

Bulletin of Memorial Human Rights Center

The situation in the zone of conflict in the North Caucasus: evaluation by human rights activists Winter 2010 – 2011

Memorial Human Rights Center is continuing its activity in the North Caucasus. We offer you our regular Bulletin: a brief description of the main events of three winter months 2010-2011, as well as some generalisations and tendencies of the situation's development. While preparing the Bulletin, we used materials gathered by members of Memorial Human Rights Center in the North Caucasus, published on the Memorial's web-site, and mass media reports.

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1. The Airport Domodedovo: the world recollected the armed confrontation in the North Caucasus

Capturing the international attention to the continuing confrontation in the North Caucasus was, undoubtedly, one of the main objectives of the terrorists who blew up a suicide bomber in the International Arrivals Lounge of the of the Moscow Airport Domodedovo on 24 January, 2011. Whether this terrorist act was incidental or intentional, it happened directly on the eve of President of Russia **Dmitry Medvedev**'s departure to the Davos Economic Forum, which fact secured some additional attention of the world community to the tragedy, and Russian President was compelled to speak publicly on the occasion of the occurrence in front of heads of states and governments in Davos.

It cannot be denied that that the terrorists achieved their aim in this respect. The majority of the world's leading newspapers suddenly remembered “the bloody civil war going on for more than ten

years on the territory of several autonomous Republics with prevailing Muslim population” (*“The Financial Times”*, 30.01.2011). In the first days after the terrorist act, some western publications appeared with eloquent headings: *“Losing the Battle against Terrorism”*, *“The Way Russia Created Its Own Problem of Islamic Terrorism”*, *“Russia’s Struggle against Terrorism and with Itself”*, *“Why Does Russia Fail to Stop Terrorists?”*, *“A Mortal Blow on the Russian Struggle against Terrorism”*, etc.

The American *“Time”* notes a surprising paradox: in the safe, rich and politically stable Russia there occurred more major acts of terrorism during the past last ten years than in any other country of the world, except for *Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq* which are virtually zones of military operations (*“Time”*, 27.01. 2011). What is then wrong?

To the question why the conflict in the North Caucasus is so durable and has not died out until now, western mass-media give an answer regrettable for *“the Russian counterterrorist strategy”*: this strategy itself *“may actually serve as a paradigmatic example of how one should not combat Islamic terrorism”* (*“Time”*, 27.01.2011). In this regard, many western editions go far beyond evaluations of the failure of Russian power structures in the Airport Domodedovo or even beyond estimations of the Caucasian policy of Russian Government, passing over to assessing the political regime formed in Russia. Thus, *“The International Herald Tribune”* of America in its article with a characteristic title *“Cracks in the Russian Regime”* asserts that the pattern of governance in Russia, in itself, being connected with the enforcement of authoritarianism and curtailing of freedom, contributes to a decrease in the efficiency of law enforcement agencies. *“Corruption and absence of accountability mean that law enforcement agencies have substantially abandoned the discharge of their appropriate duties”* (*“The International Herald Tribune”, the USA, 30.01.2011*). Many people tie together the failures of special services and the militia with **Vladimir Putin's** name who is considered by many in the West to be the authentic Russian leader. *“Putin's Counter-terrorist Policy is Inefficient”*, the French *“L'Express”* confirms (25.01.2011). *“The terrorism in the Caucasus, which came to Moscow, continues to find its victims in the Russian capital, and this process cannot be effectively opposed by the militia of Vladimir Putin's regime”* (*“La Repubblica”, Italy, 25.01.2011*).

Western journalists again, as it was once witnessed during the first Chechen war, rushed to the North Caucasus. Having communicated there with relatives of terrorists, as well as with common inhabitants and experts, they discovered many things for themselves, as though they were getting acquainted anew with what was going on in the North Caucasus. *“Domodedovo”* seems to have revived the long-term interest of western journalists in the region. In this respect, the focus of their attention is belatedly moving from Chechnya to some new centres of tension – Ingushetia, Dagestan, and Kabardino-Balkariya.

Correspondent of the British newspaper *“The Telegraph”* **Andrew Osborn** who met **Mukhazhir**, father of **Magomed Yevloev**, the terrorist who blew himself up in *“Domodedovo”*, imparted a story about the short-lived fortune of the young loser who found his vocation in a Wahhabite mosque, out of idleness and hopelessness, and then went to *“the woods”* and joined *“shahids”* (*“The Telegraph”, Great Britain, 13.02.2011*).

For good reasons, western journalists' great attention is being drawn now to the situation in Kabardino-Balkariya. Correspondent of the British newspaper *“The Guardian”* and of the American magazine *“Foreign Policy”* **Tom Parfit** conveys his impressions about his stay in the Republic's capital city: *“In Nalchik, a beautiful city with avenues planted with trees, one clearly perceives a sensation of fear. Albert, a taxi driver who refused to be identified by his surname declared: “every day somebody is killed. Bearded people (extremists) propagate leaflets containing threats in the city: “Do not visit this doctor, do not let a woman cut your hair. Once there was a soothsayer, a Greek, in our area. He predicted using coffee grains. He was an absolutely innocent person. They killed him simply for no particular reason, he adds. (“The Guardian”, 20.02.2011). Practically, the first impression a western journalist gets about of Nalchik is viewing the corpse of “a bearded man” killed in the street, some militiamen stooping over him. Now, this is the monotony of everyday life in Kabardino-Balkariya (“Foreign Policy”, the USA, 15.02.2011).*

Journalist of the American “*Newsweek*” **Owen Matheus** who visited *Dagestan* and talked to local residents, including widow of the Salafite **Marat Satabalov** beaten to death by militiamen last year (Memorial Human Rights Center wrote about this: www.memo.ru/hr/hotpoints/caucas1/msg/2010/06/m_209019.htm), summarises his impressions in this way: “*In actual fact, not foreign Jihadists but Moscow itself is most likely the main recruiter of insurgents. Though the long-bearded friends of the deceased Marat Satabalov do assert that they are peaceful people, their choice is limited and extremely gloomy. Either to live, as before, in their villages waiting to be dragged by local security services out of their beds in the dead of night and join the two thousand odd people who “disappeared” during the past decade; or to search for rescue in the mountains, among the ranks of armed insurgents*” (“*Newsweek*”, 30.01.2011). Similar impressions of local residents, this time of those from *Ingushetia*, are reported by the American journalist **Andrew Kramer** who visited *Ali-Yurt*, the native village of the Domodedovo terrorist M.Yevloev. Anonymously, many local residents were more indignant over the cruel actions of national security agents instigating the youth to crimes than over the act of their fellow villager (“*The New York Times*”, the USA, 14.02.2011).

Some observations experienced by the western journalists who visited the North Caucasus indirectly motivated a juicy scandal connected with the deprivation of **Luke Harding**, British correspondent of “*The Guardian*”, of his Russian visa *in February, 2011*. Harding, in particular, was meeting the relatives of Dagestan “women shahids” and made his hard-hitting comments about the Russian policy in the North Caucasus. For the first time *since 1989*, an accredited British journalist was deprived of his visa in this country. Many western newspapers sensed a breath of a cold war in this occurrence.

It is characteristic that western journalists, as well as the majority of Russians, absolutely distrust Russian law enforcement agencies and impeach a priori the results of the investigation of the terrorist act in “Domodedovo”. “*Moscow will find people in order to punish them for this terrorist act, the American “Newsweek” writes, irrespective of the fact whether they are directly guilty of the carrying-out of the explosion or not*” (“*Newsweek*”, 30.01.2011). Three weeks later after the terrorist act occurred, the French edition “*Slate.fr*” remarks: “*The investigators are at a standstill, running their heads into a wall of false rumours and manipulations. Moreover, Russian authorities, in all appearance, do not at all need the truth*”. The investigators became hostages of the struggle of Kremlin clans: some people rush to declare an end of the investigation, others demand “not to give publicity” prematurely (“*Slate.fr*”, France).

In general, a relentless judgment is being passed on the law-enforcement system of Russia and in particular on its special services. “*How can one explain the fact that FSB [the Federal Security Service of Russia], the successor of KGB, which is considered to possess one of the most powerful and extensive staff among all law enforcement forces of the world, has failed to stop or, at least, reduce the pressure and contain the fury of Caucasian terrorism nearby the Kremlin, the Italian “La Repubblica” asks a question. In Russia, no other power nor state institutions possess such resources, such political influence, such freedom of maneuvering that the militia have, and security services in particular... While being inactive in the struggle against Caucasian terrorism, national security agents are very active in the sphere of their own enrichment*”. (“*La Repubblica*”, Italy, 25.01.2011).

All western editions without distinction deduce the roots of terrorism from the overall Russian policy in the North Caucasus, in many cases going deep into the time of General Yermolov who began a two-hundred-year Caucasian war and even into that of Ivan the Terrible. The Italian “*La Stampa*” still further finds the sources of modern Muslim extremism in the rich history of Russian revolutionary terrorism which infrequently grew together with special services of imperial and Soviet Russia, to their mutual benefit (“*La Stampa*”, Italy, 26.01.2011). Western journalists are not so sophisticated in the history of the issue, they often confuse historical facts, and are inclined to diabolise Russian authorities and heroic mountain-dwellers. Their speculations are sometimes historically incorrect and terminologically inconsistent, but their striving for considering the historical perspective of today's drama which is hardly discernable in the homeland, seems to be valid.

The western press do not hide their surprise at the indifference and conformism of Russian citizens who prosily endure one terrorist act after another, *“while western countries would be already raging out of panic and boiling with indignation in such a situation”* (“Newsweek”, 30.01.2011). Characteristic is a heading in the American magazine *“Vanity Fair”*: *“Dead souls: the way the Russians react to the terror”*. The journalist of the edition passes a terrible judgment on the Russian society: *“The terrorist act with the involvement of a suicide bomber in the busiest Moscow Airport of Domodedovo was too insignificant to produce a big effect. It only caused some small irritation among the population already vexed even without that”* (“Vanity Fair”, the USA, 24.01.2011).

Certainly, one could not do without assessing the Kremlin’s only successful project in the North Caucasus to date, namely the peaceful Chechnya personified by its leader **Ramzan Kadyrov**. A particular attention is being given to the price of the success, as well as to the analysis of its prospects, which is what the Russian authorities try to give the most iridescent luster to. As *“Newsweek”* notes, here they implemented *“the most ruthless but rather dexterous and convenient tactics by means of which Moscow undermined the separatist movement in the Chechen Republic. It armed one of the groups of insurgents and gave a chance to its leaders to torment, kill and intimidate their opponents in order to secure a victory over them. The new governors of the Republic got the power and now keep it in their hands using the most versatile methods, beginning from abducting the family members of people suspected of carrying out terrorist activity and finishing with committing murders out of court and with no judicial investigation”* (“Newsweek”, 30.01.2011). At the same time, as expert in problems of the Caucasus **Jim Hews** speaks to the British newspaper *“The Financial Times”*, *“the co-optation of part of the Resistance for the purpose of suppressing its other part is the classical imperial model which was never fated to endure for long. This is why there remain no more empires”*. (“The Financial Times”, 28.01.2010).

Western mass-media could not but remind that a sports event of large dimensions, namely the Winter Olympics are expected to be carried out in three years in the North Caucasus, in *Sochi*. And in four years more Russia will host the main sports event of the planet: the World Football Championship. In this connection, the issues of ensuring safety for tens of thousands of tourists are not empty. *“Now, it has become much more difficult to convince the world of the fact that Russia is quite a safe place for carrying out such large-scale events. Photos of bodies lying on the floor in the smoke-filled arrivals lounge were certain to make even Head of FIFA **Zepp Blatter** begin to think, who supported Russia’s championship application and who was in Moscow at the moment of the explosion”* (“The Telegraph, Great Britain”, 25.01.2011). *“Russia will experience an ever-increasing pressure, confronting demands for bridling Islamic terrorism, the British newspaper “The Financial Times” writes. Terrorists themselves consider these events as a good opportunity for inflicting a maximum damage to Russia when it will find itself in the centre of the world’s attention* (“The Financial Times”, 28.01.2011). Yes, sure: at the time when D.Medvedev and V.Putin were telling **Jean-Claude Killi**, Chairman of the Coordinating Commission of the International Olympic Committee, about a successful preparation for *Games of 2014*, 240 kilometres away from Sochi, in Kabardino-Balkariya, insurgents shot five non-resident tourists in broad daylight and blew up a newly-constructed ropeway on the ski-mountaineering resort on **18 February** (*Bloomberg, the USA*, 25.02.2011).

“If the terrorists had not blasted the busiest Moscow airport the other day, the British newspaper “The Telegraph” writes, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev would be in Davos today, playing a role of a drummer in a scheme rather strange and ridiculous in its ambitions. Having furnished himself with a package of bombastic presentations, he intended to convince investors that they should deposit a cooling 10 milliard pounds sterling in the construction of ski-mountaineering resorts in five of the seven semi-autonomous Republics, which make up in total the restless North Caucasian region of Russia. (“The Telegraph”, Great Britain, 25.01.2011). In the light of the latest developments, the very idea of creating an extensive holiday and recreational zone in the North Caucasus appears, according to western editions, to be very doubtful.

Sept ember	6	5	1	3	1	2	6	5	7	-	-	-	-	3	9
Octo ber	5	1	2	6	5	1	3	8	-	-	-	-	1	2	6
Nove mber	4	3	-	2	6	4	2	5	-	-	-	-	2	3	9
Dece mber	-	5	-	1	6	1	2	4	-	-	-	-	8	2	1
Total	5	37	0	32	59	33	2	6	4	2	3	1	-	2	5

For reference, according to the similar summary data for **2009** the losses of national security agents made practically the same figures: **835 men**, out of which number **273 were killed** and **562 wounded**. But the distribution of losses in the Republics of the North Caucasus radically varies:

Table 2

	2009		2010	
	Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded
Chechnya	93	192	55	137
Ingushetia	92	231	40	132
Dagestan	83	119	159	233
Kabardino-Balkaria	5	16	33	39

Thus, an appreciable reduction of losses in Chechnya and a double reduction of losses in Ingushetia are evident, whereas a twofold growth of losses of national security agents in Dagestan and more than a threefold growth of losses in Kabardino-Balkaria are manifest.

The data concerning losses of representatives of power structures adequately reflect the processes going on in the past year in the North Caucasian entities of the Federation.

1) In Ingushetia, in 2010, the terrorist underground was decapitated and disorganised. In the first half of the year, a number of successful operations against insurgents and their leaders were carried out. Besides, the Republic's authorities are making super-efforts for arranging dialogue both with those who are ready to lay down arms, and with the society from within which insurgents are being recruited.

2) In the Chechen Republic, power structures are combating insurgents using unscrupulous means; the authorities are trying to intimidate both the underground and the relatives of insurgents, as well as the population as a whole. Probably, it is here that the reason for a relative decrease in the activity of terrorists may be hidden. It is recognised that extremist movement in the Chechen Republic is segmental: the majority of Chechen militants actually broke away from other insurgents, they bid defiance to **Doku Umarov** and disregard his concept of the struggle for constructing an Islamic extra-ethnic state "Imarat Caucasus". And obviously they lost his support.

3) In Dagestan, the tendency of 2009 continued: gradually the centre of armed resistance to Russian authorities moved this way; here it finds its base of aiding and abetting among part of the big Salafite community. All through the recent years, violent, and not infrequently illegal actions of law enforcement agencies aimed at counteracting insurgents only kindled the resistance. Despite the fact that hundreds of insurgents were annihilated in Dagestan during a year, including their leaders, the intensity of the resistance does not decrease. In the end of the year, Republican authorities characterised the situation as desperate, and they were compelled to take the first steps towards Salafites who were ready for dialogue (they convened a Congress of Peoples of Dagestan, created a commission for the adaptation of insurgents, who laid down arms, to peaceful life, declared possible amnesty and so on)

4) The outburst of terrorist activity in the outwardly quite safe Kabardino-Balkaria is the most disturbing tendency of the past year. A violent outbreak of terrorism here in 2010 would be convenient to explain by the migration of insurgents from other regions where they are now prevented from “spreading out”. However, judging by the surnames of insurgents killed and arrested in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, they all are local residents. Moreover, they are both Balkarians and Kabardians. This is confirmed by local law enforcement agents as well. The Republic’s authorities are compelled to admit that Kabardino-Balkaria is steadily going along the sorrowful road - the distance that its neighbours have already travelled: the propagation of radical interpretation of Islam among the youth, the subversion of the authority of Islam which is “traditional” for the region. According to President of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria A.Kanokov, “it is not possible for us to resolve this problem without the state’s intelligible youth policy in the Caucasus, without adopting some more attractive ideology. See what ideologists of terrorism do from their side. They give faith and money. And we? We do not give any money, we are not able to convince”. In his opinion, it is necessary “to build and strengthen the vertical power of spiritual Muslim leaders” who now have no authority with the population.

“If the youth goes underground and prays in its little preaching-houses and does not wish to go to a mosque, this means that some people work there in this mosque who are either illiterate or unauthoritative or who are not captivated by their business” (*Kommersant*, 08.10.2010).

b) Statistics by representatives of federal authorities and power agencies

The same as in all the previous years, representatives of federal authorities and power structures offer citizens of Russia their statistics. For many years, this was done singly; national security agents published those indicators which they considered to be necessary, without verifying them with adjacent departments. This peculiarity of departmental statistics evidently reflected the general inconsistency of antiterrorist actions, the competition between national security agents, additions and other negative phenomena which were characterised by President of the Russian Federation last autumn as “crafty statistics” and “lies”. Memorial Human Rights Center repeatedly drew the public’s attention to gross discrepancies in official statistics which prevented from making presentations of results and tendencies of the struggle against terrorism in the North Caucasus.

It can be assumed that the sharp criticism of departmental statistics made public by President of Russia D.Medvedev on **19 November, 2010** at a meeting with chiefs of federal power departments and heads of the regions of the North Caucasian Federal District in *Yessentuki*, took some positive effect. In any case, some aggregate figures published **in the end of 2010** and **beginning of 2011** by high-ranking national security agents and by President of the Russian Federation himself correlate with each other and are comparable to the estimated data as per the materials of news agencies, presented by us above. However, in most cases departmental variety of opinion is yet flagrant, whereas the juxtaposition of statistical data furnished by federal and regional authorities yields yet greater divergences.

The most exhaustive information was provided by Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, the Investigatory Committee of the Russian Federation and the National Counterterrorism Committee (NCC is the highest co-ordinating agency in the sphere of counter-terror). The Federal Security Service of Russia and Ministry of Defence (the latter actually does not participate in military operations any more) did not publish any statistical reports. The Prosecutor General’s Office published some generalising data only as of **30 October, 2010** (*the site “The Prosecutor General’s Office of the Russian Federation”, 08.12.2010*). Finally, some key summary figures were by made public by D.Medvedev at an out session of the National Counterterrorism Committee in Vladikavkaz on **22 February, 2011**.

The summary data for **2010** started to be published in **November, 2010** and then were being specified **until February – the first half of March, 2011**.

