

SUBJECT

The specifics of current social and political state of Russia

The specifics of terrorism in Russia

Russian ways and means of fighting terrorism and their effect on human rights and democratic norms

ECONOMY

Economic situation improving and has never been better:

- **GNP in 2006 \$ 1000 billion**
- **GNP growth 6-8% per year (6.8% in 2006)**
- **Federal budget revenue \$ 217 billion**
- **Federal budget positive balance \$ 76 billion**
- **Inflation 8.2%**
- **Gold reserves \$ 304 billion**
- **Stabilization fund \$90 billion**
- **Positive trade balance \$10 billion**
- **Foreign debt \$ 50 billion (60% reduction since 2000)**
- **Unemployment 5-6%**

Unprecedented growth in world oil prices

Russia – 13% of world oil and 34% of gas deposits, 14% oil/gas extraction

Energy production and export 25% GNP, 50% of budget revenues and foreign trade earnings

Energy-exporting model

20% of population below poverty level

Only 10% of subjects of Federation donors

10% affluent 14 times richer than 10% poorest

Low employment and limited budget revenues pools

Dependence on world energy prices

State-monopolistic economy

POLITICAL SYSTEM

- **Constitution**
- **Division of powers**
- **Limitation of terms in office**
- **Political pluralism**
- **Regular elections**
- **Regional and local self-government**
- **Non-governmental organizations and civil-society**
- **Ombudsman**
- **Human rights monitoring**
- **Relative freedoms of mass media**
- **Intellectual freedoms**

Legacy of the 1990's:

Devastating economic reforms

Two putsches, two defaults, two wars

“Sovereign democracy”

“Executive vertical”

“Energy superpower”

Representatives of “power structures” in federal and regional executive and legislative bodies

in 1999 - 11%

in 1999 - 17%

in 2002 - 25%

in 2005 - 30%

Prevailing public moods more conservative than that of authorities

Public majority – Europeans

Authorities – Eurasian

Authoritarian political system

Unprecedented crime and corruption

Politically most conservative period not during the crisis, but when remission starts

TERRORISM IN RUSSIA

Universal roots of terrorism:

Disintegration of Empire

Artificial borders

Economic and social strife

Refugees, immigrants, crime and corruption

Nationalism, ethnic conflicts

Specific Russian roots of terrorism

Simultaneous collapse of economic and political system, ideology, state social and law enforcement functions

1991 duality of supreme powers: “take as much sovereignty as you can swallow...”

13 thousand km transparent borders

Russian environment: nationalism, wars, religious radicalism, terrorism

Weapons of mass destruction, vulnerable industrial infrastructure

North Caucasus (potentially Volga regions)

North Caucasus initial stage, end 1980's - mid 1990's:

ethnic separatism, asymmetric warfare (Budenovsk, Kizliar), local recruitment, local leadership

Legal basis – restoration of constitutional order, no state of emergency

New stage end 1990's – current:

Counterterrorist operation, no state of emergency

Islamic radicalism, full scale terrorism, international cooperation and support, foreign leadership

Suppression in Chechnia, clan of Kadyrov

Terrorism 2002-2006: horizontal and vertical escalation (North Caucasus, Moscow, Volgograd, Beslan)

Attempts to acquire WMD

FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM IN RUSSIA

Common ways and means

Any law enforcement encroach on human rights

Terrorism – extreme form of political violence

Fight against terrorism – the toughest encroachment on human rights after war-fighting

Expansion of law enforcement and security state structures

(2002-2004 Criminal Code, Criminal Procedures Code: suspected terrorists in custody 30 instead of 3 days.)

2002 Law on Countering Extremism:

“Any activity undermining the security of the Russian Federation”

Fast prohibition of terrorist or suspected organizations (two warnings, suspension without court warrant)

2006 Law on Countering Terrorism:

“Terrorism is the ideology of violence and the practice of affecting the decision-making of the State authorities, local authorities and international organization, through intimidation of the people and (or) by means of other forms of the illegal actions of violence.”

Counterterrorist operation, area, regime (no cooperation with local authorities, no limitation on duration)

Employment of Armed Forces without limitation

Interception of airplanes and ships

Use of force from Russian territory and beyond

No negotiations on political issues

Vague provisions for compensation to civilians

No role of judicial or legislative bodies (except for use of force abroad)

RUSSIAN SPECIFICS:

Law application practice and human rights

Poor adaptation of power structures to new political environment and new tasks (Chechnia 60 000 killed and wounded military, 200-300 000 civilians, Grozny, Nord Ost – 130, Beslan -340)

Little if any control by legislative or judicial branches

Severe limitations on control by mass media or NGOs

Support by public opinion (58% for capital punishment, 26% for punishment of relatives, 33% restrictions on movement and residence of Chechens in Russia, 44% for censorship, 33% for suspension of opposition parties)

RESULTS

Great excesses of use of force (more recruits for terrorists)

Use for political purposes other than fight against terror (appointment of governors, no single districts, 7% barrier, no party blocks, party registration)

Local application still tougher

Lack of control over power structures (incompetence, corruption)

Curtailment of legal ways for social, ethnic and religious groups

Temporary pacification – long term destabilization

HOW TO PROCEED?

**Fight against terrorism and human rights
(democratic norms and institutions)**

“Ideal State?”

Fascism, Stalinism and terrorism

Trade offs, no linear function

**Main threat of terrorism for nations in
intermediate state**

Quo Vadis Russia?

People willing to trade their
freedom for temporary
security deserve neither
and will lose both

Benjamin Franklin.
An Historical Review of the Constitution
and Government of Pennsylvania, 1759