

This document is the result of the collaborative work of a group of experts. It is not yet part of a political programme, but a proposed solution developed by the forum's participants.

THE ECONOMY IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD

Baseline scenario for political transition

We consider the main trigger for political change in Russia to be the physical removal of Vladimir Putin or his displacement from power — without this, a political transition will not begin. After that, a temporary “post-Putin technocratic government” may emerge, composed of members of the current regime and economic elites seeking legitimacy both domestically and internationally. Other scenarios are possible, but they are not considered in this framework.

We do not expect a full-scale economic collapse by the time the transition begins. However, to strengthen its domestic legitimacy, the temporary “government” will need economic growth — and, most importantly, **international recognition and the restoration of economic relations with the outside world**. Democratic Russian forces can serve as mediators in such negotiations between Russian elites and the international community.

We define the transition period as the interval between Putin’s removal and the holding of federal elections. Our goal is to pressure the post-Putin government into allowing the democratic opposition to participate in these elections. **Mediation in negotiations is our main tool for influencing the Russian elites.**

Terms and subject of negotiations

In negotiations with Russian political and economic elites, it is essential to establish “red lines” — mandatory conditions without which such talks are meaningless. These include ending the war, removing war criminals and those involved in domestic political repressions from power. International personal sanctions can serve as a guide for identifying such individuals. Without meeting these conditions, it would be pointless to hold negotiations, as they would merely strengthen the undemocratic regime and hinder a transit. Moreover, economic relations with the world and growth cannot be restored without these steps.

The goal of these negotiations is to hold free elections in Russia. In exchange, the international community, with the mediation of Russian democratic forces, may offer the elites:

- The lifting of oil sanctions
- The lifting of restrictions on citizens (visas, bank cards)
- The restoration of air travel
- The restoration of access to SWIFT
- The lifting of technological sanctions

Economic program of the Russian democratic forces

To participate in competitive federal elections, we propose the Do Not Lie and Do Not Wage War economic program, developed at the first Yulia Navalnaya Forum in 2024.

The goal of this program is as follows:

“Russia must be a normal European country, where every person can live with dignity, where economic growth is driven by private enterprise and human capital, where there is a broad middle class, and low inequality.”

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Key Provisions of the Program

- The top priority is economic growth:
 - Rapid deregulation and removal of artificial barriers to entrepreneurship.
 - Restoration of tax incentives for small businesses.
 - Investment in education, training, and retraining — including for soldiers returning from the front.
 - Privatisation or transfer of state assets to the Pension Fund.
 - Negotiations for international aid, loans, and investment.
- Responsible budget and monetary policy.
- Budget federalism: decentralisation of taxes and mandates.
- Support for socially vulnerable groups.

Special Opinions

Maxim Blant, economic commentator, believes that **privatisation is premature until the issue of property legitimacy is resolved**. A large share of assets has been privatised, nationalised, or transferred under illegal pressure.

Professor of Finance **Maxim Mironov** considers it most likely that the **transition will begin after an economic collapse** or banking crisis. Historical experience of other countries shows that such collapse is a necessary but insufficient condition for a shift from authoritarianism to democracy. Under such circumstances, the primary economic task will be supporting the most vulnerable social groups.

Journalist **Kirill Kharatyan** proposes a key tax reform: allocating part of the natural resource rent to individual accounts. This would make the country's natural wealth tangible and visible to all citizens.

Blant and **Kharatyan** believe that the return to Russia of participants in the war in Ukraine will pose a serious challenge to the economy. This could trigger an economic and social crisis.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Maxim Blant | economic commentator and columnist

Sergey Guriev | economist, Dean of the London School of Economics

Ekaterina Zhuravskaya | economist, Professor at the Paris School of Economics

Maxim Mironov | Professor of Finance, IE Business School, co-author of Alexei Navalny's economic program

Tatyana Mikhailova | economist, Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Economics, University of Pennsylvania

Kirill Kharatyan | journalist, Opinion Editor, *The Moscow Times*