Some essential divergences are observed already while comparing statistics of crimes of terrorist nature (of terrorist orientation) offered by various power departments. According to data of

S.Chenchik, Chief of the Central Administration of Ministry of Internal Affairs in the North Caucasian Federal District, as of **30 November, 2010** (i.e. during 11 months of 2010) there were committed **609** crimes of terrorist orientation on the territory of the North Caucasian Federal District and recorded 74 armed collisions. In accordance with data of Deputy Head of the Personnel of National Counterterrorism Committee **Ye.Potapov**, already **779** of such crimes were recorded (*"Rossiyskaya Gazeta"*, 10.03.2011). But then according to data of Chief of the Investigatory Committee of the Russian Federation **Alexander Bastrykin**, made public by him already on **17 February, 2011**, there appeared to be only **464** of such crimes. At the same time, A.Bastrykin presented a very strange apportionment of crimes throughout the regions of the North Caucasian Federal District: 63 crimes were committed in Dagestan; 35 in Ingushetia; and 26 in Kabardino-Balkariya (*ITAR-TASS*, 17.02.2011). It remains to assume that the remaining 340 crimes of terrorist orientation fell on the Chechen Republic last year, whereas many actions of insurgents committed in Kabardino-Balkariya were intentionally qualified as crimes outside the list of articles of the Criminal Code and were attributed to "offences of terrorist nature" by the Prosecutor General's Office. But most likely, there is direct evidence, as before, of the negligence of the high-ranking official's assistants and his absolute indifference to the data which he publishes.

As concerns the losses of power structures, no unanimity is observed in this issue either, although figures presented to the public are sometimes similar. However, the general interdepartmental disorder suggests that this coincidence is accidental. Thus, according to data of **S.Chenchik**, **242 officers of power structures and 127 peaceful citizens perished, as well as, more than 600 national security agents and about 500 inhabitants of the region got wounded during the year 2010** (*RIA Novosti*, 30.11.2010). According to President of the Russian Federation D.Medvedev, the total number of the representatives of power departments perished during the year 2010 made **268** men (*the site of President of the Russian Federation*, 22.02.2011). The same figures of the death-roll were also made public by Representative of NCC Ye.Potapov: totally **410** men perished, out of which number **268** were representatives of law enforcement agencies (*"Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, 10.03.2011). We would emphasise here that this is the only (!) full coincidence of data within the whole massive review of departmental statistics.

Losses of Ministry of Internal Affairs which is now bearing the main load of the struggle against insurgents, proved to be the most substantial. At an operative gathering of heads of internal affairs agencies in the constituent entities of the Federation in the North Caucasian Federal District, held in Stavropol on **17 February, 2011**, Minister of Internal Affairs Rashid Nurgaliev read out the following figures: **188** officers of Ministry of Internal Affairs perished, **497** men wounded (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation*, 17.02.2011). In this regard, if one trusts departmental statistics, the major losses are suffered by officers of Republican structures of Ministry of Internal Affairs, because the number of losses among servicemen of internal troops last year made only 26 men killed (*News Agency Interfax*, 03.12.2010). It is hard to tell which units of Internal Security Troops of Ministry of Internal Affairs are meant and whether the information concerning the Chechen battalions "Sever" [*the north*] and "Yug" [*the south*], which formally belong to Internal Security Troops, as well as the newly-formed 450-th battalion of the 102-nd Separate Brigade of Internal Security Troops in Dagestan is included here. The non-transparency of the presented data prevents one from judging this.

As far as wounded officers are concerned, then according to **S.Chenchik's** statement, "a very drastic decrease in the number of wounded men is being observed" (*News Agency Interfax*, 03.12.2010). For comparison, we would adduce the last year's statistics by Deputy Minister of Ministry of Internal Affairs A.Yedelev who reported that the number of national security wounded agents made **686** men in 2009 (*ITAR-TASS*, 17.01.2010).

Regarding the overall results of the struggle against the extremist underground: the dispersion of the key data (the number of terrorist acts and attacks of insurgents; the number of detained and annihilated insurgents) is considerably greater.

According to information of **S.Chenchik**, by the end of November power agencies had carried out 61 counterterrorism operation, neutralised **351** insurgents, including 32 leaders (it is not explained which persons are included in this category: either killed and arrested persons or both); 47

insurgents were persuaded to surrender; 101 crimes of terrorist nature were prevented; 90 bases of insurgents and 274 hiding places were eliminated. Besides, law enforcement agencies withdrew from illegal circulation over 400 kg of explosives; over one ton of blasting agents; about 800 grenades; over 900 units of small-arms weapons, 158 grenade launchers, 12 flame throwers and two aerial bombs (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 30.11.2010*).

Similar data concerning the results of the struggle against the extremist underground were made public on **24 January, 2011** at a meeting of the Directorate of the Provisional Operative Group of Agencies and Divisions of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia in *Khankala* by Chief of the Group Major General **N. Simakov**. As he explained, more than **200** representatives of illegal armed groups were destroyed on the territory of Dagestan last year, **89** in the Chechen Republic; **66** in Ingushetia, **26** in Kabardino-Balkaria (i.e. totally not less than **381** insurgents were annihilated). The total number of insurgents and their accomplices detained while carrying out special actions in the North Caucasian Federal District made up more than **460** persons (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, 24.01.2011*). **On 25 February**, the same person, N.Simakov, advised some specified data in an interview with News Agency Interfax: “**390** insurgents were annihilated, **492** more bandits and their accomplices detained” (*News Agency Interfax, 25.02.2011*).

On 15 February, Commander-in-Chief of Internal Security Troops of Ministry of Internal Affairs **Nikolay Rogozhkin** in his turn declared that **about 300 insurgents** were annihilated and **500 persons** (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 15.02.2011*) detained last year.

The figures made public by President of the Russian Federation D.Medvedev at the above-mentioned session of NCC in Vladikavkaz, namely **332** insurgents (including 40 leaders) were annihilated and **more than 600** detained, contradict the data by S.Chenchik, N.Simakov, and N.Rogozhkin (*the site the President of the Russian Federation, 22.02.2011*).

Finally, already after President of the Russian Federation’s declaration, NCC published its own data (NCC is the body, one of the main functions of which (according to its Regulations approved by President of the Russian Federation in 2006) is “*preparation of offers to President of the Russian Federation regarding the formation of state policy in the field of counteraction to terrorism*”). According to Deputy Head of the Staff of NCC Major General **Ye. Potapov**, **375** insurgents were annihilated, **779** detained during the year 2010; **60** more persons laid down arms voluntarily (“*Rossiyskaya Gazeta*”, 10.03.2011).

Thus, if one relies on the data of NCC, **1214** insurgents or thereabout were “brought out of operation” during the past year alone!

As for the convicted members of the operating underground, according to the Prosecutor General of the Russian Federation **Yury Chaika**, over 500 persons were convicted under articles of the Criminal Code, relating to terrorism and extremism, during the year 2010 (*the site of the Prosecutor General’s Office of the Russian Federation, 21.02.2011*).

As usual, there is the biggest disorder in the estimation of the strength of the operating underground. Heads of regions, just not make the whole situation worse, habitually underreport the number of “their own” insurgents. **Ramzan Kadyrov**, as always, is the most inconsistent in this matter. **In the beginning of December, 2010**, in an interview with News Agency Interfax he did not eliminate the possibility that there are no more insurgents in the Republic: “*As to where the bandits hide themselves ... You see, they have not given a sign for one month and a half. One cannot eliminate the possibility that they are somewhere out of the bounds of Russia*” (*News Agency Interfax, 06.12.2010*). However he declared later: “*The figures of the assumed number of bandits in Chechnya remain the same: 60 to 80 persons. It means that they arrive from somewhere: be it from Europe, Asia or somewhere else. It is necessary to strengthen the work aimed at searching for the bandits in order to avoid possible provocations and subversive actions*” (*News Agency “Chechnya Today”, 23.12.2010*). Lastly, **on 7 March, 2011**, at a press conference in Grozny R.Kadyrov played upon words, and his pun appreciably negated his previous estimations of the number of the incoming insurgents: “*Currently, 68 persons are in hiding. I know all of them by their surnames. Law enforcement officers have visited villages, collecting information. Most of them [the insurgents] have been killed*” (*the site “President and Government of the Chechen Republic”, 07.03.2011*).

In Ingushetia, according to the information of **V.Gurba**, Chief of the Federal Security Service Directorate of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Ingushetia there remain about 30 active members of the bandit underground, exclusive of their accomplices, and all of them are known to the security service by their names (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 18.01.2011*).

In Kabardino-Balkariya, 52 persons are being searched for on suspicion of their involvement in the terrorist crimes. One may assert to a greater degree of probability that they are hiding in the mountainous-woody district of the Republic.

Commander of the Internal Security Troops of Ministry of Internal Affairs General **N.Rogozhkin** is a person that is the truest to himself. From year to year, he publishes the same figures: "On the territory of the Caucasus there operate 500 to 800 insurgents". But the truth is that now he makes a reservation: "*However, it is problematic to count the exact numbers*" (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 13.01.2011*). Later on, **Kazimir Botashev**, Chief of the Centre for Counteraction to Extremism under the Central Administration of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation in the Federal District specified the figure of "active members" without "accomplices and other categories": "*in the order of 700 persons*" (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 16.02.2011*). Finally, at the State Council's session in Ufa, on **11 February**, **A.Khloponin**, Plenipotentiary Representative of Russian President in the North Caucasian Federal District roughly estimated the number of insurgents at 1000 persons, noting furthermore that the quantitative characteristics of insurgents are not so important as compared with their ability to compensate for losses quickly at the expense of their available resources: "*The trouble does not consist in the fact that they number one thousand persons. The trouble is that while they are killed they re-man their ranks*" (*ITAR-TASS, 11.02.2011*).

c) Statistics by regional authorities

The regional power departments also publish their own statistics.

In **Chechnya**, according to data of Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Chechen Republic, 87 insurgents were annihilated, 220 detained, and 40 persons were persuaded to surrender (*the site "Ramzan Akhmatovich Kadyrov", 22.12.2010*). At a later date, one month later, at a joint session of an operative meeting of the Provisional Operative Group of Agencies and Divisions of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia and the Board of Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Chechen Republic, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic **M.Isaev** reported about somewhat different figures: they detected and detained 202 persons involved in the activity of the underground, and 40 members and accomplices of the underground were persuaded to surrender. 93 members of illegal armed groups, including 3 leaders of the underground, as well as an Arabian mercenary who was engaged in the training of terrorists were annihilated while they furnished armed resistance. Last year, militia officers revealed 304 crimes connected with the organisation of or involvement in illegal armed groups. 279 units of fire-arms were withdrawn from illegal circulation. We would notice that the number of detained members of illegal armed groups reduced by 20 persons (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, 18.01.2011*).

The same as in the previous years, the authorities of the Chechen Republic do not publish data regarding losses of national security agents on the territory of the Republic. However, some key data concerning irrevocable losses of national security agents in the Chechnya were made public by Nikolay Simakov, a Federal National Security Agent, Deputy Chief of the Central Administration under Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation in the North Caucasian Federal District, Head of the Provisional Operative Group of Agencies and Divisions of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation. According to his data, 44 Chechen militiamen and 13 militia officers detached to the Provisional Operative Group of Agencies and Divisions from other regions of the country were killed in the Chechen Republic in 2010, i.e. **57 men** (*News Agency Interfax, 25.02.2011*).

Thus, the losses of national security agents in the Chechnya remain to be heavy as before (they are only exceeded by the losses of national security agents in Dagestan) and they practically coincide with estimated data presented above in the text by Memorial Human Rights Center (**55 men killed**).

However, the Chechen authorities, unlike the neighbours, do not advertise the information which is capable to affect image of the Republic negatively.

In Dagestan, in 2010, the number of enormous and especially grave crimes, including those of terrorist orientation (*the official site of President of the Republic of Dagestan, 13.01.2011*) has considerably grown. On the evidence of President of Dagestan **M.Magomedov**, around 300 persons have suffered from criminal acts of extremists since the beginning of 2010, and the number of victims among the peaceful populace has increased. According to data of Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Republic of Dagestan, 21 civilians perished at the hands of terrorists, and 103 people were wounded in the course of the year 2010 (*the site of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Republic of Dagestan, 26.12.2011*). As explained by **V.Zhernov**, Chief of the Operational Search Bureau of the Central Administration of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation in the North Caucasian Federal District, already as of *the middle of November, 2010* 231 crimes of terrorist nature were carried out in Dagestan, as compared with 161 offences committed last year (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 18.11.2010*). During a year, about 400 units of illegal fire-arms and more than 120 kg of explosives were withdrawn in Dagestan (*the official site of President of the Republic of Dagestan, 13.01.2011*).

There are no summary data concerning the number of insurgents annihilated and detained in Dagestan either. It is only known from President of the Republic M.Magomedov, that during the last four months of 2010 alone over 130 insurgents were annihilated (it was reported at a meeting held by V.Putin on *27.12.2010*). However, on *15 December* Head of Dagestan spoke about the destruction of the insurgents differently. Addressing the Congress of People of Dagestan, he said that over 120 members of illegal armed groups were killed, and more than 180 had been annihilated since the beginning of year (*"Gazeta.Ru" [newspaper.ru], 27.12.2010*).

No official information about losses of the manpower of the Republic of Dagestan's law enforcement agencies in 2010 has not been published yet.

In the *Ingushetia* of 2010, an appreciable tendency towards an decrease in the total number of crimes was observed. According to data of **A.Kolesnichenko**, Deputy Minister and Chief of the staff of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Ingushetia, 1926 crimes were recorded in 2010 on the Republic's territory, which number is by 16.2 % less than that of the last year. The number of especially grave crimes committed was by 10 % less, and the number of grievous acts decreased almost by 36 %. As A.Kolesnichenko underlined, the carried out preventive actions had enabled to achieve a decrease in the number of crimes of terrorist nature (by 14.6 %), murders (by 39.6 %), abductions of people (by 77.8 %), robberies (by 49 %), plunders (by 30.8 %) and in other kinds of crimes. The quantity of crimes connected with attacks on law enforcement officers reduced by 37 %, as compared with 2009, (*REGNUM News Agency, 20.01.2011*). According to President of the Republic of Ingushetia Yu.-B.Yevkurov, 100 of the latter offences were recorded in the past year (as of *the middle of December, 2010*), out of this number 40 crimes were solved. In 2009, 143 offences of this type were committed (104 were solved) (*"Komsomolskaya Pravda", 14.12.2010*). Officers of FSB of Russia withdrew from illegal circulation 216 units of fire-arms, 820 explosives, 28 000 cartridges for small arms, 881 kg of explosives on the territory of Ingushetia (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Ingushetia, 27.01.2011*).

The Republic's law enforcement agencies place a special emphasis on the turning point which took place, in their opinion, in the moods of the populace: it is affirmed that it was owing to a tip-off of local residents that the leaders of the underground, Magas and Said [*sa'id*] Buryatsky, were annihilated, and more than 50 % of crimes of terrorist nature were solved or prevented thanks to the population's assistance (*ITAR-TASS, 20.12.2010*). Due to the disorganisation of insurgents, it was possible to persuade 26 young men to voluntarily surrender (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 18.01.2011*). These young men capitulated against the guarantee of the law-enforcement system according to which "*no non-legal forms of relations will be applied towards them*", and they "*will be designated within the system of activities of the Republic and return to their families*" (*ITAR-TASS, 20.12.2010*).

On the whole, 108 leaders and members of the armed underground were annihilated in Ingushetia last year, out of which number 66 were eliminated while furnishing an armed resistance

and 42 were detained (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Ingushetia, 14.01.2011*). According to the information of the Directorate of FSB of Russia in the Republic of Ingushetia, 22 criminals were convicted during 2010 for crimes of terrorist orientation (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Ingushetia, 27.01.2011*).

Losses of the staff of militia agencies made **32 killed** and **102 wounded men** in 2010 (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Ingushetia, 14.01.2011*). No information about losses of representatives of other power departments has been published. Thus, the official data concerning losses of national security agents were underreported as compared with the calculated ones presented above by Memorial Human Rights Center.

It is recognised that the Federal Centre estimates the positive processes occurring in the Republic yet very cautiously. The turning point here became obvious only in the second half of the year, after a number of successful operations against leaders of the underground were carried out. Thus, at a meeting with Yu.-B.Yevkurov in Moscow in **the middle of September, 2010** Chairman of Government V.Putin estimated the success of Ingushetia's leaders in the field of the normalisation of conditions more than modestly: "They [*the conditions*] remain to be complicated. You know this well. Many crimes are being committed, and there are servicemen who have been killed. However, on the whole, there is a small decrease in the crime rate" (*the site of Chairman of Government of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin, 16.09.2010*). Similar estimations evidently do hurt Yu.-B.Yevkurov who made all his efforts to pacify the situation in the Republics and who was nearly killed at the hands of terrorists. Also, he took offence at President of the Russian Federation **D.Medvedev's** statement sounded at a meeting with heads of regions in Yessentuki on **19 November, 2010**, explaining that statistics presented to him by national security agents, concerning the struggle of against terrorism in the North Caucasus, "is on frequent occasions garbage" (*the site of President of the Russian Federation, 19.11.2010*). Yu.-B.Yevkurov is convinced of this fact: "*we have stabilised essentially, not slightly*" (*Ingushetija.Org, 29.12.2010*). On **7 December, 2010**, he even publicly stated his disagreement with the opinion of President of the Russian Federation, declaring: "*President said that this is "garbage". But it is more obvious to us that this is not absolutely so. Last year, there were nine missing persons on the Republic's territory alone, part of them were abducted, and part of the cases bore traces of the activity of power structures, whereas this year there are yet nil abduction cases*" (*Ingushetija.Org, 07.12.2010*). However, Dmitry Medvedev did not touch upon the issue of abductions at the above-mentioned meeting in Yessentuki.

An explosive situation took shape in **Kabardino-Balkaria** in 2010. As of **the middle of November, 2010**, according to **V.Zhernov**, Chief of the Operative Search Bureau under the Central Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the North Caucasian Federal District, 117 crimes of terrorist nature were recorded in the Republic, whereas there were only 21 offences committed last year, that is to say the dynamics of the growth makes over 450 %. Among these crimes, there were 60 bombardments (10 for the past year) and 57 blastings (11 for the past year) (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 18.11.2010*).

The data of losses given by representatives of local structures and those furnished by federal structures, as it often happens, differ greatly (even within the limits of one department). On 19 January 2011, Colonel **S.Vasilev**, Head of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, informed that during the past year 37 law enforcement officers were killed, including 22 militiamen; 20 civilians and nearly 100 persons got wounded (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 19.01.2011*). And one month later, on 16 February, **Kazimir Botashev**, Chief of the Centre of Counteraction to Extremism under the Central Directorate of Ministry of Internal Affairs in the North Caucasian Federal District declared that in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria **42 representatives of power structures were killed and 55 got wounded. Among civilians, losses made 31 people killed and 52 wounded** (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 16.02.2011, "Gazeta Yuga, 3.02.2011*).

