

# **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 2007 \$ 1 340 billion (place in the world - from 19th in 1998 to 8-9th in 2007)**
- **GNP growth 7, 3% in 2007**
- **Federal budget revenue \$ 270 billion**
- **Federal budget positive balance \$ 60 billion**
- **Inflation 12%**
- **Gold reserves \$ 406 billion**
- **Stabilization fund \$ 144 billion**
- **Positive trade balance \$ 122 billion**
- **Foreign debt \$ 47 billion (65% reduction since 2000)**
- **Unemployment 3, 3%**

# But...

- **Fragile base of economic growth**
- **Russia – 7% of world oil (7th place in the world) and 27% of gas (1st place in the world) deposits**
- **Russia - 14% of world oil and 27% of gas export (2nd and 1st places in the world respectively)**
- **Energy production and export - 25% GNP, 50% of budget revenues and foreign trade earnings**

# Energy-exporting economic model:

- 15% of population still below poverty level
- Only 10% of subjects of Federation donors
- 10% affluent 15 times richer than 10% poorest
- Low employment and limited budget revenues pool (Russian whole federal budget only twice as big as US defense budget)
- Dependence on world energy prices
- 2006 WEF global competitiveness index, Russia at 62d place out of 125 states
- 2006 WB “ease of doing business” index, Russia at 96 out of 175 states

# POLITICAL SYSTEM

- **Constitution**
- **Division of powers**
- **Limitation of terms in office  
(Putin's precedent)**
- **Political parties**
- **Regular elections**
- **Ombudsman**
- **No censorship**

# THREE REASONS FOR CONSERVATIVE/NATIONALIST CONTEROFFENSIVE:

- First. Legacy of the 1990's, associated with “democrat's rule”: Devastating economic reforms, 60% decline in GDP by 1998, 30% of population beyond poverty level (70% of Russians = 10% of poorest Americans)

G. Yavlinsky: “Two putsches, two defaults, two wars”

- Second. Unprecedented oil prices and growing energy shortage – Russia awash in petrodollars in 2001-2007

# THREE REASONS FOR CONSERVATIVE/NATIONALIST CONTEROFFENSIVE:

- Third. Foreign policy of the West: Russia – “defeated” state, NATO expansion 1999 and 2004, war in Yugoslavia 1999, war in Iraq 2003, dismantling of disarmament (ABMT, START-2/3 and START-1 extension/SORT, CTBT, FMCT, BTWC protocol 2001, adopted CFE)

US BMD third site in Europe, Kosovo, Iran

Post-Weimar and post-Versailles syndromes

# MAIN RUSSIAN PROBLEMS:

- Uncontrolled bureaucracy
- Energy- exporting economy
- Failure to address, except superficially, principal national issues:
  - Economic diversification
  - Demography
  - Reforms of:
    1. Social security (poverty)
    2. Healthcare
    3. Education
    4. Communal services/housing
    5. Agriculture
    6. Transportation
    7. Defense
    8. Terrorism

# TERRORISM IN RUSSIA

- Disintegration of Empire
- Artificial borders
- Economic decline and social strife
- Refugees, immigrants, crime and corruption
- Nationalism, ethnic conflicts, religious extremism
- 13 thousand km of new transparent borders
- Corruption and inefficiency of “power structures”
- North Caucasus:
  - Counterterrorist operations 1994-1996, 1999-2001
  - Islamic radicalism, full scale terrorism, involvement of international terrorism
- Terrorists’ attempts to acquire WMD

# **LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF FIGHTING TERRORISM:**

**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 organizations, through intimidation of the people and (or) by means of other forms of the illegal actions of violence.”**

# **LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF FIGHTING TERRORISM:**

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

**Employment of Armed Forces without limitation**

**Shooting down hijacked airplanes**

**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)**

# **PRACTICAL APPLICATION:**

**Poor adaptation of power structures to new political environment and new tasks (Chechnya - 60 000 killed and wounded military, 80 000 civilians, Moscow Theater – 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 force (more recruits for terrorists)**

**Cover for political reforms of 2001-2007: appointment of governors, no single districts, 7% barrier, no party blocks, party registration, pressure on free NGOs and mass media**

**Lack of control over power structures (incompetence, corruption)**

**Curtailment of legal expression of social, ethnic and religious groups' interests – fuel for extremism**

**Suppression in Chechnya, clan of Kadyrov**

**Terrorism 2002-2007: horizontal and vertical escalation: Moscow, Volgodonsk, Chechnya, Ossetia (Beslan), Ingushetia, Dagestan, Kabarda, Cherkessia, Adygeia, Stavropol, Kuban'**

**Temporary pacification – long term destabilization:**

**in 2007 40 terrorist acts (in 2006 – 112), 356 terrorist acts prevented, 500 terrorists killed, 500-700 terrorists remain active (same as during 2001-2006!!!)**

# HOW TO PROCEED?

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

**No linear function**

**Ideal democracy – efficient law enforcement, democratic control, legal ways for protecting minority interests – no terrorism**

**Fascism, Stalinism, Maoism – universal suppression, no terrorism**

**Trade offs, main threat of terrorism for nations in intermediate state of development - Russia**

**The need of good example of the West (unlike Iraq, Abu Grave, Guantanamo)**

**Imperative for Russian-EU-US cooperation**

# QUO VADIS RUSSIA?

- Further curtailment of democracy – more social, ethnic and religious tension – more terrorism
- More democracy – more support of suppression by the public – more terrorism
- Delicate balance of “enlightened governance” and “the will of the people”

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