Just Russia, 77
- Kadar, Janos, 38
- Kadyrov, Ramzan, 107–8, 115–16, 141
- Kalinin, Kirill, 73–74, 224n16
- Kaliningrad, 156
- Karimov, Islam, 23
- Kashin, Oleg, 138
- Kazakhstan, 11, 23, 90, 115, 154
- Kazun, Anton, 127
- Kennedy, John F., 75, 187
- Kenya, 69
- KGB: Communist Party and, 110; Federal Security Service (FSB) and, 17, 110; *First Person* and, 20–21; honey trap of, viii, 129; media and, 134; Putin and, 9, 15–17, 20–23, 26, 35, 110, 134; repression and, 21, 110, 129, 134; superficial reform of, 35; weapons training and, 20
- Khimki, 138
- Khodorkovsky, Mikhail, 9, 61, 95, 143, 212n16
- Khomeini, Ayatollah, 38
- Khotin, Aleksei, 86
- Khrushchev, Nikita, 1, 24, 41
- kickbacks, 102, 105
- Kim Jong-un, 38, 190, 193
- King, Charles, 27
- King, Larry, 179

- Kiselyov, Dmitry, 136–37
Kolokoltsev, Vladimir, 111
Kolyma, 143
Kommersant (newspaper), 137
Kon'kov, Pavel, 198
Korobov, Vladimir, 29
Kosovo, 240n6
Kotkin, Stephen, 27, 163, 215n43, 242n43
Kovalchuk, Yuri, 96
Kuchins, Andrew, 33
Kudrin, Alexi, 143, 167
Kuzminov, Vyacheslav 226n2, 235n66
Kyrgyzstan, 45, 154
- Labor Code, 18
Ladas, 3
Lamberova, Natalia, 96–97
Lankina, Tomila, 125–26, 234n53
Larrea, Oscar R. Benavides, 115
Latvia, 91, 138, 162
Lauper, Cyndi, 3
Lavrov, Sergei, 160–61
Lazarev, Egor, 115–16
Ledeneva, Alena, 25–26
legalism, 112–18
legitimacy, 52, 67, 69–72, 122, 153, 221n8, 225n26
Legvold, Robert, 158
Lenin, Vladimir, 33, 173
Lenta.Ru (newspaper), 137
Le Pen, Marie, 183
Lerner, Alexis, 119
Levada Center, 53–58, 62, 146–47, 151, 168–70, 222n20
Levin, Dov, 187
Liberal Democratic Party, 76–77
life expectancy, 34
Lipman, Maria, 146
Litvinenko, Alexander, 113
living standards, 17, 25, 33, 35, 46, 48, 64, 88, 113, 165, 171
Luhansk, 157
Lukashenka, Alyaksandr, 23
Lukin, Vladimir, 120
lying, viii, 57, 119, 197
- McCain, John, 193
McFaul, Michael, 163, 223n4, 242n42, 245n88
Mchelimidze, Luke, 231n5
Machiavelli, Niccolò, 52
Macron, Emmanuel, 124, 180, 183
Maduro, Nicolas, 39, 65, 117, 154–55
Magomedov brothers, 141–42
Maidan Square, 118
Malaysia: economic issues and, 91; media and, 147; Mohamad and, 21; Pepinsky on, 8; Putinology and, 8, 21, 24, 32; rice farmer tactics in, 32; shot down airliner of, 24, 147–48, 190, 235n2, 239n51
Malofeev, Konstantin, 24
malware, 194
Maness, Ryan, 190–91
“Man Like Putin, A” (Yelin), 50
Marquardt, Kyle, 56
marriage, 51, 104
Marten, Kim, 21
Marx, Karl, 33, 160
May Decrees, 25
Mebane, Walter, 73–74, 224n16
media: agitation and, 136; authoritarianism and, 144; autocracy and, 134–35; BBC, 177; blogs, 121–22, 138–40, 143; censorship and, 12, 117, 119, 135, 141–44, 148–49, 222n19, 239n56; Chávez and, 135; China and, 140; coercion and, 135; Committee to Protect Journalists and, 138; corruption and, 5–6, 135–38, 196; courts and, 149; Crimea and, 145–46; cutbacks and, 212n20; democracy and, 133, 142, 145; dictatorships and, 6, 134; economic issues and, 135, 142, 148–50; elections and, 134–36, 140–41, 145, 149–50; elites and, 137; Erdoğan and, 135; fake news and, 185–86; foreign policy and, 134–35, 148; Fox News, 144, 186; fraud and, 136, 139; Germany and, 136; glasnost and, 1; government trolls and, 140, 150, 176–77, 179, 181,