At a later time, on **28 January, 2011**, it was specified at a board meeting of the Investigating Directorate of the Investigatory Committee of the Russian Federation in Kabardino-Balkaria as follows: members of the religious-extremist underground committed 108 infringements on the lives

of law enforcement officers in 2010. **97** law enforcement officers became victims of infringement on life this year, **42** of whom perished. Also, there are some losses among the civil population: 31 people perished and 53 were wounded. Last year, 26 attacks on national security agents were recorded (“*Kavkazsky Uzel*” [*Caucasian knot*], 28.01.2011).

The number of the crimes connected with illegal circulation of weapons and committed with the use of them increased more than twofold. 52 persons were declared to be on the wanted list (10 internationally and 42 at the federal level) for their involvement in terrorist and illegal armed groups’ activity (“*Kavkazsky Uzel*”, 28.01.2011).

In North Ossetia, 228 units of fire-arms, including 14 grenade launchers, 70 sub-machine and auto-machine guns, 30 carabines and rifles, 53 pistols and revolvers, 61 sporting guns; 131 grenades, 5 kg of explosives, 165 units of explosive devices were withdrawn from illegal circulation. As consequence, the number of crimes committed with the use of weapons reduced by 29.2 % (from 178 to 126), including the reduction of offences committed with the application of fire-arms by 56.9 % (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation*, 20.01.2011).

The Stavropol Territory, unfortunately, is getting more and more involved into the sphere of activity of extremist and terrorist groups. During the year, the armed underground committed two acts of terrorism on the Territory (*Stavropol, Pyatigorsk*) and a number of crimes of terrorist orientation, among which attacks on officers of law-enforcement agencies in the Predgornyy District of the Territory and an attempt at blasting an electric train on the route “Mineralniye Vody – Nevinnomyssk”. Four terrorist acts were prevented at the stage of their preparation.

While furnishing an armed resistance, 2 insurgents involved in attacks on militia officers on the territory of the Stavropol region and the Republic of Karachaevo-Circassia were annihilated. 2 members of the underground were killed and 3 detained, who were involved in the preparation of a terrorist act on **30 September** in Stavropol and in the blasting of a mined car in the centre of Pyatigorsk on **17 August** (members of the so-called “Nogai Battalion”. They may have been involved, as national security agents believe, in the explosion at the Airport of Domodedovo on **24 January, 2011**) (*RIA Novosti News Agency*, 18.01.2011).

The operative situation in the Territory was getting complicated due to an increase in interethnic tension caused by socio-economic problems of the region. On the Stavropol Territory there occurred seven conflicts with the involvement of representatives of different ethnic groups, which were localised thanks to timely intervention of militia officers, and the guilty persons were brought to administrative and criminal responsibility (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation*, 20.01.2011).

d) By comparison: the official statistics of the recent years

In 2009, Russian power departments, as always, presented no uniform statistics. Thus, according to **A.Yedelev**, Deputy Minister of Ministry of Internal Affairs, the number of crimes of terrorist nature in the south of Russia made 544 crimes for the year 2009. In this regard, it was noted that the quantity of such crimes had increased twofold. (*ITAR-TASS*, 17.01.2010). The same figure was also made public by Head of the Investigatory Committee **A.Bastrykin** (*the site of the Investigatory Committee of the Russian Federation*, 16.02.2011). But, obviously, neither **A.Yedelev**, nor **A.Bastrykin** knew about the statement of **V.Ustinov**, Plenipotentiary Representative in the Southern Federal District, who counted 786 crimes of terrorist orientation on 22 December, 2009, committed during 11 months of 2009 alone, noting that their number had increased only by one third (“*Kavkazsky Uzel*”, 23.12.2009). Interestingly, according to the information of **A.Yedelev**, the main bulk of crimes of terrorist nature fell on the Chechen Republic (437), Dagestan (44) and Ingushetia (41). It is hard to tell, where such figures were taken from, but the regular and systematic monitoring of official information arriving from the North Caucasus does not afford grounds to assert that the Chechen Republic is leading in this respect, especially having a tenfold lag from its neighbours.

According to official information, 58 militiamen were killed and 135 got wounded in their fight with insurgents; 56 militia officers became disabled, with a full loss of labour capacity in

Dagestan in 2009 (*Vesti.Ru [messages.ru]*, 8.01.2010). **In Ingushetia**, according to the results of the year, 81 law enforcement officers perished and 231 got wounded (*the Republic of Ingushetia*, 19.01.2010). As to the information of General A.Yedeleva, Deputy Minister of Ministry of Internal Affairs, (the same was confirmed by A.Bastrykin as well), the total number of losses of Ministry of Internal Affairs' officers alone made 235 men killed and 686 wounded in clashes with insurgents last year (*ITAR-TASS*, 17.01.2010, *the site of the Investigatory Committee of the Russian Federation*, 16.02.2011). And according to the information of V.Ustinov, former Plenipotentiary Representative in the Southern Federal District, the number of killed and wounded servicemen, law enforcement officers, as well as civilians, made 1263 people during 11 months of 2009, against 914 men in 2008.

In 2008, no uniform statistics of losses of representatives of power structures was made public either. It is only known that 39 officers of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Dagestan were killed and 81 got wounded in Dagestan during the year ("*Chernovik*" [draft copy], 26.12.2008). In Ingushetia, according to a press release by the Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Ingushetia, 39 officers of Ministry of Internal Affairs were killed and 88 got wounded during 11 months of 2008; also 28 servicemen of Ministry of Defence were killed and 61 got wounded; i.e. 67 men were killed and 149 wounded (www.memo.ru/hr/hotpoints/caucas1/msg/2009/02/m161680.htm).

3. The losses of national security agents suffered during the winter of 2010-2011

Table 3 below presents the losses of Russian power structures *for the winter period of 2010/2011* in all the regions of the North Caucasus. The Table was made based on messages of Russian news agencies.

Table 3

	December		January		February		Total	
	Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded	Killed	Wounded
Republic of Chechnya	-	5	2	-	-	5	2	10
Republic of Ingushetia	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	2
Republic of Dagestan	6	11	5	4	5	32	16	47
Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria	2	4	3	2	9	11	14	17
Republic of North Ossetia-Alania	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Karachay-Cherkess Republic	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-
Stavropol Territory	-	-	-	-	3	3	3	3

pol Territory								
Total	8	21	11	8	20	51	40	80

Two republics, namely Dagestan and Kabardino-Balkaria are in the lead regarding the number of their losses.

4. A complication of the situation in Kabardino-Balkariya

a) *The armed underground*

During a few months, Kabardino-Balkaria again turned into a “flash point” from being a quiet republic.

As was already noted in the section devoted statistics, the number of infringements committed by insurgents on the lives of law enforcement officers in Kabardino-Balkaria in 2010, as compared with 2009, according to official information alone, increased fourfold. As a result of the attacks, 42 national security agents were killed, and 55 got wounded. Members of the armed underground committed 108 infringements on the lives of officers of law-enforcement agencies on the Republic’s territory in 2010, whereas in 2009 only 26 crimes of this type were recorded. Besides, big losses were suffered by civilians: 31 persons perished and 53 got wounded. In this respect, for the most part the aggrieved peaceful citizens are victims of purposeful terror on the part of insurgents, and not casual sacrifices (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 28.01.2011*).

From the beginning of 2011, the tendency towards the deterioration of the criminogenic conditions in Kabardino-Balkaria persisted and aggravated. As of the beginning of March, already 20 attacks on officers of power departments were launched, as a result of which 11 officers and 15 other people were wounded (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 11.03.2011*). Grievous crimes and especially enormous offences committed by insurgents for terrorist purposes make an essential part of all the statistics of such crimes in the Republic. Thus, out of 28 murders committed in the Republic from the beginning of year 8 killings, i.e. 30 %, were committed by insurgents, judging by motives, handwriting, weapons applied, fingerprints and other criminalistic data, (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 11.03.2011*).

The winter of 2010-2011 was marked by some renewed murders of militiamen, representatives of the power, religious and public figures, scientists and ordinary citizens, obviously meant for intimidating the population and attracting the attention of Russian and world community. Here is an incomplete chronicle of the most high-profile crimes.

On **15 December**, **Anas Pshikhachev**, the mufti of Kabardino-Balkaria was killed near his house in *Nalchik*.

On **18 December**, seven hunters from the Stavropol Territory were shot in a forest area in *the Baksansky District*, and later on the corpse of a local guide who accompanied the hunters was found out.

On **17 January**, some unknown persons opened fire at two officers of the Special Purpose Detachment of Militia, who guarded the place of residence of **Khachim Shogenov**, the former Minister of Internal Affairs of Republic in *the Chegemsky District*. Both the militiamen died from inflicted wounds.

On **29 January**, Head of the administration of the area, the 57-year-old **Mikhail Mambetov** was killed in Chegem, who held this post for almost 18 years. M.Mambetov was killed with four shots fired at the back when he was going into his house after work.

On **2 February**, five officers of the Road Patrol Service who were having dinner in their office were shot at one stroke in a cafe in the town of Chegem. The attackers stole the militiamen’s four sub-machine guns, 120 cartridges for the same and disappeared.

On **18 February, around 18:45**, three tourists from *Podmoskovye [the area around Moscow]*, who were going to *Prielbrusye [the fore-front area of Elbrus]* were killed at the entrance to the village of *Zayukovo of the Baksansky District*. Two more persons were wounded. In the place of the tragedy, the 37-year-old **Irina Patrusheva** and the 34-year-old **Denis Belokon**, as well as **Vyacheslav Kara**, a 26-year-old citizen of Moldova, who lived in *Moscow*, died. The woman was going to *Prielbrusye* for the first time, whereas the men had been there several times. According to one version, the criminals could notice the tourists during their stop in the journey, as per another one they got to know about them from someone of inhabitants of *Prielbrusya*, who knew that the Muscovites were going to the resort settlement of *Terskol* (*"Gazeta Yuga"*, 24.02.2011).

On the same night, insurgents launched several attacks on tourist facilities. In particular, they blasted a bearing of the ropeway "Stariy Krugozor – Mir" leading to *Elbrus*. The cable broke down, and 33 out of 45 gondolas which, fortunately, were empty fell to the ground. According to various data, the repair cost can make up to 30 to 60 million roubles (*"Gazeta Yuga"*, 24.02.2011). Later on, a motor vehicle stuffed with 70 kg of an explosive was found out in the settlement *Terskol*.

On the night of 23 February, several groups of insurgents, totalling 12 persons, simultaneously subjected at one stroke four facilities to bombardments in *Nalchik*: two militia guard-posts at exits from the city (the insurgents asserted on their Internet site that they fired on four posts), the new building of the Federal Security Service Directorate in the centre of the city and the sanatorium "Leningrad" of FSB in *the settlement of Dolinskoye*. Though the insurgents confined themselves to chaotic sub-machine gun shooting and firing of shots using a grenade launcher, the memory of the much more large-scale assault launched in October, 2005 repeatedly enhanced the propaganda effect of this attack. All through the evening, the state's news agencies were delivering contradictory messages about some fights allegedly going on in the city (*"Gazeta Yuga"*, 03.03.2011).

Losses of the peaceful population in *Kabardino-Balkaria*, according to the same the data, remain stably high. During the last winter, 31 people perished and 36 wounded. As is shown above, a considerable part of these victims is a consequence of purposeful attacks of insurgents on representatives of administration, clergy, scientists and businessmen whom they declare to be "enemies of Islam".

More recently, *Kabardino-Balkaria* was considered to be a small island of stability; it annually reduced its dependence on the federal budget (this is the only republic of the North Caucasus where the volume of federal transfers in the Republican budget decreased below 50 % in recent years) and was actively attracting investments, including those from abroad. In 2009, the Rating Agency "Expert" gave a "satisfactory" rating grade to *Kabardino-Balkaria*, (*"Expert"*, 24.01.2011).

And already in the winter 2010-2011, a state of a counterterrorism campaign was announced three times in the Republic, which imposed some considerable restrictions on constitutional rights of citizens and simply created a mass of household inconveniences for inhabitants and visitors of the Republic. The operative range of the state of a counterterrorism campaign is steadily extending. From **October to the end of December, 2010** this state was declared to be in the area of *the town of Tyrnauz*, whereas on **20 February** it was introduced by the Crisis Centre in the Republic of *Kabardino-Balkaria* on the territories of *the Elbrus District* and *the Baksansky District*, and in **the end of February** the same was extended to *the Chegemsky District*, *the Chereksky District* and *the city of Nalchik* (*"Gazeta Yuga"*, 24.02.2010; *the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation*, 05.03.2011). Now, the resorts have stopped receiving tourists, and tourists themselves prefer to visit places safe for recreation. As **A.Khloponin**, Plenipotentiary Representative of President of the Russian Federation in the North Caucasian Federal District admitted, the latest actions of insurgents thrown the Republic away to where it was some years ago (*RIA Novosti News Agency*, 21.02.2011). Everything that had been so strenuously gathered collapsed in a blink.

Who are on earth those people who keep the whole Republic in suspense and fear?

By all appearances, there are few active participants of the armed underground: some dozens of persons. In this regard, the people terrorising the Republic are mainly known by their names. According to the Directorate of the Investigatory Committee of the Republic of *Kabardino-Balkaria*,

as of the beginning of 2011 52 persons are on the wanted list in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria (10 internationally and 42 at the federal level) on suspicion of having committed crimes of terrorist nature. The total number of active insurgents as of the end of winter were estimated by the Investigatory Committee to include 50 to 60 people (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 11.03.2011*). And the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, in the section “Wanted”, posts a list totaling only 34 names with photos of persons, who are being searched for as “especially dangerous criminals suspected of murders of citizens of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, killings of law enforcement officers, notable public and religious figures” (<http://www.mvd-kbr.ru/?Page=rozisk6>). Certainly, part of the insurgents, especially from among those who recently retreated “to the woods”, is not always timely included in search files. Thus, for instance, a certain 20-year-old **Alim Berkhamov** killed while attempt to furnish armed resistance on **1 March**, in **Baksan**, was not itemised in the operative search as an insurgent. He was annihilated during a general inspection of documents, when he tried to escape and was returning the fire (“*Gazeta Yuga*”, 03.03.2011). However, on the whole, it is very easy to establish the fact that the young man who dropped out of the neighbours’ and the district militia officer’s sight did not go away in search of a job or to study in another region. And young people who take the field of “Jihad” are soon put on the wanted list. In this regard, the Kabardino-Balkarian underground is deeply entrenched in the Republic, it has long escaped punishment and, undoubtedly, disposes of some skilled fighters. **Sergey Vasilev**, the new Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardini-Balkaria, acknowledged the existence of local roots of the insurgents operating in the Republic. He noted that the insurgents had been staying on the Republic’s territory for years, but up to now many of them remain uncatchable, “continuing to draw new members from among the youth to their rank and expanding the base of aiding and abetting (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 19.01.2011*). It is the worst estimation that could be given to the activity of Kabardino-Balkarian law enforcement agencies.

After the annihilation of **Anzor Astemirov** and **Valery Yetezov**, the long-term leaders of the Kabardino-Balkarian underground, in the beginning of last year, it began to be headed by **Asker Dzhappuyev** (“Emir” Abdullakh), born in 1971, and **Kazbek Taushev (Abdul-Dzhabbar)**, born in 1978.

It is necessary to note that the underground of *Karachaevo-Circassia* is formally subordinated to heads of Kabardino-Balkarian insurgents, and the administrative unit “*Imarat Caucasus*” bears the name “*The United Vilayat of Kabarda, Balkaria and Karachaya*” or “*The Vilayat of Kabardino-Balkaria*”. However, the Karachayevo-Circassian underground almost does not show its worth. Last year, a powerful blow was stricken on it: as a result of the application of an operational scheme 13 its members were detained (their cases have already been brought to trial), and four more, including “Emir” **Ruslan Khubiev**, were annihilated (*News Agency Interfax, 16.12.2010*).

The Kabardino-Balkarian group, to all appearance, is strongly enough united and has a vertical power structure. According to **V.Ustov**, Head of the Investigation Department of the Investigatory Committee in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, “almost everything that is committed in the Republic by the bandit underground is governed by two persons, namely **Asker Dzhappuyev** and **Kazbek Tashuyev**. Therefore all criminal cases based on these facts may be united into one” (“*Gazeta Yuga*”, 17.03.2011). On **25 February 2011**, a video clip was published on the site of the insurgents in which all the persons who became “shahids”, i.e. the insurgents killed in 2010, were listed by their names”, with their photos (*IslamDin, 25.0.2011*) attached. The number of “shahids-2010” (28 persons) almost precisely coincides with the data on the insurgents killed last year, which was made public on 24 January, 2011 at a meeting of the Directorate of the Provisional Operative Group of Agencies and Divisions of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia in Khankala by Major General **N. Simakov**, Chief of the Group, namely 26 persons (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, 24.01.2011*). The exact and operational information of the insurgents about perished companions-in-arms may testify to a high degree of their state of being organised. “The colleagues” of Kabardino-Balkarian insurgents from neighbouring “vilayats” have not yet distinguished themselves by having such detailed “books of condolence”. For comparison, we would

note that *by the end of February, 2010* not all Russian power departments had yet reported on their losses suffered during the previous year.

Kabardino-Balkarian insurgents behave affectedly in their own way and prone to publicity (they leave marks of “the Vilayat of Kabardino-Balkaria” in a crime scene and even set up frontier markers - in a certain sense). They often and scrupulously report on the Internet on, perhaps, every committed crime, finding some “substantiation”, mainly grossly religious or conspiratorial. Thus, according to their version the Stavropol hunters and the Moscow tourists were “*scouts of secret services*” and, what is more, they violated “*the ban on entering the forest area*”. Head of the Chegemsky District **Mikhail Mambetov**, as per their data, robbed people and ran gambling and other “haram” [*forbidden*] institutions. The Mufti of the Republic was “*an enemy of Islam*”, whereas a certain **Aslan Tsipinov**, the well-known ethnographical scientist, a collector and propagandist of Kabardian folklore, a doctor of historical sciences, who was killed already in the spring, on **15 March**, turned out to be “*protege of the occupational regime*”, “*an enemy of Allah*” and ... “*a pagan*”, etc. Crimes of insurgents are at times so terrible and senseless that there appear some extremely improbable interpretations of them in the press. Thus, after the murder of the Moscow tourists there emerged a version stating that insurgents mistook the woman the surname of **Patrusheva** for the relative of a Former Director of FSB.

Territorially, the area of insurgents’ activities basically confines itself to *the Baksansky, Elbrussky, and Chegemsky Districts* and *the city of Nalchik*. The densely populated eastern areas of the Republic (*the Maysky, Tersky, Urvansky and Prokhladnensky Districts*) with prevalent Russian and Kabardian population become mentioned in criminal chronicles less often.

However, there is no point looking for some hidden national motive in the propagation of extremism in the Republic. In the area which the most affected with this phenomenon, the Elbrussky District, the Balkarian population prevails, whereas in the Chegemsky and Baksansky Districts there predominate Kabardian citizens. The insurgents themselves carefully downgrade their national identity, highlighting the religious factor. By the way, **Vladimir Borisovich Kobzev**, “a Russian Wahhabite”, plays an active part now among Kabardino-Balkarian insurgents.

It is necessary to note that these districts are relatively well-developed on the economical plane; the rate of unemployment in the Baksansky and Elbrussky Districts makes less than 2 % and, hence, it is possible to consider them to be socially successful (“*Rossiyskaya Gazeta*”, 01.03.2011). “The people running (in the woods: Memorial Human Rights Center) are not the poorest ones and they are not the children of the poorest”, **A.Kanokov**, President of Kabardino-Balkaria (“*Gazeta Yuga*”, 10.02.2011) noted. In his opinion, “*in the year 2005, when the main terrorist underground was destroyed in an attack on Nalchik, the Baksansky and Elbrussky jama’ats did not participate in this action, and probably the hard core of extremists was preserved in these two areas*” (“*Expert-Yug*”, 24.01.2011).

As it has often occurred and is continuing to occur in many regions of our planet, the terrorist underground is actively busy self-financing here too, using robberies and racket. Extortion is justified by collecting “*the military tax*” for the struggle against infidels. Here is a recent example. As a result of some operative actions on the territory of Kabardino-Balkaria *in September 2010*, five persons were detained, from whose possession some fire-arms, explosives and ammunition, as well as Islamic literature were withdrawn. This group was extorting money resources, following instructions of one of bandit leaders, it attacked businessmen and common citizens on the territory of the Baksansky District. They explained their crimes by the fact that it was necessary to collect the so-called “*military tax*” - money for the struggle against “*infidels*” - from all non-combatant Moslems. In the process of an investigation it was found out that part of this money was used for keeping the bandit underground, and the other one was required for families of insurgents and for their diverse personal needs (“*Rossiyskaya Gazeta*”, 02.12.2010).

By the confession of **V.Ustov**, Head of the Investigation Department of the Investigatory Committee of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, owing to the fact that the insurgents managed to intimidate and compel businessmen to their will they exist quite tolerably without using external sources of financing as well. “*One may assume that the bandit underground of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria receives a considerable part of the financial component in*

the Republic and not from outside”, V.Ustov considers (RIA Novosti News Agency, 11.03.2011). The authorities followed the path of the intimidation of the businessmen, demanding that they should not pay a tribute to the insurgents, failing which the officials threatened “to equate them to active members of illegal armed groups with all ensuing consequences” (“Gazeta Yuga”, 17.03.2011). The businessmen are proposed “to apply to law enforcement agencies” and hope for good luck, remembering that “some positive facts of the solving of cases of extortion” are already there. However, some other examples have a far more vigorous effect on businessmen, which eloquently describe their loneliness and complete vulnerability. One of them is the murder of businessman **Safudin Khashukaev** committed on **13 January**, who refused to pay money to the insurgents. It is important to note that the insurgents did not place any religious claims on him in their video report on the murder of S.Khashukaev. His fault consisted namely in his attempt at counteracting the racket. It is known that S.Khashukaev tried to solve the problem independently, without counting on the assistance of law enforcement agencies. But he categorically refused to cooperate with the insurgents either (“Gazeta Yuga”, 03.17.2011).

The insurgents have expanded the war not only against law enforcement agencies and representatives of authority, but also against the underworld of criminality! At least, they killed two businessmen this winter, who came from the criminal environment, declaring this publicly (a certain authority авторитет **Tao** from *the village of Lechinkai* of the Chegemsky District and **Musa Vorokov** from *the village of Zolskoye*). In this regard, while waging the war under religious banners, the insurgents refuse to observe laws of the criminal world. For instance, M.Vorokov who had some legal cattle-breeding business was abducted after he was called “for a conversation” and went to meet the people in his own car (“Gazeta Yuga”, 17.02.2011). Contrary to the strict interdiction of Sheriyat, Vorokov was severely tortured, according to some information (they speak about this at Kabardino-Balkarian forums: <http://www.elot.ru/forum/viewtopic.php?t=22099&sid=e968a115ce79dba48683a7d75e33279f>, [http:// forum.kbrnet.ru/showthread.php?t=22099&page=19](http://forum.kbrnet.ru/showthread.php?t=22099&page=19)). The insurgents themselves also confirm this indirectly. Speaking in a video message, one of leaders, Abdul-Dzhabar (K.Taushev), informs that during “the interrogation” of Vorokov, before his elimination, it became possible to find out “some interesting details” of his alleged existing ties with FSB. The insurgents brought a rather chaotically formulated “charge” against M.Vorokov, accusing him of allegedly “*creating armed groups of people in the form of criminal brigades, covering himself with a shield of Islam, backed up by secret services and the puppet government*”. Some members of his brigades were not aware of the true goals of the activity developed by him... He was making propaganda of criminal life and dreamt of the Republic becoming “black” (*IslamDin*, 17.02.2011). Visitors of local Internet forums assert that now “*thieves are taking up arms*” and “*there will be show-downs*”.

In the Republic, there are many shadow spheres of business, such as the manufacture and sale of vodka, hotel industry and tourist business. They as such are an object of economic interests of the insurgents. Representatives of law enforcement agencies also speak of the fact that ‘the people in the woods’ give cover to vodka business which is but insignificantly controlled by state structures. The illegal manufacture of alcohol and vodka or the production of vodka at legal enterprises without stamping excise brands on bottles has long been old and developed criminal business in Kabardino-Balkaria. Only part of illegal alcohol-containing production can be successfully taken out of the trade turnover. But even this data boggles imagination. During the two months from the beginning of 2011 alone, 147 thousand bottles of ready-for-use vodka, about 260 tons of ethyl alcohol, and nearly 620 tons fermented materials were withdrawn (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria*, 01.03.2011; 09.03.2011).

Combining violence, robbery and extortion with “ideological” training of the population, insurgents aspire to become real owners of the Republic, they intervene in every sphere of public life. Many of the crimes listed above are committed in Kabardino-Balkaria openly, in broad daylight, in crowded places. Thus, the shooting of the Moscow tourists occurred directly at the entrance to the village of Zayukovo, on the busy motorway. And the murder of five militiamen in the town of Chegem happened in the height of day in the centre of an inhabited locality. According to President of the Republic, the insurgents often have a sensation of being the masters of the situation. They

openly move around the town in cars that have no registration numbers, with darkened automotive glasses and “are afraid of absolutely nothing”: “The situation has reached such a point that their emissaries come to a village and start dictating their conditions regarding issues of property relations”, even in matters relating to the educational sphere (“Gazeta Yuga”, 10.02.2011). According to the evidence of one of Baksan’s inhabitants, father of a militiaman killed in 2009, “there are no more militiamen alive around me, all have been killed. Those who committed this are all to a man known, they come from Baksan. They open up their headquarters, they hold a shura [a meeting] in Baksan, in which all the leaders of the bandit underground participate. This is known to everyone... It is impossible not to notice them for seven months...” (“Gazeta Yuga”, 2/10/2011).

Representatives of the authorities admit that the tactics of insurgents quickly changes. “Their attacks on law enforcement officers have become more extensive, more carefully prepared and impudent, as a consequence involving a bigger number of victims. The bandits are really hunting for citizens taking an active civic attitude in matters of the struggle against extremists”, Valery Ustov, Head of the Investigation Department of the Investigatory Committee of Russia in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria (RIA Novosti News Agency, 11.03.2011) declared in the beginning of March.

b) The actions of Kabardino-Balkarian authorities

Assessing the actions of the authorities, it is difficult to get rid of an impression that they are in a complete confusion. High-ranking republican leaders themselves speak of the fact that the insurgents suddenly turned out to be the force that is making an enormous impact on the development of the situation in the Republic; that they are united and that they levied tribute on the business. “Today the terrorist bandit groups, in point of fact, have declared an open war to our Republic. Armed attacks on law enforcement officers, resulting in lethal outcomes, high-profile murders of peaceful citizens have become almost an everyday phenomenon”, President of the Republic A.Kanokov declared on **3 February** at an extraordinary meeting of the Parliament of the Republic, devoted to the aggravation of the criminogenic situation in the Republic (RIA Novosti News Agency, 03.02.2011). “A sequence of murders has shaken the Republic, some panic moods have started to arise”, Speaker **Anuar Chechenov** (“Gazeta Yuga”, 10.02.2011) admitted in his turn. Even in Dagestan where the problem of religious extremism is considerably more deep-rooted because of the wide circulation of Salafism among the population, and the insurgent movement is substantially wider and larger in numbers, the republican authorities do not show such obvious signs of perplexity.

According to official statistics, losses of insurgents during the latest period are essentially below those which are suffered by the Republic’s power structures.

Thus, according to a calculation of solely official data for the last 14 months (from **January, 2010** till **February, 2011** inclusive), the law enforcement agencies annihilated 31 insurgents and detained 46, whereas they themselves lost 53 men killed and 70 wounded). If one adds to this data the number of representatives of the civil party, who are being purposefully destroyed by national security agents (administrative workers, religious, scientific-cultural figures, healers and fortunetellers, businessmen), then the correlation of the losses of the antagonistic parties will considerably increase, favourably for the insurgents.

The Republic’s law enforcement agencies have appeared not to be ready for a sharp surge in activity of the insurgents. **In late autumn 2010, Yury Tomchak**, Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, was replaced, regarding whom President of the Republic A.Kanokov expressed himself in the form of a euphemism: not but that Yu.Tomchak “worked poorly”, he said, “but he worked insufficiently”. (“Expert-Yug”, 24.01.2011). But the new Minister of Internal Affairs **Sergey Vasilyev** said directly that some system-defined errors were committed in the work of law-enforcement agencies for the last five years, which have led to today's crisis. Having understood the situation, S.Vasilev expressed his discontent with the work of the local militia. Firstly, he is not satisfied with the qualification of the militia personnel. Besides, the militia’s leadership have literally grown together with their posts, compelling young, perspective workers to

leave the service (*"Kabardino-Balkarian Pravda [truth]"*, 03.03.2011). *"It is impossible to consider the activity of divisions of the Administration of the State Road Traffic Safety Inspection to be satisfactory either"*, S.Vasilyev declared on **19 January, 2011** at a meeting of the Directorate Board of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, *"the Administration of the State Road Traffic Safety Inspection's derelictions of duty have resulted in the unhampered movement of wanted members of illegal armed groups along the Republic's roads, in their commitment of subversive and terrorist acts, as well as in attacks on law enforcement officers using stolen motor transport"* (*RIA Novosti News Agency*, 19.01.2011). As explained by S. Vasilyev, *"the organisation the work aimed at depriving the underground of its financial support is beneath all criticism too"* (*RIA Novosti News Agency*, 19.01.2011).

Part of militiamen perishes owing to nonprofessionalism and lack of discipline. Thus, the employees of the Road Patrol Service, shot dead on **2 February** in a Chegem cafe doomed themselves to certain death. President of the Republic of Kabardini-Balkaria A.Kanokov, who examined the scene of the crime, indignantly remarked: *"There is such an impression that nobody had explained to them what was necessary to do for reasons of safety. So, cars approach, all the five go into the hovel, measuring 5 square metres, with their sub-machine guns, they stack their weapons. Who remained in the street, in the motor vehicle?.. I am no expert in this sphere, but they have their chief. Before they go out to perform their duties, in the way I understand it, the boss should instruct them and describe in what situation the Republic is. Why are we so careless and disorderly?"* (*"Gazeta Yuga"*, 10.02.2011, *"Vzglyad"*, 02.02.2011).

In the conditions of the growing terror, employees have begun to resign law-enforcement agencies on a large scale. Minister S.Vasilev was compelled to admit: *"They are leaving us during at a very hard time. They are writing in their official reports: "Due to difficult operational conditions". I do satisfy these reports, but I put a note regarding the time when an employee resigned. When we establish order, he will also come and say: "Take me for a job..."* The profession of a militiaman has become very unpopular in the Republic. At an extraordinary meeting of the Parliament of the Republic, devoted to the aggravation of the criminogenic situation and held on **3 February**, Minister addressed the audience: *"Who of you have a son serving in the militia?"* Only three persons raised their hands. *"As I expected, I have failed to see many people raising their hands... Everyone who rose from his seat may speak here with full responsibility. At rugged times, they sent their children to protect the native land. And these are exactly such times for Kabardino-Balkaria now"* (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria*, 03.02.2011; *"Gazeta Yuga"*, 10.02.2011).

In the structure of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, some changes in the personnel are going on. In **the end of February** and **the beginning of March**, new chiefs of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Chegemsky and Maisky Regions were appointed. **In January, 2011**, the operational structure of the Kabardino-Balkarian militia was strengthened at the expense of establishing an operative group out of attached employees of Ministry of Internal Affairs from Karachaevo-Circassia, Stavropol Territory and the Central Administration of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation in the North Caucasian Federal District, number above 150 persons. The officers were distributed throughout the most defiant areas of the Republic, namely to *the Baksansky, Elbrusky, Chegemsky Regions* and *the city of Nalchik* (*RIA Novosti News Agency*, 01.02.2011; 05.03.2011). It has already been declared that there will be no staff reduction at Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria in connection with the reform of law-enforcement agencies, which is being carried out, and probably the workforce of the Republican Ministry will even increase (*RIA Novosti News Agency*, 01.02.2011). Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria made a decision to restore all the stationary posts of the Administration of the State Road Traffic Safety Inspection closed earlier (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria*, 03.02.2011). Visually, one may observe the militia's guard posts at large road junctions and entrances to settlements, strengthened by armoured trucks and troop-carriers.

A Public Council was established under Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria according to *"Law of Police"*, which became operative from **1 March, 2011**. Its

structure included representatives of leading religious confessions, the Cossacks, the Council of Women of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, school teachers, men of science and representatives of arts (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, 07.02.2011*).

Along with the strengthening of law-enforcement agencies, the training of citizens regarding the suppression of aiding and abetting of insurgents and the establishment of the cooperation of the population with the authorities and law enforcement agencies has become another line of activity of the republican authorities. Now, in Kabardino-Balkaria, (and as everywhere, however) there formed an enormous gap between representatives of the authority and people. At an extraordinary meeting of the Parliament on 3 February, many deputies regained their sight, as it were: *“One should not tease people. If you go around the city for two days, you will not see any deputy in the street. We have lost our touch with people: they do not perceive us”* (*“Gazeta Yuga”, 10.02.2011*); *“The population sees everything. This causes embitterment. In this case, the population will be no ally to us. Now, when the majority of the population is poor, whereas officials are rich, we will gain no support and sympathy of the population. This is fraught with failure in our preventive work. Until everyone of us follows law and performs his or her duties, all of us will face the same situation”* (*“Gazeta Yuga”, 10.02.2011*).

It stands to reason that the level of the confidence of the population in the authorities, both republican and federal, is scanty. It is not accidental that people have a popular version of what is going on, i.e. a hypothesis that the escalation of terror in the submountain region is profitable, and it may have been even organised by the authorities who are trying to release the territory for a future tourist cluster and for the deposition of enormous investments. According to this conspiracy version, when the submountain lands are cleared of variegated private hotels and show depreciation, they will be bought up and the war with terror will end (*“Russky Reporter”, 03.03.2011*; *“Moskovsky Komsomolets”, 09.03.2011*).

Resting on the experience of the neighbouring republics and even on that of foreign countries (a special working group was created for this purpose), the leadership of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria decided to test perhaps the whole possible spectrum of ways of influencing the population, beginning with explanations, suggestions and encouragement of anonymous contacts and ending with the organisation of national councils and self-defence brigades. The purpose is to attract as wider strata of the society to the antiterrorist front as possible, and deprive the underground of moral and material support. The activation of the training of the population fell on the second half of 2010 and especially the winter months of 2010-2011 when it became obvious that law enforcement agencies do not cope with their problem.

The measures proposed by the authorities can hardly be estimated unequivocally in a positive way:

1) organisation of social councils in every village, the structure of which should include heads of clans, representatives of councils of women, religious figures, deputies of local government and sportsmen. The First Deputy Chairman of Government of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria **Adib Abregov** was entrusted with supervision over the activity of would-be groups of authoritative inhabitants of settlements. The councils are charged with maintaining careful control over fellow-villagers, explanatory work, as well as with a duty of influencing fluctuating young men using the power of the prestige of the community (*“Kavkazsky Uzel”, 17.01.2011*);

2) organisation of forces of self-defence which, as it appears, President A.Kanokov is ready to vest with significantly wide powers: *“...We will recruit people who will protect our settlements. From among inhabitants who want peace in the Republic... They should be employed, draw their salaries and have a possibility to repel a potential attack. We will not draw unarmed people on any account. That is, it will be people who have weapons and are able to wield them professionally and protect the population”* (*RIA Novosti News Agency, 01.02.2011*). What legal status may such groups of armed people getting their wages from the budget of the republic have, the President did not specify.

Understanding the importance of the training of the young generation, in the beginning of January the Parliament of Kabardino-Balkaria submitted a Draft Law, as a legislative initiative, to the State Duma of the Russian Federation, namely “Introduction of Modifications into the Federal

Law “Freedom of Conscience and Religious Associations””. The above-mentioned Federal Law poses a ban on involving juveniles into religious associations and teaching them religion contrary to their will and without their parents’ consent. The same also concerns an educational institution’s teaching children religion outside the scope of an educational program. However, the order of the legalisation of such a consent or a dissent is not prescribed by law. The authors of the draft propose to legalise the consent of parents in writing, and reveal a child’s opinion in the presence of representatives of a custodial body which draws a corresponding document to this effect (*“Gazeta Yuga”*, 13.01.2011).

A separate problem which the republican power is trying to solve is interaction with parents of insurgents. No mechanisms of interaction with families of insurgents have yet been worked out, the authorities have not yet determined their attitude to them: either as to victims or as to accomplices of criminals.

On the one hand, Arsen Kanokov is ready to co-operate with families of insurgents, having declared at a meeting with members of the Public Chamber the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria that if it were possible to return at least one young man to his family with their help, this fact could already be their arms, as well as a maximally mild punishment under the plea bargain programme. In response to insurgents’ parents’ apprehensions lest they should be prosecuted and expelled from settlements, Head of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria promised to personally examine every case, of course given that there are no facts confirming that relatives of wanted persons may be accomplices of insurgents and that their actions do come within the articles of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (*RIA Novosti News Agency*, 03.03.2011). On the other hand, at a meeting with inhabitants of *the village of Islamei of the Baksansky District*, A.Kanokov spoke about a possibility of expelling relatives of members of illegal armed groups from villages, noting that *“earlier they acted this way”* (*“Gazeta Yuga”*, 10.2.2011). And on **1 February**, at a press conference in Nalchik, A.Kanokov announced literally the following: *“It is necessary to train both parents and their clans. If they have failed to train them, let them also be accountable. Or else, while a young man is running in the woods, his relative is selling things in a shop. This will not work, we will take whatever measures for preventing this”* (*RIA Novosti news agency*, 01.02.2011). How these measures are realised in practice is testified to by the correspondent of the American magazine *“Foreign Policy”*, who visited this winter the family of one of the insurgents, *Astemir Mamishev* who is considered to be a “regular” killer among the insurgents.