- 185–86, 194; hackers and, 185–86 (*see also* hackers); human rights and, 139, 141; Hungary and, 135; information autocracy and, 134–40; internet and, 135, 138–43, 150; KGB and, 134; Malaysian airliner scandal and, 24, 147, 235n2, 239n51; military and, 147; MSNBC, 144, 186; murder of journalists, 107, 112, 138, 237n17; newspapers and, 115, 127, 135, 137–38, 141–42; oil prices and, 148; oligarchs and, 142; polls and, 151; popular writing and, 10–11; propaganda and, 4, 132–33, 136, 144–46, 150; protests and, 136, 138–39, 142, 146; public opinion and, 134, 141, 148, 151, 211n7; radio, 3, 79, 135, 137, 177–78; repression and, 134–35; sanctions and, 148, 150; social, 34, 71, 78, 127, 137–41, 143, 150, 154–55, 175, 177–79, 183–87, 192, 194, 197, 207, 215n37; Soviet Union and, 132–34, 141, 146, 149, 151, 204; state television and, 59, 79, 136–37, 144, 146, 148–49, 151, 177, 236n12, 239n51; surveys and, 150, 239n62; takeovers and, 137; Turkey and, 135; Ukraine and, 134, 137, 146–47; United States and, 136–37, 149–50; Venezuela and, 135, 232n24; weaponizing information and, 133–34
- Meduza* (news site), 138
- Medvedev, Dmitry: Navalny exposé and, 63; as president, 52, 63, 138, 199, 215n29; as prime minister, 63, 121, 142, 167, 198–99; wealth of, 63, 121
- Medvedev, Sergei, 235n66
- Menon, Rajan, 160
- Mercier, Hugo, 144
- Messing with the Enemy* (Watts), 184
- Mexico, 38, 41, 91
- Mickiewicz, Ellen, 151
- middle class, 34, 62, 142
- military: autocracy and, 11, 38–43, 46–47, 49; defense budget and, 155; elections and, 82; foreign policy and, 152–61, 169, 171–72; hackers and, 191; media and, 147; nuclear weapons and, 155 (*see also* nuclear weapons); Putinology and, 21, 24, 32; Putin's popularity and, 52; reassessment and, 200–1; repression and, 109–10; US Pentagon and, 161
- millionaires, 94
- Mironov, Nikolai, 142
- Mironov, Sergei, 25
- Mishustin, Mikhail, 111
- Mitrokhina, Evhenia, 98
- Moi, Daniel Arap, 69
- money laundering, 23, 85–86
- Monroe, Marilyn, 4
- Monroe Doctrine, 160
- Montenegro, 164
- Morales, Evo, 40
- Morozov, Evgeny, 189
- mortality rates, 34
- Moscow City, 102–3
- Moscow City Election Commission (MCEC), 82–83
- Moscow School of Management, 101
- Moscow State University, 112
- Moscow Times*, 28–29, 85
- Moskovsky Komsomlets* (newspaper), 142
- MSNBC, 144, 186
- Mueller, Robert, 140
- Munich Security Conference, 162
- murder, 8, 107–8, 112, 116, 138, 198, 237n17
- Mussolini, Benito, 7, 19
- “Myth of Mass Support for Autocracy, The” (Hale), 67
- Nabiullina, Elvira Sakhipzadnova, 86
- Nashi, 138
- National Guard, 111, 121
- nationalization, 9–10, 87
- Native Americans, 181
- Navalny, Aleksei: elections and, 225n26; mayoral campaign of, 122–23; Medvedev exposé and, 63; poisoning of, 123–24, 143, 234n47; repression and, 82–83, 121–24, 127–28, 143, 233n38, 233n41
- Nazarbayev, Nursultan, 11, 23

- Nazis, 48, 176
- Nemtsov, Boris, 107–8, 127
- nerve agents, 124
- New START Treaty, 21, 173
- New Times* (online outlet), 126
- New York Times*, 28, 176
- New York University, 186
- Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (newspaper), 142
- Nicaragua, 157
- Nichols, Tom, 196, 211n9, 250n16
- Nigeria, 75
- Night Hockey League, 86
- Nikonov, Vyacheslav, 175
- Nivzolina, Irina, 98
- Niyazov, Saparmurat, 23
- Noble, Ben, 221n8
- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), 55, 74, 110, 115, 117–18, 232n23, 233n31
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO): Afghanistan and, 21; Baltics and, 155; cybersecurity and, 191; Estonia and, 191; foreign policy and, 5, 21, 27, 155–56, 161–63, 166, 170–73, 191, 240n6; Kosovo and, 240n6