Marina, mother of the insurgent, says: *“We live in some nightmare”*: the elder brothers of Astemir, who lead their life in a peaceful way, are exposed to prosecutions by law enforcement agencies. The house of the Mamishevs was repeatedly searched, and some unknown persons bombarded their courtyard with bottles containing an incendiary compound. The Mamishevs disavowed their younger son and a savage punishment on the part of his elder brothers is in store for him as soon as they meet next. However, this circumstance does not deliver them from prosecutions on the part of law enforcement agencies (*“Foreign Policy”*, 20.02.2011).

c) The phenomenon of “the black hawks”, mirroring the powerlessness of the authorities

Barely had A.Kanokov, President of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, held a press conference in Nalchik on 1 February, where he declared about organising people’s armed home guards, when a few days later the news reels detonated with a piece of news: an anti-Wahabbite terrorist organisation appeared in Kabardino-Balkaria, which declared a war to insurgents and their relatives. Several reels emerged on the Internet, (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ip7DRX6PN_Y&NR=1, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jy3a_RdY38&feature=related), which showed some people with tightly wrapped up faces, who threatened the insurgents in voices modified by means of technical aids, calling them specifically by their names. Also, there appeared an interview of one of members of the group with the television channel REN TV (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UN1QQpY0Y-0>). In particular, it was declared as follows: *“An award of two million was declared for eliminating you. We do not need this award: we will annihilate you free of charge. Never did a situation happen in the history when an Adygei or a Balkarian submitted*

to certain Chechens. You, Dzhabbuev, openly declared that your owner is Doku Umarov. He ordered to you to kill and rob your own people, to report about your feats on video clips, and give him stolen money. D.Umarov betrayed his people, he delivers young people for slaughter, and then proclaims them shahids. Somehow, he does not hurry up to the paradise gardens? You, murderers, you, Mamishev, Shamayev, your days are numbered, we have come upon your tracks, and rough justice will be rendered". The new group identified themselves as "The Black Hawks". In their addresses, the avengers emphasise that the names of the insurgents and their relatives' places of residence are well-known in the Republic, therefore finding them will not be much trouble.

Soon afterwards, the first action of "the hawks" followed: on the night of **5 to 6 February** bottles containing an incendiary compound were thrown into the courtyard of the insurgent Astemir Mamishev's family. Later on, the Mamishevs found out a note with the following content on the gate: "*Warning! If your son kills at least one more inhabitant of Kabardino-Balkaria, you will be destroyed*". The note was signed by the organisation "*Anti-Wahhabites - Black Hawks*" (*Kavkazsky Uzel*, 07.02.2011). Soon "The Black Hawks" took some considerably graver crimes upon themselves as well: an elimination of three accomplices of insurgents, whose specific names were not mentioned by the person wearing a mask in a regular scheduled videoclip. Besides, the Hawks asserted that they "had put" the officers of internal affairs anonymously on the trail of one insurgent and the latter was detained (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yt9dV1_LbQw&feature=related). The statement of "the Hawks" coincided with some news about murders of several persons in the Republic, who were not recorded as wanted insurgents, but who were considered to be "devout Moslems".

Thus, late at night on 7 February, in the village of *Zayukovo*, some unknown persons shot dead the 46-year-old **Khusein Zhemukhov**, Deputy Director of the Palace of Sports located in *Balkarsky Street* in *Nalchik*. His colleagues and fellow-villagers spoke of him as a respectable family man and a god-fearing person observing Islamic traditions. The killed person was survived by his wife and three schoolchildren. And on **12 February, around 18.00**, the 41-year-old **Iliyas Tramov**, a father of four children, was killed in the courtyard of his house in *Gorky Street* in *Nalchik* ("*Gazeta Yuga*", 17.02.2011). Kh.Zhemukhov and I.Tramov were proclaimed "peaceful Moslems" by the insurgents, who were not connected actively with them (*IslamDin*, 17.02.2011).

Besides, in the beginning of February, some actions of intimidation took place, which are connected by hearsay with the activity of "the Anti-Wahhabites". Thus, on **5 February, around 23:00**, some unknown persons fired on the office of the local branch of the Information Holding "Islam in Eurasia" in *Nalchik*, and also on a shop of Islamic fashion adjoining to it. Meanwhile, the organisation "Islam in Eurasia" operates legally and co-operates with the authorities ("*Gazeta Yuga*", 17.02.2011).

However, nothing was reported on the possible involvement of "the Hawks" in all these crimes. They did not leave notes any more.

Many mass media and the insurgents themselves, who are conducting an active propaganda campaign on the Internet at once declared "The Black Hawks" to be a group created by Russian special services so that they could unleash their hands in the struggle against the insurgents, without considering any lawful restrictions. Sites of the insurgents assert that the person giving an interview to the television channel REN TV and hiding his face behind a mask, was identical to an officer of FSB, who had earlier granted an interview to the same channel for the film "*The Nalchiksky Kapkan*" [*Nalchik trap*] (2010) and presented as Vadim, "an operative authorised officer of the Centre "E" (*IslamDin*, 05.03.2011). The newspaper "*Moskovsky Komsomolets*", basing itself on some anonymous sources, specified that "the Hawk" who appeared on the telescreen had a rank of a captain and was noticed in Yessentuki ("*Moskovsky Komsomolets*", 09.03.2011). At the same time, there are many those who consider that the young men, weary of terror, from among local residents could perfectly combine into an organised armed group for opposing the insurgents. According to **Aslan Beshtoev**, Chairman of the public organisation "Adyge Khase", there appear institutions, without licencing or registration, for counteracting insurgents in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria. In particular, some cases of blood feud were noted recently towards families of insurgents, on the

part of families of aggrieved militiamen. The organisation of self-defence is a phenomenon of the same order (*"Radio Svoboda"*, 21.01.2011).

However, because the terrorist underground came into a direct conflict with "traditional" criminality in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, one cannot exclude a version that some representatives of the criminal community are hiding under the guise of "The Black Hawks"

"The Black Hawks" found their enthusiasts. Their terrorist activity, if that it really took place as such, and appeals for it was approved by one of well-known legislators, **A. Torshin**, Vice-Speaker of the Council of the Federation, who declared on **4 March**: *"It is a kind of civil war with the bandit underground... I consider that local law enforcement agencies should not struggle with these decent people from "The Black Hawks" who were sick and tired of Wahhabites. Rather, they should be used since they could become a good information channel"*. Morally, A. Torshin fully justifies "the hawks": *"People who united into "The Black Hawks" represent a real force, it is a youth organisation the backbone of which is constituted by young men who wish to live according to civilised laws, and not as per radical religious Islamic procedures"* (News Agency Interfax, 04.03.2011).

Representatives of the official authorities of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria have long remained silent, in now way commenting on statements of "the black hawks" and on their possible criminal activity. Only in the first half of March, Valery Ustov, Head of Следственного Управления of the Investigatory Committee of the Russian Federation on the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, while speaking at a press conference, cast doubt on the existence of the anti-Wahhabite group. In that way, he relieved the authorities of the responsibility for checking crimes connected with the group. *I do not know, whether there actually exist such a structure as "The Black Hawks" in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria or not, V. Ustov said. In the name of this group, someone wearing a mask recently spoke on the Internet, with threats addressed to relatives of insurgents, but anyone can do it, even an insane person. There are no facts to confirm his words. For law enforcement agencies both insurgents, and "The Black Hawks" are equally members of illegal armed formations* (*"Argumenty i Fauty [arguments and facts]"*, the Investigatory Committee, 16.03.2011).

The insurgents, on the contrary, accepted or pretended that they took the statements of the people wearing masks seriously, using them [*the people*] as a possibility to justify their own terror against the civil population. On **12 February**, in response to the declared actions of "the anti-Wahhabites" "Emir" Abdullas (Zhappuyev) announced "an omra" (an order) to bring the divisions of "Mujahedins" who *"were passing the winter"* into combat readiness, collect information on members of families of the top leadership of the Republic and *"instigators"* and punish them *"in the most severe way"* (*IslamDin*, 12.02.2011).

5. The land of mountains at a razor-edge

a) Negotiations with Salafites: a deadlock or a pause?

As it was repeatedly noted by Memorial Human Rights Center in their analytical materials, the armed confrontation in Dagestan is of strongly pronounced religious nature. Salafism or fundamentalist Islam with respect to which law enforcement agencies usually use the term "Wahhabism", has gained a firm foothold in the Republic. The relations between adherents of Salafism and those of Sufism, traditional for the region, are extremely tense. Throughout all the "zero" years [after the year 2000], the authorities tried to resolve this conflict, staking on practical prohibition of Salafism in Dagestan and on the support of sufis. The backing of one of the conflict parties by the state aggravates the split. Presently, the society is practically in a state of a civil conflict.

For more detail regarding the distinctions between these two trends in Islam, concerning the reasons and the history of the conflict in Dagestan, please see the Report by Memorial Human Rights Center *"The "New Course" of Magomedov? The Situation Concerning Human Rights and*

Attempts at Consolidating the Society in the Republic of Dagestan. March 2010 – March 2011” (<http://www.memo.ru/2011/04/13/doc.pdf>; <http://www.memo.ru/2011/04/13/doc.rar>).

The fundamentalist trend as such, unless its followers try to impose norms of behaviour on others, does not pose any threat to a secular society and a state: people live and perform their rights in the way they think it proper.

However, in the course of the last decade, the authorities were practically equating fundamentalism with terrorism and banditism. There occurred a confusion between religious concepts and those of criminal law: the struggle against terrorism actually turned into a battle with adherents of “Wahhabism” as a religious trend.

The fundamentalist current is non-uniform, among representatives of Salafites there exist different views on how to attain (in Islamic understanding) a just society. Mainly, it was radicals who actively showed their worth on the political arena. It was they who permitted themselves, in a number of settlements in the mid-nineties, to beat up tipsy fellow citizens with sticks, to accuse all Moslems who did not agree with them of hypocrisy and apostasy. They came into collision with the senior generation of believers, in many cases they behaved aggressively and wanted to implant fundamental Islam quickly, even, no matter what, by force. This caused a tearing-away of the majority of inhabitants of Dagestan and provoked a civil stand-off.

Later on, the radical wing of Salafites went underground and began their subversive and terrorist activities against the authorities and some representatives of the civil society. But moderate Salafites, who were supporters of gradual, smooth islamisation, did not show their worth politically and did not declare itself as a public force.

The majority of Salafites do not take weapons in their hands. Ideologists of the moderate wing make “a peaceful appeal” and long painstaking work aimed at explaining Islamic values to the population their corner-stone. They do not raise the question about breaking away from the Russian state for the purpose of creating a caliphate and they demand that the state should observe those laws which already exist.

The wide circulation of the fundamentalist trend in Dagestan is an accomplished fact; many settlements are now divided based on the confessional principle. The authorities of Dagestan also understand it, and in spite of the fact that the law prohibiting Wahhabism has not been yet abolished, today there exists a much more tolerant attitude to Salafites in Dagestan than in the Chechen Republic and even in Ingushetia.

Nevertheless, as before, statements regarding illegal actions in regard to followers of the Salafite trend yet arrive. A special alarm is caused by a situation in the town of Yuzhno-Sukhokumsk. Here, in February, 2010, some actions of **M.Magomedov**, a new chief of the militia, provoked clashes between representatives of different trends of Islam, in the course of which fire-arms were used. Memorial Human Rights Center received a collective statement from 61 inhabitants of Yuzhno-Sukhokumsk, aged from 19 till 40 years, who were complaining of the actions of Chief of the Municipal Department of Internal Affairs. They asserted that since M.Magomedov's appointment the reprisals against representatives of the Salafite trend of Islam had intensified. They were illegally detained, and officers carry out warrantless searches. Several members of the Salafite community were subjected to humiliations in the at a militia division: Chief of Militia personally pulled at their beards.

The illegal actions of officers of power structures instigated local residents to a protest action which was carried out on **1 February**. However, no reaction of the authorities followed. On 10 February, 2011, **Muslim Nazhmudinov** Director of a local Sports School for Children and Juveniles organised a meeting of protesting people with the leadership of the town, which was appointed at 18:00 on the premises of this school. At the meeting, the following persons were present: Head of Municipal Administration, a Judge of the Peace, Acting Public Prosecutor of the town. M.Nazhmudinov posted a duty trainer at the entrance to the sports hall for the period of the meeting in order to observe the order prevent provocations. Some supporters of Chief of Militia M.Magomedov, who gathered at the entrance, opened fire at the Salafite youth protesting against the actions of Chief of Militia. As a result, one of the protesters, **Iman Shapi Galbatsev**, was wounded.

However, no response on the part of the militia officers followed; no criminal case regarding the use of arms was initiated. (www.memo.ru/hr/hotpoints/caucas1/msg/2011/03/m242494.htm).

Such kind of behaviour of militia officers promotes the radicalisation of young people and leads to a destabilisation of the situation in the Republic, undermining the efforts of the authorities of Dagestan directed at consolidating the society and creating conditions for peaceful co-existence and dialogue with supporters of Salafism, about which [*the conditions*] President M. Magomedov repeatedly spoke in his pre-election speeches. In the winter of the last year, **Magomed salam Magomedov** promised to start resolving this conflict on the basis of dialogue with all those who do not support violent methods of struggle.

The Republic's leadership expressed their readiness to conduct negotiations with representatives Salafite communities and listen to their demands. They, in their turn, chose a Council of Alims [*rural religious teachers*] of Fundamentalist Communities in Dagestan for negotiating with the authority, which was joined by scientists having a higher theological education and representing various people of Dagestan.

The Council of Alims formulated their vision of interaction with the authorities in a special document and designated some steps which, in their opinion, should bring about a stabilisation of the situation. The preamble of the document read that in the conditions, when Dagestan is on the brink of a global catastrophe, Daghestans already kill one other daily, all the parties of the conflict must try and agree in order to stop violence.

Among the demands of the alims, there were the following requirements: terminating reprisals against Salafite communities; granting a possibility of carrying out "peaceful conscription" (including a permission to build jumah mosques [*jumah is a mosque service on Friday*] in big cities of Dagestan to this effect); providing broadcast time on TV (along with preachers of the Sufi branch of Islam); introducing their representative into the Spiritual Board of Moslems of the Republic; granting a possibility of having Islamic kindergartens and religious schools; introducing (for interested persons) sharia courts for judging basically civil cases (a similar court is already functioning in Grozny).

According to the authors of the document, they understand that not all the requirements can be implemented at once, however, the presented theses serve as a certain road map, a direction in which it is necessary to move for normalising the situation in the Republic.

The meeting took place, a high-ranking official of the Republican Government conducted the conversation on behalf of President of the Republic of Dagestan. As participants of the meeting narrated, their demands did not arouse any special objections. The Representative of President of the Republic of Dagestan promised to discuss the presented theses and continue the dialogue.

"The negotiations" ended at this point. This caused some disappointment in the environment of young men for whom the factor of real affairs is important.

What are reasons for a prolonged pause in the negotiations with representatives of the community?

Probably, they are hidden in unsupportable expectations. It is not improbable that the authorities regarded the members of the Council of Alims as representatives of "the woods". In that case, after the first meeting, they expected some improvement of the operational situation in the Republic. On the contrary, it worsened. The second possible explanation consists in that Magomed salam Magomedov is not ready for serious negotiations with Salafites. He made some symbolic gesture which in his conception could lower the degree of tension in the republic, but he does not intend to take steps further.

Nevertheless, the regime with respect to fundamental Islam was considerably liberalised: representatives of Salafites even make their appearance in the official public sphere more frequently, they defend their identity more and more openly and confidently. There emerge social movements and organisations.

Thus, one may think that the authorities has abandoned the idea of formal dialogue with salafite communities, however they have expanded the public space for representatives of nonconventional religious communities.

Understanding all the complexity and ambiguity of the process, Memorial Human Rights Center consider that there is no alternative to dialogue with representatives of Salafite communities and to their inclusion in public life. The salafites are citizens of Dagestan, their presence in the Republic is an accomplished fact. History shows that it is better to integrate minorities prone to radicalisation than to suppress and exclude them. Discrimination throws young people into the embrace of radicals. There is no point considering leaders of moderated Salafites as representatives of “the woods” either, who they are not. It is impossible to expect them to influence the insurgents. However, they are capable of prompting to the authorities, what could help relieve the tension in the community, and are surely capable of affecting those who have not yet gone to the woods, but who is inclined to share radical ideas.

b) In search of a way out: a Commission for Adaptation

Having refused direct dialogue, the Dagestan authorities, however outlines a number of steps aimed at consolidating the society by way of including some representatives of the Salfite trend in public institutions and commissions, as well as at creating mechanisms for returning citizens who want to come out of the woods and return to peaceful life.

Already, there were some cases of a successful or a nearly successful withdrawal of young men from the woods on the security of the authorities. The next step taken by the authorities in order to relieve the tension was the institutionalisation of this work within the framework of a specially created commission. **On 13 November, 2010**, the first session of *the Commission under President of the Republic for rendering assistance in adaptation of persons who decide to stop their terrorist and extremist activity to peaceful life*, founded by a Decree of President of the Republic of Dagestan (hereinafter referred to as the Commission For Adaptation). The new institution began to be headed by **Rizvan Kurbanov**, the First Vice-Premier of Government of the Republic of Dagestan, who supervises the power block.

Apart from R.Kurbanov, 13 more persons became permanent members of the Commission according to Decree No.264 as of **2 November, 2010** by President of the Republic of Dagestan, including **M.G.Baachilov**, Secretary of the Security Council of the Republic of Dagestan; **U.A.Omarova**, Human Rights Commissioner in the Republic of Dagestan; **B.A.Bekmurzaev**, Minister of National Policy; **A.T.Ragimov**, Minister of Justice of the Republic of Dagestan; **K.I.Amirbekov**, Head of the Investigatory Committee in the Republic of Dagestan; **V.G.Shanshin**, Chief of the Federal Security Service Directorate of the Republic of Dagestan; **M.-Kh.S. Saaduyev**, Imam of the Central Mosque of Makhachkala; and **A.K.Kebedov**, the already-mentioned participant of the Third Congress of Peoples of Dagestan, a Representative of the Salafite religious movement “Akhlyu-s-sunna”. ([the site of President of the Republic of Dagestan. 02.11.2011](#)).

The leadership of Dagestan places a high emphasis on the work of the Commission. Local newspapers cover in detail each of its sessions, investigate into circumstances of specific cases. Beginning in **February, 2011**, sessions of the Commission were held almost weekly.

It is of interest that decisions of the Commission, in themselves, do not operate at all, they use legal mechanisms envisaged in the notes to item 208 (involvement in illegal armed formations) and 222 (illegal circulation of weapons and ammunition) of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation. The Commission’s main weapon is an ability to guarantee the observance of already existing laws and constitutional rights. Following the results of considering citizens’ appeals, they draw up petitions to various departments which are entitled to influence their fate (*Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Directorate of Federal Service of Administration of Punishments, etc.*).

Since the very beginning, the commission has been considered as a long-missing mediating link between members of illegal armed forces and their relatives on the one hand, and law enforcement agencies which lost prestige and trust. As Minister of Internal Affairs A.Magomedov noted: “After the the Commission was established, possibilities of introducing relatives of wanted members of bandit groups to this work, as well as of providing guarantees expanded. A positive tendency towards bandit groups’ rrenunciation of terrorist activity with the assistance of a base of relatives began to take shape. Relatives of wanted persons continually applied to us with their

requests for assisting them in solving the issue of their relatives' return to peaceful life". (*"Novoye Delo" [new business], 28.01.2011*).

The first really "working" session of the Commission (after an organizational session that took place in November, 2010) was held on **21 January, 2011**. The first case considered by the Commission turned out to be very unusual. It was widely covered by the press and, undoubtedly, it set the style of the further work of the Commission and designated the latter's mechanism. They examined a petition of **Dzhafar Bikmayev**, Mufti of the Rostov Region, whose son, **Nail [na'il] Bikmayev**, Imam of the Rostov Cathedral Mosque went to Dagestan on **19 December, 2010** in order to join the insurgents. During the first days after his disappearance, a criminal case under the article "Murder" was initiated based on his father's application, But as early as **6 January** Nail was detained in Makhachkala on suspicion of his involvement in the activity of an illegal armed formation. A pistol with a muffler, withdrawn from his possession, clearly bespoke his intentions. According to the edition "Chernovik" [*draft copy*], recently the relations between him and his father strained because of their religious controversions and their attitude to the Russian state (*"Chernovik", 28.01.2011*). At a session of the Commission, Nail repented and took an oath: *"Bloodshed is no good. I address this Commission: if you give me a chance to return to normal life, I swear to the Lord that I will never commit such an act of disgrace in the future"*. His father, in his turn, presented heaps of positive references in favour of his son. As a result, the Commission made a decision to apply to Ministry of Internal Affairs of Dagestan with a petition for changing N.Bikmayev's measure of restraint into recognisance not to leave and handing him over to his father to bail him. Minister of Internal Affairs of Dagestan A.Magomedov, in his turn, made a decision to change N.Bikmayev's measure of restraint to recognisance not to leave (despite the recognisance, his father immediately brought his son to Rostov). The case of N.Bikmayev was actively discussed in mass-media as an important story of a success of the Commission.

Stories about "active" insurgents who applied to the Commission, for which purpose it was actually created, were not received for public access, although representatives of the authorities mention some specific figures of those who surrendered. At a joint session of the Republican Security Council and the Counterterrorism Commission in the end of 2010, President of the Republic of Dagestan M.Magomedov declared that 16 persons had surrendered (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Dagestan, 28.12.2010*). It is not clear who these people were and when and under which circumstances they were persuaded to surrender.

Later on, the situation somewhat cleared up. At the session of the Commission which took place on **21 January, 2010**, the following figure was made public by **Kasumbek Amirbekov**, Head of the Investigation Department of the Investigatory Committee in the Republic of Dagestan: 18 insurgents persuaded to surrender *"for the last year"*. However, despite such unambiguous explanation, the State News Agency "RIA Dagestan" submitted the information in such a manner, as if this was exactly the Commission's merit (*RIA Dagestan, 21.01.2011*). It is common knowledge that 10 persons out of these 18 were on their criminal trial and were wanted. According to K.Amirbekov, the fate of these ten persons is as follows: one of them was interrogated as a witness, but not put on criminal trial. Two of them were released on their own recognisance not to leave and henceforth were put on probation. In regard to two more persons, the cases were dismissed, and they were completely rehabilitated. Five persons were arrested: they brought charges against these people because their actions were connected with specific cases of attacks on law enforcement officers. According to the information of A.Mukhamedov, Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Dagestan, four of the insurgents who laid down arms have already returned to their families and found some jobs {*"Chernovik", 28.01.2011, <http://www.chernovik.net/news/425/News/2011/03/24/11504>*).

There is no list of surrendered people in public sources. It is not improbable that among those were the persons whom officers of power structures forced to sign a surrender after their having been abducted and tortured (for instance, the case of **Timur Kurbanmagomedov**, a journalist of the Islamic Publishing House "Khuda-media").

It is of interest that some people apply to the Commission whom law enforcement agencies even do not suspect of committing anything. But these persons are hiding "just in case", being afraid

that they may become an object of prosecution. For example, in February, a certain **Magomed Dalgatov** applied to the Commission through the agency of Head of *the Tsuntinsky District*, who was afraid lest he might be brought to responsibility for his complicity in carrying out a double act of terrorism in *Kizlyar* on **31 March, 2010**, when tens of people died and suffered. Being a private carrier, he gave a lift to his distant relative, a certain **Abas**, as a passenger on the day of the crime, who was later put on the wanted list in connection with his involvement in that terrorist act. After that, as explained by the man, some law enforcement officers came to his house and searched for him. Drawing a conclusion that he was suspected with regard to a case of a terrorist act, M.Dalgatov made a decision to go into hiding, being afraid lest he should be taken away to a militia department and lest officers should knock some prejudicial evidence out of him by force. M.Dalgatov explained his mistrust towards his bodyguards by the fact that earlier he been detained and delivered to the local department of the militia in regard to a case of theft in *Kizlyar* where, as he explained, officers were bullying him and knocking statements out of him. A week later, it became clear that some other people were involved in the theft ("*Novoye Delo*", 18.02.2011, http://www.ndelo.ru/one_stat.php?id=4326). In general, M.Dalgatov had enough experience of communicating with militiamen for him to decide and to break into a run without waiting for a new, may his last, encounter with them.

At a session of the Commission For Adaptation which was specially convened on **14 February** regarding the issue of M.Dalgatov, it was found out that M.Dalgatov was not on the record in the Investigatory Committee of the Republic of Dagestan neither as a defendant nor as a witness. K.Amirbekov, Chief of the Investigatory Department of the Investigatory Committee of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Dagestan, was sincerely surprised the evidence of M.Dalgatov. "All the persons involved in the double terrorist act in *Kizlyar* are either killed, or detained. I do not know what role of M.Dalgatov is in this affair: whether he is a witness. But for certain he is not on the wanted list", K.Amirbekov informed ("*Chernovik*", 18.02.2011).

The absurdity of the situation consists in that a father of six children, expecting a seventh child to be born, not guilty of anything and who is not pursued by law enforcement agencies, hides himself in the mountains and asks the Commission For Adaptation: "I wish to be occupied with peaceful work, I have been never connected with insurgents, give me chance to come back home and work". And the Commission, in their turn, as an information report tells, "made a decision to petition law enforcement agencies not to take M.Dalgatov into custody but **to apply to him a measure of restraint in the form of recognisance not to leave against a personal guarantee of Head of the Administration of the Tsuntinsky District**" (!) ("*Kavkazsky Uzel*", 14.02.2011, <http://www.kavkazuzel.ru/articles/181226/>). The case of M.Dalgatov might be considered as a curious amusing incident if it failed to mirror the gloomy and hopeless everyday life of inhabitants of the Republic so clearly, who expect some savage punishment at any moment, either on the part of law enforcement agencies or on the part of insurgents.

The first weeks of the work of the Commission showed that it was ready to deal with diversified subjects, and so far these have been basically cases of appeals of "would-be" insurgents such as M.Dalgatov. For example, mother of a Dagestan emigrant from *Belgium*, who was afraid of prosecutions in case he returns to his native land, applied to the Commission. Another Dagestan serves a term of imprisonment in *Egypt* and asks to help him in social adaptation after his coming back. And the same appeal was received from three natives of the village of *Balakhani*, who are serving their sentence in Russia this time. Parents of four young men, who were recently convicted of shop arsons and who trade in alcohol, ask the Commission to assist their sons to serve time in Dagestan, and not in a settlement in the Krasnoyarsk Region, designated by the court, etc. (*the site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Dagestan*, 17.02.2011; "*Chernovik*", 10.02.2011).

It is obvious that just some "fitting-in" of the mechanisms of the work of the Commission For Adaptation is going on now, which is an institution that is absolutely new to Dagestan. However, its utility and timeliness in the split and badly controlled Republic is obvious.

Nevertheless, some massive appeal to the Commission of real insurgents (and not of those who did not commit anything and who would all the same become somehow legalised) can occur under two conditions:

1) the commission will have some real additional juridical mechanisms for returning citizens to peaceful life. In this connection, it is necessary for the federal centre to pass a law on amnesty for people who took weapons in their hands.

2) some public figures who are given credence to by potential surrendering persons will be included in the Commission's structure. In Dagestan, there is a number of human rights activists, journalists and lawyers who have proved their adherence to protection of human rights for many years and on the basis of a considerable quantity of cases. At present, the Commission basically consists of national security agents and state functionaries, which fact is a serious obstacle for many. Unfortunately, the confidence to the authorities and law enforcement agencies is lost and only consistent work of the leadership in cooperation with the civil society can restore it.

c) *The Congress of Peoples of Dagestan: "It is no more possible to live in such a way!"*

A Congress of Peoples of Dagestan, convened in the end of 2010 was to become an important step for attaining the consolidation of the society, according to a conception of the authorities.

This Congress is officially termed as the third one. It is considered that the first all-Dagestan Congress held in **1920** proclaimed Dagestan's statehood, declaring an establishment of the Dagestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and the second one, convened in **1992**, supported the unity with Russia in the conditions of a virtual disintegration of the Soviet Union and "a parade of sovereignties".

The present Congress is an idea of President of the Republic of Dagestan M. Magomedov who formulated its purpose in this way: "*A fair and open all-Dagestan conversation about problems of our society and prospects of its development, which will enable us to consolidate all sound forces in the struggle against extremism and terrorism and allow to direct the energy of our people to creation*" (the site of President of the Republic of Dagestan, 29.09.2010). Thus, the authorities predetermined the results of the Congress in advance: to designate the aversion of the majority of Dagestanis to extremist ideas. Such an approach initially incited many people to treat the future congress sceptically and gave rise to an apprehension lest a regular over-organised ceremonial event should occur. Also, some indistinctness of the organizational principles of the preparation of the forum contributed to this. At the same time, the persistence with which the authorities were declaring the idea of the beginning of civil dialogue offered hope. In the course of this dialogue, different social strata and religious groups of the Dagestan society could discuss problems of the Republic on one platform.

The Congress was held in Makhachkala on **15 December**. Both fears of sceptics and hopes of optimists came true partially.

In **October-November, 2010**, an active preparation for this forum was going on: throughout the whole Republic three thousand delegates of the Congress were being elected. The preparation of the Congress and the discussion of it were openly proceeding in mass-media; topics of terrorism, religious extremism and possible dialogue were being constantly discussed with representatives of fundamental Islam, and with the assistance of the highest officials at that.

The Administration of President of the Republic of Dagestan demanded that officials should provide an openness of dialogue, unexampled for the Republic (and, as time goes, for the whole of Russia): at one of preparatory meetings, **Garun Kurbanov**, Head of the Department of Information Policy under the Administration of President of the Republic of Dagestan declared: "*it is necessary to speak without fail about what common people think... especially where we are confronting terrorism today. It is necessary to meet with them, interview them regarding why entire families go away to "the woods" from some settlements, why parents support their children in illegal acts*" (RIA Dagestan, 12.11.2010).

But despite all that, "the administrative resource" was often used while electing delegates: the key role in carrying out gatherings, meetings and conferences of inhabitants of settlements was played by heads of municipal formations.

The symbolics and the slogans of the Congress were being chosen cautiously in order not to violate its consolidating message. For example, some long disputes were caused by an idea of

demonstrating a film about the events in Dagestan in 1999 to the delegates of the Congress, because as some of them considered the patriotic pathos of the film would inevitably turn out to be an “anti-Wahhabite” context. Eventually, the demonstration was canceled.

Direct radio and television broadcasts were carried out from the Congress, there was no preliminary censorship of speeches.

However, as it appears, no frank and open public dialogue, to its full extent, resulted. Brilliant speeches about relevant problems of the Republic alternated with appearances that were absolutely empty of content and florid in form. Among the speakers there were too many officials. Some of them were telling obvious lies, but the format of the event did not envisage a free discussion and did not permit demonstrating this to them. The Presidium of the Congress consisted in practice wholly of representatives of the power, including Public Prosecutor of the Republic and Chief of the Federal Security Service Directorate in the Republic of Dagestan.

And yet, with the absence of possibilities of executing the real will of the people at fair multi-party elections in Russia, the Congress opened up new opportunities for implementing the steps directed at decreasing the tension and the confrontation in the Dagestan society. For the first time, together with representatives of official powers and clergy, their political and religious opponents spoke on a common platform (naturally, from among those who deny violence as a method of achieving goals).

As a result of the Congress, the authorities and the society recognised representatives of the Salafite communities, who had had practically a semi-legal status before, as participants of civil dialogue about the future of Dagestan, who enjoyed full rights. They were afforded an opportunity to work legally with mass-media and to demand that law enforcement agencies and local authorities should respect their rights. However, the issue of the real realisation of this possibility remains yet opened.

President of the Republic of Dagestan addressed the participants of the Congress in the Report «Dagestan Stands for Peace, Consent and Development!». He briefly outlined some problems that are painful for the Republic: an abnormally slow economic development of the Republic, a huge gap between the poor and the rich, an unsatisfactory condition of the social sphere and of the infrastructure, an unsettled status of land relations, and corruption. The authorities should resolve these problems through dialogue with the society. M.Magomedov postulated a necessity for creating special public platforms for discussing these issues according to specific directions. As he explained, in 2011 it is necessary to hold forums devoted to matters of religion, to the economic development, the fight against corruption, the perfection of the activity of law enforcement agencies and the role of mass-media in the society.

M.Magomedov urged to concentrate on the basic, in his opinion, problem of the present Dagestan, namely “*ensuring peace and consent in the Republic, safety and legal order, shaping the attitude of the society toward ideology of extremism and terrorist acts*”.

President stringently characterised the confrontation with the extremist underground: “*We create – they destroy, we build – they demolish, we seek peace – they stir up war and in doing so they try to convince people that only they are true patriots and Moslems... Anyone who is courageous to live in his or her own way becomes a target of terrorists! Elimination of all those who do not consent – this is the course which extremists have adopted*”.

According to President of the Republic of Dagestan, extremism grows together with organised crime, illegal traffic in arms and drugs. It is already difficult to define where extremism comes ends and criminality begins.

Brutal actions of terrorists create a frightening exterior image of Dagestan and the Dagestans, manifestations of extremism impair the attractability investments to the Republic, impede the normal development of economy and the social sphere.

Let us quote one more very important, from our point of view, portion from M.Magomedov's speech: “I have already said in my Message to the National Assembly of Republic Dagestan that despite the enormous number of human victims the Dagestan society, unfortunately, has never realised the danger and has failed to properly condemn terrorism and extremism. I think, *it is this*

fact that poses the basic obstacle (highlighted in bold italics by the authors of the Report) on the way to the socio-political stability and socioeconomic development of the Republic».

What is to be done?

According to M.Magomedov, the solution of the problem “*is achievable not only by means of a coercive approach and rather than applying it, but by using economic, politico-legal and sociocultural tools*”. To this end, an updated “Strategy of Socioeconomic Development of the Republic Dagestan till 2025” is being developed updated in the Republic. It will be supplemented by a variety of republican programmes. Also, the leadership of the Republic are making their efforts in order to accelerate the adoption of a federal purpose-oriented programme for Dagestan.

In politico-legal sphere, the matter concerns the strengthening and development of democratic and civil institutes and public organisations. It is necessary to adjust the mechanisms of constant dialogue between the society and the authorities. President called upon mass-media “*to realise their special civil answerability to the society and direct their informational resource to the counteraction to terrorism and extremism*”. *The sociocultural tools are called upon “to overcome ethnic and inter-confessional contradictions and negative stereotypes, which fuel extremism and terrorism*”. President suggested that a republican holiday should be founded, namely Day of Unity of Peoples of Dagestan (for the full text of the speech of M.Magomedov at the 3-rd Congress of Peoples of Dagestan, please see the official site of President of the Republic of Dagestan. 15 December, 2010. [http://president.edag.ru/novosti/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=6994&tx_ttnews\[calendarYear\]=2010&tx_ttnews\[calendarMonth\]=12](http://president.edag.ru/novosti/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=6994&tx_ttnews[calendarYear]=2010&tx_ttnews[calendarMonth]=12)).

Let us permit ourselves to make some comments concerning this important programme address of the political leader of the Republic of Dagestan. This speech, as well as the work of the whole Congress, left the authors of the Report with a sensation of some reticence. Certainly, it is remarkable that the idea of importance of publicity, openness and dialogue passes through the Report: “*We should do our level best and create all necessary conditions for problems of the Republic and its citizens to be resolved by way of public discussion, openly and fairly*”. But the question of what can be the mechanisms of public opinion influencing the adoption of authoritative decisions remained unanswered.

President emphasised: “*The Dagestan society, unfortunately, has never realised the danger and has failed to properly condemn terrorism and extremism*”. He called it a basic obstacle on the way to stability and development. In the present conditions, it seems to us that it is hardly fruitful to speak about the Dagestan society as something taken as a whole.

And even the most rigid and uncompromising condemnation of terrorism by the most of the society does not provide a basis for stability in view of the fact that the smaller but significant part will sympathise with extremists for some reason. Questions need to be raised rather along the lines of the fact why the minority appears not to be ready to condemn extremism and why part of the population perceives our state as a cruel and unfair force. Corruption, callousness of officials, arrogance of chiefs, poverty of a considerable part of the population: this is what President of Dagestan was saying about at the Congress. But there inevitably arises a problem of systematic violence and lawlessness committed by representatives of the state, including crimes perpetrated in the process of the struggle against extremism and terrorism, which is of no lesser importance. But Magomedsalam Magomedov said just two fairly cautious phrases on that score:

“*At the same time we are also confronted with facts of obvious non-professionalism of officers of law enforcement agencies, poor quality of investigation of criminal cases, infringement of rights of citizens, corruption, negligence, and sometimes treachery*”.

“*Any tools of counteracting extremism should be used in strict conformity with the constitutions of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Dagestan*”.

However, the words “*We can have different views and beliefs, but we should be united in the struggle against violence and extremism*” may be perceived in different ways by listeners and readers, depending on their convictions and beliefs. We apprehend them as an appeal for a struggle against violence and lawlessness from whomsoever they might emanate – whether he be an insurgent or a militiaman (a policeman). And this fills us with optimism.

Among those who addressed the Congress after President of the Republic of Dagestan spoke was **Ramazan Abdullatipov**, the well-known Dagestan politician, who was Minister of National Policy Affairs in the government of the Russian Federation in the late nineties (he was also entitled to conduct the Congress); **Akhmadkhadzhi Abdullayev**, Mufti of Dagestan; sheiks **Said-afandi al-Chirkavi (Sheik Afandi Chirkeisky)** and **Sirazhudin Khurigsky**; as well as **Alexander**, Bishop of Baku of the Caspian Sea Region; **Said Amirov**, Mayor of Makhachkala; **Adallo Aliyev**, a poet (he is close to Salfites, the former authorities repeatedly branded him as “a Wahhabite”); **Fazu Aliyeva**, a poetess; **Buvaisar Saitiev**, a three times Olympic champion; **Suleiman Uladiyev**, the First Deputy Mayor of Khasavyurt and Head of Pubic State-Owned TV and Radio Company “Dagestan” until recently; **Gadzhi Makhachev** Permanent Representative of the Republic of Dagestan under President of the Russian Federation; and lastly **Abas Kebedov**, a Muslim scientist, one of the leaders of the Council of Alims the Salafite community.