- Northern Distribution Network, 174–75
- North Korea, 38, 69, 157, 190, 193, 222n34
- Norway, 166, 183, 190
- Nothing Is True and Everything is Possible* (Pomerantsev), 133–34
- Novatek, 227n21
- Novaya Gazeta* (newspaper), 141, 146
- Novgorod, Nizhny, 82
- novichok, 124
- nuclear weapons: autocracy and, 37, 152; developing new, 155–56; Gorbachev on, 132; Iran and, 21, 172–73, 193; Kiselyov on, 137; military involvement in, 110; mutually assured destruction and, 191; New START Treaty and, 21, 173; number of, 155; Russian legacy and, 37; START 1 Treaty and, 173; United States and, 3, 132
- Nuland, Victoria, 188
- Nyhan, Brendan, 185
- Obama, Barack, 18, 54, 160, 163, 173–74, 189, 192–93
- offshoring, 202–3
- oil prices, 41, 92; coronavirus and, 46; devaluation of ruble and, 33; foreign policy and, 166–67; infrastructure development and, 88–89; inner circle of Putin and, 96–97; media and, 148; Putinology and, 17–18, 33; Putin's popularity and, 65; sanctions and, 18, 155, 166
- oligarchs: autocracy and, 41; economic issues and, 87, 101, 106; elections and, 17; foreign policy and, 167; Khodorkovsky, 9, 61, 95, 143, 210, 212n6; media and, 142; Putinology and, 17, 22, 24–25, 33; Putin's popularity and, 62; repression and, 123, 128
- Olympic Games, 193
- Orban, Viktor, 11, 21, 39, 52, 70, 72, 87, 135, 171
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 76, 94, 167
- Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, 124
- Orthodox Church, 32, 121
- Ostrovsky, Arkady 212n20
- Our Alliance, 117
- Our Home Is Russia Party, 76
- Ozero, 96
- Pakistan, 155, 173
- Panama Papers, 88
- Paneyakh, Ella, 114–15
- partisanship, 7, 10–11, 98, 136, 145, 177, 186, 197, 206, 217n64
- passports, 2, 118, 129
- Patrushev, Nikolai, 110
- Paul, Rand, 180
- Pavlovsky, Gleb, 42
- Peace Data, 179
- pensions, 18, 51, 53, 58, 75, 92, 96, 149
- People's Action Party, 38
- Pepinsky, Tom, 8
- Peru, 11, 38, 112, 115
- Pesiakhin, Leonid, 182

- Petrov, Sergei, 198
- Pew Research Center, 181, 245n86
- Philippines, 39
- Piketty, Thomas, 94
- Pinkham, Sophie, 213n14
- Pinochet, Augusto, 109
- Plisetskaya, Maya, 119
- Plymouth Voyager, 5
- poison, 111, 113, 123–24, 143, 157, 179
- Poland, 5, 90, 95, 156, 162, 166, 196, 232n26
- police: assaulting, 120; autocracy and, 48; bribery and, 93, 103; elections and, 78–79; hackers and, 190; informers and, 113; Investigative Committee and, 111, 123, 198; Magnitsky death and, 113; Mishustin's pay raise for, 111; power struggles and, 198; Procuracy and, 111, 198; public opinion and, 57, 63, 93, 113, 116–17; repression and, 111, 113–16, 120, 127–28; rights violations by, 114–15; Stasi, 48, 202, 220n27; superficial reform of, 35; violence by, 78
- politburo, 41, 48
- Politkovskaya, Anna, 114, 127
- polls: approval ratings and, 47, 52–54, 57–59, 61–65, 92, 129; autocracy and, 54–58; credibility of, 6; economic issues and, 93; elections and, 68, 74–75, 78, 82, 84; foreign policy and, 157, 169–70, 245n86; Gallup, 245n86; Gudkov and, 28; media and, 151; Putin's popularity and, 221n17, 222n20; ruling elite and, 49
- Pomerantsev, Peter, 133–34, 235n2
- Pop-Eleches, Grigore, 31, 68
- Posner, Vladimir, 133
- Potemkin villages, 134, 200
- poverty, 8, 33, 89, 92
- Prigozhin, Yevgeny, 124
- prime minister: Medvedev as, 63, 121, 142, 167, 198–99; Putin as, 17, 22–23, 63, 78–79, 149, 199, 215n29, 245n89
- private property, 9
- privatization, 5, 9, 95, 168
- Procuracy, 111, 198
- propaganda: agitainment and, 136; effectiveness of, 14; foreign policy and, 6–7, 170; hackers and, 181–82, 186, 190, 197; lying and, 57, 119, 197; media and, 4, 132–33, 136, 144–46, 150; Putinology and, 7
- property rights, 5, 91, 100, 130
- protection rackets, 5
- protests, 6; autocracy and, 38, 42–48, 220n24, 220n27; economic issues and, 86; elections and, 68, 77–80, 83; fall of Soviet Union and, 5; foreign policy and, 169; hackers and, 181, 186; media and, 136, 138–39, 142, 146; political graffiti and, ix, 119; Putinology and, 17, 31; Putin's popularity and, 55, 61; repression and, 107, 117–22, 125–27, 130, 233n36; security agencies (siloviki) and, 47, 108–12, 114, 117, 165, 231n5
- Prussia, 159
- Pskov, 113, 138, 147
- public opinion: approval ratings and, 47, 52–54, 57–59, 61–65, 92, 129; autocracy and, 6, 49, 51, 54, 64, 134, 222n34, 244n71; digital persuasion and, 177–88, 191–92, 195, 245n3; economic issues and, 93; foreign policy and, 157, 168; hackers and, 177, 180, 194; Iran and, 223n34; media and, 134, 141, 148, 151, 211n7; police and, 116–17; polls and, 6, 28, 49, 54–55, 57–58, 68, 74–75, 78, 82, 84, 93, 151, 157, 169–70, 221n17, 222n20, 245n86; Putinology and, 50–65; Putin's popularity and, viii–ix, 51, 54, 56–59, 64, 221n17, 222n21; rapid changes in, 7; sanctioned countries and, 222n32; social media and, 141, 177, 194, 197; surveys and, 54 (see also surveys)
- purchasing power parity, 33, 156, 226n1
- Pussy Riot, 61
- Putin, Vladimir Vladimirovich: background of, 16; extended term limits for, 17, 23, 50–51, 130, 199; *First Person* and, 20–21; health of, 20, 214n20; Hitler and, 7; ideologies of, 17–20; KGB and, 9, 15–17, 20–23, 26, 35, 110, 134; Mussolini and, 7, 19; as

- Putin, Vladimir Vladimirovich (*continued*)
prime minister, 17, 22–23, 63, 78–79, 149, 199, 215n29, 245n89; role of in foreign policy, 158–59; Trump as puppet of, 7; as Vladimir the Lucky, 33; wealthy inner circle of, 96–97; Xi Jinping and, 154; Yeltsin and, 16–17, 22, 56–59, 76, 107, 157, 161, 180, 214n24
- Putinology, 204–5; authoritarianism and, 32, 35; autocracy and, 16, 19, 22–23, 25, 28, 35–36; Chávez and, 21, 23; corruption and, 18, 28, 45; Crimea and, 17–18, 21; democracy and, 30–32; dictatorships and, 35; Erdoğan and, 21, 23; exceptional Russia and, 26–33; Malaysia and, 8, 21, 24, 32; methodologies of, 17–20; military and, 21, 24, 32; national character and, 31; oil prices and, 17–18, 33; oligarchs and, 17, 22, 24–25, 33; policy preferences and, 23–26; propaganda of, 7; protests and, 17, 31; repression and, 17, 21, 27; sanctions and, 18; surveys on, 28–31; Turkey and, 21, 23, 36; Ukraine and, 21, 24, 29; United States and, 21, 24, 28–35; worldview of, vii–viii, 9, 12, 15, 18, 33, 37, 109, 131, 152–53, 159, 163, 200; Yanukovych and, vii, 21, 118, 146, 188
- Putin's popularity: annexation of Crimea and, 17, 58, 65; approval ratings and, 47, 52–54, 57–59, 61–65, 92, 129; autocracy and, 51–54, 64–65; banks and, 18; Chávez and, 65; control of public and, 51–52; corruption and, 56, 58, 60, 63; courts and, 51, 57, 63; economic issues and, 130; elections and, 51–52, 55, 65, 77; elites and, 51–52; foreign policy and, 52–53, 59, 63; Hungary and, 52; lying and, viii; military and, 52; oil prices and, 65; oligarchs and, 62; police and, 113; polls and, 221n17, 222n20; protests and, 55, 61; public image and, 53, 58, 151; public opinion and, viii–ix, 51, 54, 56–59, 64, 221n17, 222n21; reality of, 56–58; reasons for, 58–62; repression and, 57; surveys and, 17, 51, 54–57, 60, 62, 221n17, 222n19, 222n21, 222n34; United States and, 56, 60–61; Venezuela and, 65; verification of, 54–56