Thus, representatives of various religious trends spoke the all-Dagestan forum, and for the first time a right of speaking in the public was given to a representative of the religious-political wing which is termed as “Wahhabites” in Dagestan and which has been formally forbidden up to now.

Sceptics who predicted that all the spokespersons would speak about almost the same things, turned out to be wrong: a variety of opinions was heard and different opinions and evaluations clashed.

Mufti of Dagestan Akhmadkhadzhi Abdullayev said in the beginning of his address: *“We ask our Divinity to make this assembly of the people a motive for unification and rallying of Dagestans, irrespective of their confession of faith and nationality”*. Then the speaker made an important statement: *“Recently, one may often hear from the Republic’s leadership that they are ready for dialogue with those who profess Wahhabism. We, functionaries of Spiritual Administration of Moslems of Dagestan on our part, cannot say that we somehow refute this dialogue. Our Divinity willed to create us namely as people possessing a human language in order to speak it and find points of contact. Everything that concerns the unification of Moslems is the main task of believers”*.

In this respect, according to Mufti of Dagestan, someone is pursuing his or her political objectives under the guise of religious aspirations: “Now, many people have already arrived at an idea that Wahhabism is not even ideology, this is nothing more than a guise under which one can easily struggle against active religious figures, against the rising introduction of people to Islam, against the unification of Moslems. There are those for whom it is simply advantageous to conceal their own political targets and oppose the unity, hiding behind this beautiful Muslim word “Jihad”.

In my opinion, as probably in the eyes of many people present here, the unification of Dagestans is simply a vital thing today. Primarily, it is necessary in order to save the lives of those children who are perishing today for the sake of goals which are at times not clear to themselves.

<...>

Our main problem to date is caused by young people who escape to the woods.

It seems to me that seeing all this lawlessness around can also be one of the factors, which instigates many young people to take up arms. These youngsters also see that such sinners are afraid of neither Allah, nor law, nor authorities; they are afraid of losing two things: their life and their income. The most important weapon in the struggle against extremism is improvement of morals.

<...>

I would also like to express myself from a point of view of a common Dagestan, so that those who can have an influence upon something may pay more attention to the improvement of living conditions of people, to the construction of roads, schools and hospitals. <...>

If everyone does what he or she is obliged to, there will be order, stability and peace in Dagestan” (for the video recording of the speech of Akhmadkhadzhi Abdullayev please see http://derbent.tv/watch_video.php?v=N7XRRX69G8SO).

In the speech of Mayor of Makhachkala **Said Amirov**, a possibility of dialogue with the Salafite community was doubted: *“The main question, basic for our Republic now is the suppression of religious-political extremism and the liquidation of terrorism. <...>*

The split of the Muslim community was introduced from outside, and it became a result of a thought-over and carefully prepared spiritual aggression. <...>

We, the authorities, committed an error both earlier when underestimated the threat emanating from totalitarian religious trends and may commit the same now, if we attribute their social base exclusively to the part of the population which is protestant and dissatisfied with its economic situation. The matter is much more complex. The newly-come supporters of shariat [Moslem sacred law], who earlier backed up "Islamic jamaats [communities or collectives of Muslims]" of Dagestan and who instigated them to military operations as well, together with Salafites want to create a political wing of extremist trends and carry on negotiations with the authorities. Here we need to hold a firm position again. We will stand for dialogue, if they lay down their arms and enter negotiations regarding the beginning of peaceful life.

Economic successes and solving of social problems should become a basis of our propaganda.

The main objective of extremists is to seize power and establish shariyat behaviours. It is a utopia of the people who do not absolutely perceive the reality, and the majority of Dagestans desire to be part of the Russian Federation. The journalists who write on the topic of religion are also involved in this polemic. They declare: a more competitive institution succeeds the nationhood, namely Islam. It is a parcel of rubbish! This dispute plays the game of extremists. They can hardly wait until the state renounces its functions in favor of religion. The state has its own functions, religion has its. Religion cannot execute neither administrative, nor defensive functions, nor the regulation of the economic and social sphere, of education, public health services, science and culture – I will not enumerate anything more. Why mislead people? Religion cannot absorb the civil society, it is part of it as a non-political, non-commercial organisation. The main mission of the state and the civil society is solving problems of man in this world, the main function of religion is rescuing the soul of a person. People may have different political views, but religion is one ... Why this part of youth has arrogated the right to blow up and kill other people, declaring them to be enemies of faith? What religion can announce a verdict law should be outlawed resort to violent acts, terror, murders and prosecutions of citizens?" (for the video recording of the speech of Said Amirov please see: http://derbent.tv/watch_video.php?v=RXYA4N832X9B).

It is necessary to note that it is erroneous to equate terrorists with the Salafite community. The idea of dialogue of the authorities and representatives of this community is formed around attempts to involve those Salafite circles which do not support terrorists into public life, and stop turning Salafites into outlaws. Such steps, from the point of view of supporters of similar dialogue, will promote the reduction of the base of the support of terrorists, and obstruct the possibility to scoop new human resources in the environment of offended and rejected persons. On the contrary, S. Amirov proposes that such dialogue should be made conditional on the fact that terrorists will lay down arms.

Adallo Aliyev, a classic scholar of Avarian poetry and a rigorous critic of the political system existing in Dagestan, who was the First Deputy of Shamil Basayev, Emir of the Congress of Peoples of the Chechen Republic and Dagestan in the late nineties, said that the authorities should try to understand what exactly instigates people to join the ranks of illegal armed groups: *"If these lads go to the woods, then here they explain this by unemployment and fuelling from outside. I say that this is because of their wounded pride. Otherwise, why should a young man go to the woods and sit there in the rain and snow. Why is it easier for drunkards and drug-addicts to live here than for believers? Why a woman having a yashmak on has started to be regarded as a terrorist? I dream about a time when those who believe in the Maker and a woman having a yashmak on would live easier, whereas a drug-addict and a drunkard would scramble along in the world. <...> I dream that lessons should be conducted in native languages at least up to the fifth class"* (for the video recording of the speech of Adallo Aliev please see http://derbent.tv/watch_video.php?v=SBKH354SB56H).

Suleiman Uladiyev, while delivering his speech, made the Dagestan society responsible for the unfavourable development of the situation in the Republic, he was speaking about the social apathy of the population: *"The Dagestan authorities are such as they are because of our indifference, inertness, inability to employ constitutional laws and owing to manifestations of servility unusual for Dagestans. It was us who took flour, sugar, dollars, roubles in the epoch of*

democratic elections, and instead of worthy and honest people we chose those who gave us all this (applause). Please, do not applaud, if you can. And then were were complaining about bad authorities and nasty life. It is us who either do not go to the polls or tollerate rigging the elections, without resorting to any, even authorised, ways of protecting our rights. It is us who give bribes to officials for employing one's son, allocating a land plot, dismissing a criminal case and advancing to the top in the hierarchy of the civil service. And then we boil over and ask to put them in prison although we bear equal responsibility according to law. It is us who did not stir a finger when the first militia sergeant was killed and when first young Dagestan escaped to the woods. And now, choked with blood and having earned the fame of the Republic where a war is going on and where only terrorists and barbarians live, we are painfully searching for a way out. We did not clamour when the system of education was being perverted, but we ran to institutions of higher education to buy diplomas for our offsprings. And now, we do not like it when doctors cannot heal patients and officials are not able pass correct laws. When they killed Deputy of National Assembly **Suleiman Magomedov** and blasted a mufti defiantly, when they were slaughtering journalists and shooting **Gadzhi Abashilov**, when they they were eliminating deputies of legislative assemblies and heads of municipal formations, when they were killing Minister of Finance **Gamidov**, we were silent and sat our houses though were understood perfectly that these people were being killed by persons from the woods (applause). And this was real terrorism. And now we are complaining that freedom and justice are not there. What have we done for them to be there? We were silent when the borozdinovtsy [inhabitants of the Cossack village of Borozdinovskaya] were being burnt alive and the dokuzparintsy [inhabitants of the Dokuzparinsky District] were being trampled down, when were suppressing "Chernovik" and did not hand over corpses of killed Moslems. When women and small children were perishing during special operations. When blood ran all around ... Thank you, Magomedsalam Magomedaliyevich, for your saying the word "amnesty" because we have no other method to solve the problem... The main thing is that we must be socially active and get rid of indifference. And we must live according to the principle "If not I then who should do it?". In that case the authorities will reckon with us" (for the video recording of speech of Suleiman Uladiyev please see http://derbent.tv/watch_video.php?v=NHXUDDR2DRKD).

The address of **Abas Kebedov**, as a correspondent of the weekly mgazine "Chernovik" noted, was full of understatements ("Chernovik", 17.12.2010). It is obvious that he aspired to avoid any confrontational rhetoric. "I felt a big temptation to tell everybody about what I think, everything, but today it is time to gather stones", Kebedov said in the beginning of his speech.

And nevertheless, the representative of the Salafite community said some important things: "Everything that is going on today on the Dagestan land is our common trouble. And we all together are guilty of this calamity. <...>

I am glad that today President has courageously raised an issue of the consent and the unity of peoples of Dagestan. Without this unity, we will annihilate ourselves. Let us see what is going on, according to the polls, among young people. The young generation which below 15 years of age raves about Jihad? There was some polling at schools. And you know, in some classes of 100 % of pupils say: "We will go to the woods after school". This must be stopped! <...>

Speaking here, the most holy sheik from Chirkeya said, addressing "the woods", that they should come back home. I also want to call these children along with the sheik. But where to can I call them? I am a member of the Commission for Adaptation established by a decree of President. If the Commission do not answer all questions underlying what induced the children to go to "the woods", we wil not be able find a decision.

Joining the opinion of the sheik, I want no more blood to be spilt on this land. But at the same time, I must see how to solve this problem. I am afraid, as a member of the Committee, that if some children from "the woods" apply to me, I will take them. And then someone will abduct them afterwards, as it happened to one of my fellow countryman from Kizil-Yurt They abducted him and threw him from a mountain. How I can guarantee anything to a person?!"

The speaker suggested considering a document, worked by an initiative group of members of the organisation "Territory of Peace and Development" together with representatives of the Association of Alims of "Akhlyu-s-sunna", as a potential programme for overcoming the crisis.

“There should be created conditions on this land for everyone so that people may live normally, Abas Kebedov continued. Islam forbids anyone to take up arms if his rights and freedoms are guaranteed for him. A man cannot simply go to “the woods” just for the hell of it. Islam forbade to kill a man, equating this to a murder of all mankind. A Moslem cannot go to “the woods” and kill. It means that something is going on - let us think... Ensure rights and freedom on this land! If this is the attitude of President, we will all support him and we will not look at those who will provoke.

From here you will return to your houses. Try to unite, not separate. A difference of opinion, ideologies and trends does not give us a right to kill each other” (for the video recording of A.Kebedov's speech please see http://derbent.tv/watch_video.php?v=U6AM5HXSORA6)

Gadzhi Makhachev suggested that *“the Report of President should be taken and propagandised in each village and in each aul [a mountain village]”*.

Among other things, he addressed the problem of arbitrariness of national security agents in his speech: *“They take away a man, and we cannot find him. If he is killed, give back his corpse. Explain to the father what the matter with his son is. These things should not happen. If someone is detained according to law, let them bring a charge against him. In doing the wrong thing, we give cause for them [aggrieved persons] to say: “This is what they do to us – there is no law in Dagestan, there is no law in Moscow”*”.

He also raised an issue concerning the necessity for canceling the republican law “On Prohibition against Wahhabism” (for the video recording of the speech of G.Mahachev please see http://derbent.tv/watch_video.php?v=2GSBYA5OYDBR).

In the final resolution, the Congress expressed their support of the course of President of the Republic, aimed at reinforcing the struggle against religious extremism and terrorism, corruption fuelling them, at developing a civil society and strengthening the role of public institutions, political parties and mass-media in resolving problems of the Republic.

The Congress addressed President of the Russian Federation with a specific proposal: to consider a possibility of working out, within the limits of current legislation of the Russian Federation, a mechanism of applying amnesty on the territory of Dagestan with respect to persons who are not directly involved in terrorist acts. A possibility of amnestying insurgents is considered in Dagestan as a new and effective measure, while the inventory of other means has been exhausted: ideologically, the authorities are not attractive, and the course directed at achieving a radical social and economic turn is a long-term strategic programme, and here no one can expect quick results. In this regard, President of Dagestan is ready to go far enough in the matter of amnesty. In an interview with “*Novaya Gazeta*”, he declared that he was going to bring up an issue of complete amnesty without any encumbering stipulations (“*Novaya Gazeta*”, 22.12.2010).

The question of the cancellation or revision of the notorious law “On Prohibition against Wahhabism” was also discussed at the Congress. It is a painful issue for the Republic. The law which obviously violates the constitutional right of citizens to freedom of worship, has many supporters in Dagestan, and it will be hard to cancel it. Until that time, President of the Republic will be trying to introduce principles of tolerance de facto. As he announced in an interview with “*Novaya gazeta*”, *“today law enforcement agencies do not prosecute anyone for having a beard or for being wrongly dressed. No more of these things. People attend mosques freely... Why should people stand apart? It is better to convince one with actions and words... If Salafites are peaceful and if they do not radicalise and do not try to create armed groups, they will not have any problems. It is my categorical attitude”* (“*Novaya Gazeta*”, 22.12.2010).

Certainly, not all things are yet so iridescent in Dagestan regarding religious tolerance, however it is important that such statements are made by the first person in the Republic and are persistently carried out by him in practice.

d) Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Dagestan: changes are too slow to occur

Slowly but style of the work of law enforcement agencies is, seemingly, changing. At least, an aspiration to this on the part of the leaders of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of

Dagestan is obvious. On **11 August, 2010**, **Ali Magomedov**, Minister of Internal affairs of the Republic of Dagestan, a professional chekist [*a security officer*], was replaced by his namesake **Abdurashid Magomedov** by a Decree of President of the Russian Federation D.Medvedev. As early as the next day, a site of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Dagestan began to operate (the news about A.Magomedov's appointment as a minister was just its first message). The content of the site is very unusual: apart from some official information about the Ministry's activity, daily reports of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Dagestan on the condition of criminality in the Republic are published here without any adaptation.

Some serious claims against the law-enforcement agencies of Dagestan were put forward at the Congress of Peoples of Dagestan. As Mufti of the Republic **A.Abdullaev** noted, not only manifestations of official malfeasance, but also the very mode of the life of Dagestan militiamen quite often instigates young men to flee to "the woods" due to their sense of protest.

Soon after the Congress of Peoples of Dagestan finished, M.Magomedov demanded to take measures for normalizing the work of the authorities and eliminating the most offensive phenomena irritating the population. In particular, at a session of the Security Council of the Republic of Dagestan, President set a task of struggling against motorcades, auto winkers, and cars with no licence numbers with numerous body-guards. Cancelling contracts of Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Republic of Dagestan for guarding various leaders and inspecting private security structures which carry out protection of state employees and heads of municipalities were contemplated. As early as the next day, Minister of Internal Affairs **A.Magomedov** signed an Order for changes in the structure of Ministry of Internal Affairs. For example, the Makhachkala Special Purpose Detachment of Militia was re-assigned to the Republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Separate Escort Duty of the militia of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Dagestan and the Regional Centre of Dog Service of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Dagestan, as well as the Separate Battalion of the Road Patrol Service of Ministry of Internal Affairs the Republic of Dagestan, which actually was carrying out functions of bodyguarding Mayor of Makhachkala (it performed the blocking of auto tracks, etc.) were also re-attached to the Ministry ("*Chernovik*", 30.12.2010).

However, according to the information which Memorial Human Rights Center have, the situation with the observance of human rights in Dagestan is changing slowly.

One of typical examples: the activity of the militiamen who are serving at the Kizilyurtovsky District Department of Internal Affairs. Recently, Memorial Human Rights Center repeatedly received signals that there occurred cases of flagrant infringement of human rights in this district militia department. Employees of Memorial Human Rights Centre documented cases of unlawful arrests, thefts of values, battery and torture presumably committed by officers of the Kizilyurtovsky Department of Internal Affairs, as well as cases of infringement of the rights of arrested persons in a temporary detention facility under the Kizilyurtovsky Department of Internal Affairs (illegal refusal of delivering foodstuffs and clothes to prisoners, torture by subjecting to hunger), falsifications of materials of criminal cases threats and insults to lawyers, rendering of pressure upon the victims, trying to protect the rights.

In the beginning of February, 2011, Memorial Human Rights Center addressed their request to the General Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation, the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Dagestan, Minister of Internal Affairs of Republic Dagestan, Human Rights Commissioner of the Republic of Dagestan for them to examine all applications concerning possible crimes committed by officers of that district department of internal affairs with respect to citizens. (www.memo.ru/2011/02/07/0702111.html).

Another typical example is the case of the Khasavyurt militiamen who beat up Lawyer **Sapiyat Magomedova** on **17 June, 2010** right on the premises of the militia station while she attempted to perform her official duties. Attempts at securing justice yet run across a blank wall of corporate solidarity of law enforcement agencies, namely the militia, the Public Prosecutor's Office, the Investigatory Committee and the Court. The criminal case initiated with a big delay against officers of the Special Fire and Patrol Group of the Patrol and Inspection Service of the Department of Internal Affairs of the town of Khasavyurt, who beat up the lawyer, (under Article 286, Part 3, "a":

“excess of powers of office” of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation) is practically not being investigated. (www.memo.ru/hr/hotpoints/caucas1/msg/2010/12/m226968.htm).

The investigation of the incident involving one more lawyer about whom we informed in the latest issue of the Bulletin is yet proceeding with difficulty. On **11 February, 2011**, the Soviet District Court of Makhachkala issued a decree confirming that the Public Prosecutor’s Office dismissed the initiation of a criminal case against **Magomed Omarov**, a praporshik [*a warrant officer*] of the Federal Drug Control Service of the Russian Federation. On **7 September, 2010**, M.Omarov rudely pushed aside Lawyer **Gyulnara Bammatova** who was trying to pass to the administration of the Federal Drug Control Service of the Russian Federation on her official business. As a result, the woman who is an invalid of the second group, fell down, strongly hit her head against a metal girder, suffered a brain concussion and was hospitalised (*“Kavkazsky Uzel”*, 18.02.2011). In the opinion of **Konstantin Mudunov**, a lawyer, who represents the interests of G.Bammatova in this proceeding, the investigation of her case is proceeding with gross violations of criminal procedure legislation: it is being unreasonably protracted, a number of incriminating facts disappeared from the case, the data of video observation cameras was not attached to the case, etc. Lawyer G.Bammatova is preparing an appeal to the General Prosecutor’s Office (*“Kavkazsky Uzel”*, 18.02.2011).