- QS university ranking, 94
- radio, 3, 79, 135, 137, 177–78
- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (FRE/RL), 178
- Radio Moscow, 177
- Rahmon, Emomali, 23
- Rakhlin, Anatoly, 20
- ration cards, 3
- RBC (online news), 138
- Reagan, Ronald, 3, 132, 158
- reassessment: authoritarianism and, 200, 205; autocracy and, 200–5; Crimea and, 197; elections and, 200; elites and, 202–3; foreign policy and, 200–4; military and, 200–1; post-Putin Russia and, 201–2; surveys and, 204; U.S. view of Russia and, 196–97, 207
- recession, 90, 167
- Red Army, 5
- Red Web, The: The Kremlin's War on the Internet* (Soldatov and Borogan), 141
- religion, 7, 15, 61, 116, 164
- Remnick, David, 212n20
- repression: authoritarianism and, 112, 130; autocracy and, 12–14, 38, 40, 47–49, 108–9, 115–16, 119, 122, 125, 129, 131, 220n24; censorship and, 12, 117, 119, 135, 141–44, 148–49, 222n19; China and, 112; coercion and, 17, 47–48, 108–9, 112–17, 121, 130; corruption and, 108, 111, 114, 117, 121–24, 127–30, 200, 202; coups and, 117, 220n24; courts and, 108, 115–16, 118, 120, 122–23; Crimea and, 107, 130; elections and, 111, 113–14, 121–24, 129–30; elites and, 109–11, 114, 116, 121; Erdoğan and, 117; extended presidential terms and, 17; fraud and, 113, 122, 126; Germany and, 162, 172; house arrest and, 86, 126–27; human rights and, 113–15, 118,

- 120, 123, 127; Hungary and, 115; internet and, 117, 124; intimidation and, 13, 36, 54, 67, 75, 108, 118, 130, 138; jail and, 101, 108, 115, 117, 120–23, 125, 127; KGB and, 21, 110, 129, 134; legalism and, 112–18; media and, 134–35; military and, 109–10; murder and, 8, 107–8, 112, 116, 138, 198, 237n17; National Guard and, 111, 121; Navalny and, 82–83, 121–24, 127–28, 143, 233n38, 233n41; number of deaths from, 232n17; oligarchs and, 123, 128; overstating, 125–29; poisoning and, 111, 113, 123–24, 143; police and, 111, 113–16, 120, 127–28; political, 12, 27, 49, 57, 113, 125, 130; pretrial incarceration and, 101; protests and, 107, 117–22, 125–27, 130, 233n36; Putinology and, 17, 21, 27; role of, 107–31; sanctions and, 124; security agencies (siloviki) and, 47, 108–12, 114, 117, 165, 231n5; social costs of, 113; Soviet Union and, 109–13, 119, 125, 127, 129; as substitute, 233n33; surveys and, 113, 116, 119, 126, 130; Syria and, 110; targeted, 198; taxes and, 113, 115–16, 125; Turkey and, 115, 117; Ukraine and, 107, 110, 114, 118; Venezuela and, 115, 117
- Republicans, 7, 54, 185, 187, 197, 212n13
- Reuter, Ora John, 56, 67–68, 219n9, 223n2, 223n4, 223n6, 224n20, 232n20
- Right Cause, 76
- Rink, Leonid, 124
- Rivera, Sharon, 159
- Robertson, Graeme, 59–60, 68, 217nn68–69, 222n27, 222n29, 223n7, 224n19
- Rochlitz, Michael, 98, 232n20, 238n43
- Roldugin, Sergei, 88
- Rolf, 198
- Romania, 164
- Rosenfeld, Bryn, 150
- Rosneft', 92, 100, 198, 236n16
- Rozenas, Arturas, 148, 182
- RT (Russia Today), 178–79
- Russian Academy of Sciences, 168
- Russian Audit Chamber, 167
- Russian Central Bank, 86, 149, 161
- Russian Department of Defense, 190
- Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 167
- Russian Parliament (Duma), 17, 50–51, 63, 76, 79–82, 100, 104, 113, 139
- Russian Securities and Exchange Commission, viii, 5
- Russian Supreme Court, 233n41
- Russophobia, 8
- Sadovnikov, Peter, 216n48
- Sagai, Oleg, 143
- Saint Petersburg (Leningrad), 4, 16, 21–22, 95–96, 127, 132–33, 140–41, 179
- sanctions: commodity prices and, 96; Crimea and, 60–61, 160, 166, 189; elites and, 89, 95; foreign direct investment and, 89; foreign policy and, 154–55, 160, 166–67, 169, 243n53; Germany and, 99; hackers and, 189, 195; media and, 148, 150; oil prices and, 18, 155, 166; property rights and, 100; Putinology and, 18; Putin's popularity and, 222n34; repression and, 124
- Sanders, Bernie, 140
- Sanger, David, 176
- Saudi Arabia, 6, 72, 155, 172, 205
- Sberbank, 85
- Scaramucci, Anthony, 60
- Scheppele, Kim Lane, 72, 221n10
- Scott, James C., 32
- Sechin, Igor', 198
- Second Chechen War, 116
- security agencies (siloviki), 47, 108–12, 114, 117, 165, 231n5
- Security Council, 111
- Segal, Adam, 195
- Senegal, 10
- September 11 attacks, viii, 21, 161
- Serbia, 164
- Serebrennikov, Kirill, 126–27
- Sestanovich, Stephen, 163
- Shabolov, Alexander, 98, 229n46
- Shamalov, Nikolai, 96

- Shamiev, Kirill, 231n5
Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz, 217n58
sharia law, 116
Sharonov, Andrei, 101
Shen, Xiaoxiao, 55
Sherlock, Thomas, 168
Shiller, Robert, 29
Shlosberg, Lev, 113–14
Shoigu, Sergei, 110
Shteyngart, Gary, 137, 212n20
Siberia, 9, 96, 123
Silicon Valley, 138
Silver, Nate, 175, 185, 250n17
Singapore, 38
single-party systems, 11, 38, 41, 49, 87
Sjoberg, Fredrik, 226n41
Skripal family, 111, 124, 157, 179
Skype, 126, 176
Slate (magazine), 189
Slepakov, Semyon, 92
Slovenia, 164
Snyder, Timothy, 19
Sobchak, Anatoly, 16, 22
Sobol, Lyubov, 83
Sobolev, Anton, 150
Sobyanin, Sergei, 122–23
Sochi Olympics, 61, 102, 110
social media: blogs, 121–22, 138–40, 143; elections and, 71, 78; Facebook, 137, 140, 177, 179, 181, 185, 235n65; foreign policy and, 154–55; Golunov and, 127; government trolls and, 140, 150, 176–77, 179, 181, 185–86, 194; hackers and, 175, 177–79, 183–87, 192, 194; manipulation of, 137–38, 140–41, 143, 150; news from, 34, 215n37; public opinion and, 141, 177, 194, 197; rise of, 207; Skype, 126, 176; Twitter, 140, 144, 179, 181, 185–86; YouTube, 140, 143, 177, 179
Social Media and Political Participation Lab, 140
Soldatov, Andrei, 141, 231n6
Some Like It Hot (film), 4
Sonin, Konstantin, 96–97, 224n18
Sony, 190, 193
South Korea, 3, 30, 91
South Ossetia, 189
Soviet Union: Afghanistan and, 3, 211n1, 235n1, 245n1; Brezhnev and, 2, 27, 38, 41, 56, 112, 157; Cold War and, 1, 3, 8, 33, 38–39, 68, 160–62, 180, 206, 245n86, 250n15; Communist Party and, 2–3, 5, 24, 30, 33, 38, 41, 76, 77, 110, 112–13, 125, 143; elections and, 77, 82; Engels and, 33; as Evil Empire, 3; exhibits of, 1–2; fall of, 4–5; foreign policy and, 154, 156, 159–64, 173; Gorbachev and, 1–3, 132; hackers and, 175–76, 178, 182–83, 187, 191; Higher School of Economics (HSE) and, viii, 5, 33, 105, 127–28, 136, 207, 211n5, 235n65; Homo Sovieticus and, 28–32; horrors of, 1, 29; Khrushchev and, 1, 24, 41; Lenin and, 33, 173; Marx and, 33, 160; media manipulation and, 132–34, 141, 146, 149, 151, 204; nuclear weapons and, 3; protest and, 5; Putin's popularity and, 51; Red Army and, 5; repression and, 109–13, 119, 125, 127, 129; Saint Petersburg (Leningrad), 4, 16, 21–22, 95–96, 127, 132–33, 140–41, 179; Sobchak and, 16; Stalin and, ix, 16, 27, 56, 112–13, 204, 220n28; travel and, 34
Spain, 32, 38, 123
Sperling, Valerie, 231n1
stagnation, 87, 96, 130, 199
Stalin, Joseph, ix, 16, 27, 56, 112–13, 204, 220n28
Stanford University, 186
START 1 treaty, 173
Stasi, 48, 202, 220n27
State Council, 50, 199
state television, 59, 79, 136–37, 144, 146, 148–49, 151, 177, 236n12, 239n51
statistics, 5, 35, 73–74, 93, 204
Stent, Angela 213n20, 252n5
Stevenson, Adlai, 187

- Stockholm Institute of Peace Research, 155
- Stone, Oliver, 4
- Stukal, Denis, 148
- Stuxnet, 193
- Sudan, 157, 222n34
- surveillance, 110
- surveys, 5; approval ratings and, 47, 52–54, 57–59, 61–65, 92, 129; Bashkirova and Partners and, 54; control groups and, 56–57; democratic values and, 250n14; economic issues and, 93–94, 100–1, 103; elections and, 67, 74–75, 77, 79, 223n3, 225n30; FOM, 54, 169; foreign policy and, 159, 168–69; Gallup and, 57, 245n86; GFK, 54; hackers and, 181–82, 186; Levada Center and, 53–58, 62, 146–47, 151, 168–70, 222n20; media and, 150, 239n62; Pew Research Center and, 181, 245n86; polls and, 6, 28, 49, 54–55, 57–58, 68, 74–75, 78, 82, 84, 93, 151, 157, 169–70, 221n17, 222n20, 245n86; Putinology and, 28–31; Putin's popularity and, 17, 51, 54–57, 60, 62, 221n17, 222n19, 222n21, 222n34; reassessment and, 204; repression and, 113, 116, 119, 126, 130; VTSIOM and, 54; World Values Survey and, 30, 55
- Svolik, Milan, 43, 211n8, 219nn14–17
- Sweden, 70, 124
- Switzerland, 166
- Syria: chemical weapons and, 18; foreign policy and, 154–57, 164, 169, 172; repression and, 110
- Szakonyi, David, 67–68, 97, 223n2, 224nn20–21, 224n23
- Tajikistan, 23
- Taliban, 173
- Talibova, Roya, 113
- Talking Heads, 3
- Tallinn, 175–76
- taxes: cronyism and, 97; economic issues and, 97, 101, 103; evasion of, 9; flat, 18; fraud and, 113, 115; Khodorkovsky and, 9; misused funds and, 103; offshoring and, 101; repression and, 113, 115–16, 125
- Taylor, Brian, 158
- Tepper, Yuri, 136
- Tereshkova, Valentina, 50–51
- terrorism, viii, 1–2, 21, 27, 110, 113, 143, 161, 204, 232n25
- Thailand, 39
- That Politics May Be Reduced to a Science* (Hume), 37
- Tiananmen Square, 117
- Tolz, Vera, 136
- Treaty of Trianon, 171
- Treisman, Daniel, 58, 95, 134, 146, 215n31, 218n79
- trolls, 140, 150, 176–77, 179, 181, 185–86, 194
- Truex, Rory, 55
- Trump, Donald: election of, 7, 176, 181, 184–88, 192; foreign policy and, 156, 171–72; hackers and, 7, 176, 181, 184–88, 192; media and, 140, 144; as Putin's puppet, 7; Russian sanctions and, 60; Scaramucci and, 60
- Tsygankov, Andrei, 164, 164–65
- Tucker, Joshua, 31, 217n64, 237n25, 238n40, 247n33
- Turkey: autocracy and, 11, 39; economic issues and, 87, 91, 95, 99; elections and, 70, 232n25; elites and, 40–41, 44–48, 219n9; Erdoğan and, 11, 21, 23, 39, 52, 70, 72, 117, 135, 171, 232nn25–26; foreign policy and, 171–72; media and, 135; Putinology and, 21, 23, 36; Putin's popularity and, 52; repression and, 115, 117
- Turkmenistan, 23
- TV Rain, 139, 145
- Twin Towers, viii, 21, 161
- Twitter, 140, 144, 179, 181, 185–86
- Ukraine: autocratic dilemmas and, 45; Crimea and, vii, 17–18, 21, 59, 107, 146, 154, 162–66, 169, 188; economic issues and, 90; European Union and, vii; foreign policy

- Ukraine (*continued*)
and, 154–57, 162–66, 169, 173; hackers
and, 179, 182–83, 188–93; Ivano-Frankivsk
and, 188; Kyiv, vii, 146, 179, 188; Malaysian
airliner scandal and, 24, 147, 148, 190,
235n2, 239n51; Malofeev and, 24; media
and, 134, 137, 146–47; popularity issues
and, 58–59; power grid shutdown and,
188–89; Putinology and, 21, 24, 29; re-
pression and, 107, 110, 114, 118; Yanu-
kovych and, vii, 21, 118, 146, 188
- Ulyanovsk, 89, 173
- Ulyukayev, Alexei, 198
- United Russia, 67, 71, 100
- United States: American Dream and, 7;
capitalism and, 133; Cold War and, 1, 3, 8,
33, 38–39, 68, 160–62, 180, 206, 245n86,
250n15; Crimea and, vii, 60–61, 157, 163,
166, 189, 245n86; democracy and, vii, 32,
133, 188, 196, 203; economic issues and,
94–95, 98–99; elections and, 14, 24, 30,
70–71, 111, 155, 175–76, 179–81, 183, 187–88,
191–94; exhibits of, 1–2; foreign policy and,
154–74; gerrymandering and, 71; hackers
and, 24, 110–11, 155, 175–83, 187–95; media
and, 136–37, 149–50; Monroe Doctrine
and, 160; New START Treaty and, 21,
173; North Atlantic Treaty Organization
(NATO) and, 5, 21, 27, 155–56, 161–63,
166, 170–73, 191, 240n6; nuclear weapons
and, 3, 21, 132, 173; partisanship of, 7; pos-
itive Russian view of, 244n69, 245n86;
Putin's popularity and, 56, 60–61; reas-
sessment of Russia and, 196–97, 207;
sanctions and, 124 (*see also* sanctions);
START 1 Treaty and, 173
- University of Rochester, 201
- UN Security Council, 152, 156
- US Information Agency, 129
- US National Security Council, 194
- US Pentagon, 161
- “US-Soviet Cooperation in Space as an Alter-
native to the Arms Race” (debate), 132–33
- USSR Chamber of Commerce, 129
- Uzbekistan, 3, 23, 31, 34, 129
- vaccines, 93–94
- Valeriano, Brandon, 190–91, 194
- Vedomosti* (newspaper), 138, 141,
236n16
- Vekselberg, Viktor, 167
- Venezuela, 36; Alliance of Tolerance and, 170;
autocracy and, 6, 39–40; Chávez and, 11,
21, 23, 39, 52, 65, 70, 72, 87, 135, 170, 232n26;
economic issues and, 87, 91, 99; elections
and, 70, 155; energy companies and, 10;
foreign policy and, 154–55, 157, 170, 241n21;
Maduro and, 39, 65, 117, 154–55; media
and, 135, 232n24; Putin's popularity and,
65; repression and, 115, 117; voter mobili-
zation and, 196
- Victory Day, 176
- Vietnam, 132, 160
- Vinogradov, Mikhail, 142, 237n30
- V Kontakte (In Contact), 137
- Voice of America, 177
- Volodin, Vyacheslav, 15, 124
- VTSIOM, 54
- Wall Street* (film), 4
- Wall Street Journal*, 28
- Warsaw Pact, 5
- Watts, Clint, 184
- Watts, Duncan, 11
- Way, Lucan, 183, 247n23
- weak institutions, 12, 40–44
- WikiLeaks, 141, 184
- World Anti-Doping Agency, 190
- World Bank, 90, 91, 95, 102, 167
- World Cup, 102
- World Health Organization (WHO), 93
- World Trade Center, viii, 21, 161
- World Values Survey, 30, 55
- World War I era, 160
- World War II era, 22, 43, 45–46, 119, 146, 154,
161, 175–76

- Xerox copiers, 3
Xi Jinping, 154
- Yabloko, 76, 98
Yaffa, Joshua, 116, 212n20, 230n62, 233n29,
239n51
Yakobashvili, David, 198
Yakovlev, Andrei, 5, 100, 127
Yakunin, Vladimir, 96
Yanukovych, Viktor, vii, 21, 118, 146, 188
Yelin, Alexander, 50
Yeltsin, Boris, 16–17, 22, 56–59, 76, 107, 157,
161, 180, 214n24
- YouTube, 140, 143, 177, 179
Yukos, 9–10, 95, 99
- Zakharov, Alexei, 30
Zelensky, Volodymyr, 166
Zhirinovskiy, Vladimir, 76
Zhuravaskaya, Ekaterina, 215n43
Zhukov, Yuri, 113
Zimbabwe, 157
Zimmerman, William, 159
Zolotov, Viktor, 121, 233n39
Zurich Opera, 126
Zygar, Mikhail, 112