Meanwhile, in some separate cases inhabitants of the Republic manage to bring militia officers to responsibility. Memorial Human Rights Center watched the development of the events connected with the beating-up of the 14-year-old teenager **Makhmud Akhmedov** on **20 July last year** in the Department of Internal Affairs of *the village Khebda*. The militia officers accused him of committing a petty theft and were compelling his confession by torturing him.

Initially, the investigation of the incident was proceeding according to the most absurd scenario: the charge was brought against... the parents of the battered boy, who allegedly slandered the militiamen in their complaint about the beating-up of their son. However, in the autumn of 2010 they were nevertheless able to secure the initiation of a criminal case with respect to four officers of the Department of Internal Affairs of *the village of Hebda of the Shamilsky District of Dagestan*, namely **Magomed Magomedov**, **Gamzat Nurudinov**, **Shamil Magomedov** and **Aliaskhab Nuruchinov** according to Part 2, Article 286 (excess of powers of office) of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation. During the winter, the investigation of the crime was moving ahead despite some counteraction. In spring, the preliminary investigation was finished, and the case was submitted to court. The interests of the family of the aggrieved person are represented by lawyers working under an agreement with Memorial Human Rights Center, namely **Bakanay Guseinov** and **Aziz Kurbanov**.

In Dagestan, cases of detention of people, accompanied by infringement of the Criminal Procedure Code, and of their disappearance continue to occur. Thus, on **22 January**, some militia officers detained two brothers, namely **Abdurakhman Gaziyeu** and **Magomed Gaziyeu** in *the settlement of Shamkhal of the Kirovsky District of Makhachkala*, without explaining any reasons. A search was carried out in their house, without presenting a warrant. According to relatives of the arrested persons, it was reported that the brothers were registered in the local militia station as adherents of “Wahhabism”. The brothers Gaziyeu were already detained **18 May, 2010**. At that time, they were kept in the District Department of Internal Affairs for three days, without drawing up procedural documents. In order to direct the case of the Gaziyeus to a legal channel, an intervention of legal experts and Vice-Premier of Government of Dagestan **Rizvan Kurbanov** in the case of the Gaziyeus (*“Kavkazsky Uzel”*, 22.01.2011) was required.

Earlier, on **12 January, 2011**, two local residents, namely **Akhmed Magomedovich Akhmedov**, born in 1976, and **Osman Isayevich Osmanov**, born in 1983, disappeared in *the settlement of “Krasny Voskhod” [red sunrise]*. In the morning, Osman went to his place of work, and Akhmed accompanied him (Akhmed is an invalid of the 2-nd group and he does not work). However, they never made it to the market to where the young men made their way. Toward the evening of 12 January, it was found out that two more inhabitants of the settlement “Krasny Voskhod” disappeared on that morning apart from Akhmedov and Osmanov: the brothers Isaev,

namely **Magomedrasul Magomedovich**, born in 1974, and **Mukhtar Magomedovich**, born in 1982. They left their house about 8.30 in the morning and “disappeared”.

Their relatives applied to the Kizlyarsky District Department of Internal Affairs, however the officers there told them that nobody had been detained till 12 January.

At 18:00, the brothers Isaev and Osman Osmanov contacted their relatives. It appeared that in the morning they were detained by some officers of the Department of Internal Affairs were kept there the whole day. In the same place, they saw Akhmed Akhmedov handcuffed. As explained by the young men, pistol “was planted” on on A.Akhmedov. According to their story, they were not beaten, however they were not allowed to inform their relatives about their whereabouts. (www.memo.ru/hr/hotpoints/caucas1/msg/2011/01/m233169.htm).

Memorial Human Rights Center once informed about the disappearance of **Zaur Alibegov**, an inhabitant of the town of Kizilyurt, born in 1979, occurred *on 8 December, 2010*, in Dagestan (<http://www.memo.ru/2010/12/10/1012103.html>). Z.Alibegov was a businessman who worked in the shop “Avtograd” in Kizilyurt and traded in spare parts for cars.

In the evening, he called his wife home and said that would come back at the customary hour, by 19:00. After that, Zaur disappeared (www.memo.ru/hr/hotpoints/caucas1/msg/2010/12/m226969.htm).

On *12 December*, in the afternoon, the corpse of Zaur Alibegov was found near *the village of Madzhalis of the Kaitagsky District of the Republic of Dagestan*. His relatives said that he had been found by some shepherds who tended the cattle. There were some injuries on his body: some gunshot wounds in the legs, some manifest traces of torture, and a wound on the head, probably inflicted as a result of a fall. Near the place where the body was found out there is a 30-meter long bridge. In all likelihood, the body was thrown from that bridge (www.memo.ru/2010/12/13/1312103.html).

On *13 December*, criminal case No.02141 was initiated on the grounds of the murder of Z.Alibegov, on the basis of a crime envisaged in Part 1, Article 105 (a murder) of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation.

According to messages of relatives of the killed person, approximately half a year before the abduction, Zaur Alibegov was detained by militia officers of Kizilyurt and delivered to the District Department of Internal Affairs; however, he was subsequently released without explaining any reasons for his detention. Another inhabitant of Dagestan was killed on *11 January, 2011* in *the settlement of Sultanyangiyurt of the Kizilyurtovsky District*. A certain **Shamil Aliaskhabov**, born in 1982, was shot dead in the morning from two cars in the street. According to some witnesses, soon after he left the mosque fire was opened on him, involving tracer bullets. His clothes burst into flames.

The militia officers who arrived at the scene, declared to people gathered that a suicide bomber had blown himself up. The corpse was handed over to his relatives for burying. As they explained, no traces of an explosion were found on the body of the dead man. **Rustam Kurbanaliev**, a friend of the victim and a witness to the execution is confident that “*the officers of the militia were purposely furnishing some false information, concealing the cold-blooded murder of an innocent person*”. According to Rustam, his affiliation with the Salafite trend in Islam might become a cause of Shamil’s murder (www.memo.ru/hr/hotpoints/caucas1/msg/2011/02/m238546.htm).

On *15 February*, two brothers, namely **Magomed Mikatov**, born in 1987, and **Shamil Mikatov**, born in 1988, as well as their guests who were at their house, namely **Shapi Mikhabudinovich Magomedov**, born in 1990, and **Magomed Zagidovich Yakhyayev**, born in 1987, were detained in *the village of Malaya Kozyrevka of the Kizlyarsky District*. Father of the brothers Mikatov, **Mikat Mikatov**, found them in the Kizlyarsky District Department of Internal Affairs. 16 hours later, his son Shamil and Magomed Yakhyayev were released from the District Department of Internal Affairs. Earlier than that, they set Shami Magomedov free. According to the arrested persons, they were beaten, without explaining anything, then they were taken separately to different offices. Shamil heard the voice of his brother Magomed in the next office, who was telling someone: “*Take out what you placed in my pocket, fear Allah!*” As of 19 February, Mikat was not informed where his son was, what happened to him, and what he was accused of.

Being afraid for the life of his son, M.Mikatov asked to help him find his son: *“Shapi would say that he had been so beaten up in the District Department of Internal Affairs of the town of Kizlyar that he wanted to die”* (www.memo.ru/hr/hotpoints/caucas1/msg/2011/02/m238545.htm).

On 5 February, some officers of Ministry of Internal Affairs and FSB of the Republic of Dagestan carried out a joint inspection of addresses in Derbent, around 18:00, in 4, Primorskaya Street. The law enforcement agencies received some information that three Arabs, members of illegal armed groups, were allegedly living in one of flats in a nine-storeyed building. A few hours after the carried-out special operations, the militiamen admitted that the information had turned out to be false, and they disappeared as unexpectedly as they appeared. However, on the next day, an inhabitant of this house, **Shamsutdin Mirzoyev**, born in 1974, was delivered to a city hospital with a fractured rib. The Publishing Office “Chernovik” presents some details of this story.

Sh.Mirzoyev got hurt as a result of his being beaten up by officers of the Special Purpose Detachment of Militia. The physicians gave him some anaesthetic injections and sent him home. A certain **Ilyas Sultanov**, Sh.Mirzoyev's neighbour, told a journalist of a newspaper how he himself experienced all “the pleasures” of similar preventive measures of national security agents: *“On that day, at 6 o'clock in the evening, myself, my wife, and our one-and-a-half-year-old daughter Aisha sat down to have dinner. Suddenly, some noise was heard. I glanced out of the window and saw some trucks with iron cabins on their bodies and some armoured troop-carriers surrounding our house. Soon Marat, the owner of our flat, phoned me. He asked whether there was anybody else apart from me in the flat. I answered that there were only wife and my daughter and nobody else. Then the voice of another man, who introduced himself as an officer, ordered us while speaking into the receiver: “Lock up the door and do not answer it, switch on the lights everywhere so that the sniper specialists could see you!” I began to express my indignation and shout, saying that I had an infant with me and that we should be urgently evacuated, but they did not hear us at all. Then we run up to the door, it would not open. Outside, it was blocked with some bags. And the peep-hole, probably, was also blotted with some stuff because nothing could be seen through it. So, they kept us hostages till 22 o'clock, with the windows open and my little daughter in the arms. The phone rang up again, and the same voice of “the officer” ordered us: “Go into the bedroom, sit down and look at the camera!” Then a videocamera was lowered from the seventh floor. We sat silently and posed. Again the voice in the receiver warned us: “Now the owner of the flat will come in, and you sit silently”. A few minutes later, the door opened, and Marat entered. He had a helmet on his head with a built-in video camera. He walked around all the rooms and shouted that there was nobody there, and in answer to him: “Have a look in the wardrobes!” When nobody appeared to be there either, some men dressed in black clothes entered the flat and took me away to the next flat.*

There they brought me to my knees and began to shout that I looked like an Arab. Then they understood that there were no people there, for whom they were looking, and released me. And only when I came up to the wife with the child, someone of the officers threw these words in my face: “Thank God that you have a young child, usually we do not finish special operations like this”.

Sh.Mirzoev and I.Sultanov were not only inhabitants of the ill-fated house who suffered from the actions of the national security agents. As other tenants said, on that day all of them were taken out into the street, and those who had some grievances, were beaten. Even now Aisha shudders and cries at the sight of strangers. And on Monday, at a meeting held in the city administration, the First Deputy Head Tazhetdin Sultanov urged that the law enforcement agencies should explain to the tenants of the house that those operations were carried out for their welfare. But for some reason, it never came into the official's head to bring those officers to responsibility due to the fault of whom the people suffered (*“Chernovik”, 02.10.2011*).

In a conclusion of this section, we will adduce one more typical example of the activity of Dagestan law enforcement agencies, which is not connected, this time, with human rights advocacy subjects, but which also vividly characterises the quality of their work. On **31 January, 2011**, there arrived a message about a detection of two explosives consisting of trinitrotoluene blocks, plastid, aluminium powder and electric detonators at the Irganaisky Hydroelectric Power Station.

One might have noted the professionalism of the law enforcement officers, if had not been for some bitter sarcasm: to all appearances, the explosives had been lying on the territory of the

Irganaisky Hydroelectric Power Station unnoticed... since **7 September last year** when a terrorist act took place at the station, after which action some more unemitted explosives were found out (*"Kavkazsky Uzel"*, 02.01.2011).

6. In Chechnya people are thrown into the street

The year of **2011** was declared as the Year of *the town of Argun and the Naursky District* in the Chechen Republic. Here, regular immense constructions are being developed. The town of Argun is located just within eight kilometres from *Grozny* and it connects the flat and the mountain parts of Chechnya with each other, as well as the Chechen Republic with Dagestan. Now, the authorities of the Republic has designated it to become a satellite town of Grozny, not inferior to the capital of the Chechnya neither in architectural fads, nor in the road and transport infrastructure. A decision was taken to totally reconstruct the town's centre, as well as to expand its narrow streets up to six lanes on the main thoroughfares leading to Grozny, Makhachkala and Vedeno. Already in the beginning of January, 2011, Head of the Republic placed the first stone in the structure of the prospective complex of high-rise buildings in the town centre. The grandiose construction began (*"Vesti [news].ru"*, 15.01.2011).

But, as it often happens in modern Chechnya (the same, however, as in the rest of Russia), the noble goal of making one's land the most beautiful constitutive entity of the Federation in Russia little conforms to rights and interests of common inhabitants of the Republic, who unfortunately appeared on the way of the great construction.

The reconstruction of Argun entailed continued evictions of people both in Argun and in Grozny. Endangered appeared to be the most rightless and wretched categories of the population, i.e. refugees who have been driven from place to place since **1999** even without that.

Everything started in Argun in **November 2010**, when it was decided to pull down part of residential areas in connection with plans of constructing a mosque and a business centre. Over sixty houses along Shosseynaya Street Highway were demolished (in order to clear some space for the construction of a complex of high-rise buildings "Argun-City"), without a single judicial decision, that is to say in defiance of the Housing Code of the Russian Federation. Owners of newly-repaired or newly-constructed houses obeyed this without a murmur. According to *"Novaya Gazeta"*, each family was proposed to make a choice: either an indemnification at the rate of 3.5 million roubles, or a construction of a cottage house in a new place. An indemnification was given in cash in exchange for a residential technical passport. It was decided to temporarily accommodate those, who wanted to wait for the construction of a new house, in multi-compartment buildings along *III, Kadyrov Street* and *9a, Titov Street*. **In 2007**, they moved internally displaced persons, who remained without any habitation as a result of the war, into these two houses at a solemn ceremony. The keys to the flats were handed over to the tenants in a solemn atmosphere, in the presence of Deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation **Adam Delimkhanov** and Minister of Construction **Akhmed Gekhayev**. The ceremony was being shown on the local TV. Head of the Administration of Argun concluded standard contracts of social tenancy with the new lodgers. They observed all the provisions of the contracts, and there were no grounds to evict them.

Meanwhile, on **14 January, 2011**, all the inhabitants of the two solemnly populated houses to go down into the courtyard where they were told that they had 48 hours at their disposal for collecting their belongings and leave the flats. Chiefs of administrations of Grozny's districts, as well as Assistant Head of the Administration of Argun were present at the meeting.

In this regard, it was explained to the people that they would be transported to hostels of Grozny.

About forty woman inhabitants evicted from their houses tried to meet with Head of the Republic Ramzan Kadyrov. To this end, they went to his patrimonial *village of Khosi-Yurt (Tsentoroi)* and then they attempted to meet with members of Government of the Chechen Republic in Grozny. In both the cases, they were received very rudely, and some men, including **Magomed Daudov**, Vice-President of Government of the Chechen Republic for the Power Block, spoke to the

elderly women in an offensive manner. The women did not manage to make their way to see Head of the Republic.

In Grozny, to where it was decided to move the inhabitants of the Argun houses to be evacuated, several buildings poorly adapted for habitation, in which internally displaced persons live, continue to function. Here, unlike other regions of Russia, the inhabitants were not registered in their place of residence and their rural registration was preserved for them. Now, when some dwelling space became necessary in connection with the evictions in Argun, the authorities of Chechnya took the advantage of the tenants' not having a permanent registration. On **14 January, 2011**, at 19:00, some armed men dressed in camouflage uniforms came into a hostel located in *Grozny* in *119, Mayakovsky Street* and demanded that the tenants should vacate the rooms occupied by them. This hostel, the same as other ones on the territory of the Chechen Republic, was deprived of a status of temporary accommodation in 2007. These habitations were transferred from the domain of operational management of the Federal Security Service Directorate of Russia in the Chechen Republic for the tenure of administrations of districts according to the territorial principle in order to establish hostels. Out of 100 families, which live in the hostel in 119, Mayakovsky Street, 96 were never registered for living there in the way it is done in other regions of Russia, but preserved their registration in their former place of residence in the countryside. And exactly these 96 families, as explained by tenants of the hostel, fell victims to the regular eviction (www.memo.ru/2011/01/18/1801111.html).

The eviction was stopped in the period of frosts unusually hard for this locality. However, with more or less warm weather set in, it continued again (www2.memo.ru/d/2337.html).

Evictions/move-ins occur in other hostels of Grozny as well. According to Memorial Human Rights Center, 23 families were moved in and 5 families evicted from a hostel located in *Saikhanov-Tobolsky Street* in the *Octyabrsky District* of *Grozny*; an eviction of 9 more families is being arranged. In this hostel, 43 families from various rural areas live there. They are also under the threat of eviction.

One family from the Gudermessky Region was evicted from a hostel in *17, Novatorov Street* (*Staropromyslovsky District* of *Grozny*) moved. Totally, there are about 100 families in the hostel, and it appeared impossible to determine how many of them have their rural registration. 6 new families were moved into the hostel.

66 families live in a hostel in *4, Vyborgskaya Street* (*the settlement of Chernorechye of the Zavoskoy District*) under their rural registration, and they all were put on eviction lists. Some evicted persons do not leave the hostel but remain in the street, near it. In the hostel, 23 new families were settled.

Representatives of the authorities propose to inhabitants of the Chechen Republic, who have a rural registration, that they should go to the place for which they have a registration and ask their relatives and heads of administrations for help, without giving the people anything in exchange. But heads of administrations of the inhabitants' native rural areas often cannot help with anything and suggest that the people themselves should solve the problems of their habitation. An elderly married couple, **the Shakarovs**, turned out to be in such a situation. They lost three sons, and one more son who survived was convicted and is serving time. The house located in *the village of Khatuni of the Vedensky District* is destroyed according to **Vakhi Akhmetovich Shkarov**, born in 1941. Head of the Administration of the village of Khatuni is not able to provide the family of the Shakarovs, with at least a temporary dwelling. But at the same time he also demands that the Shakarovs should leave the hostel in Grozny.

Head of the Administration of *the village of Dyshne-Vedeno*, who had no vacant premises, approached the issue of resolving problems of evicted persons differently in order to settle two families (**brothers Gairbekov**) that live in his village. He took them to his house. One of the brothers Gairbekov is disabled, he cannot go, as he suffered a fracture of his spinal column in a road accident.

The eviction process was accompanied by an original propaganda campaign: many representatives of the authorities, beginning with wardens of hostels and ending with President of the

Chechen Republic, repeat it as a mantra that not honest tenants but certain “swindlers” who settled in hostels in a sinister manner are subject to be evicted.

There were no answers to questions of human rights activists in which way swindlers are accommodated in their hostels. On **17 January**, in an interview given to the programme “Vesti” at the state television channel “Vainakh”, Head of the Republic R.Kadyrov said about inhabitants of Argun as follows: “90 % of people which live there are those who do not want to live...”, meaning that they are not inclined to patriotism which was earlier allegedly demonstrated by indigenous inhabitants of the town, who handed over the lands of their ancestors, assertedly “with pleasure”, for expanding the street and laying the foundation of a park. They did it voluntary, simply “for the town to be beautiful”. R.Kadyrov suggests that evicted women having children should be settled at their relatives’: “Does not she have a brother, a father? Does not she have an uncle, after all?! How did they allow the woman to knock about without having a roof above her head?”

Human Rights Commissioner in the Chechen Republic **N.Nukhazhiyev** intervened with the situation with explanations too. In his habitual manner of violently criticising human rights advocates disloyal to him and rampantly supporting the leadership of the Republic, N.Nukhazhiyev accused human rights advocates of distorting facts and ignorance of Chechen mentality which “will never allow families to spend a night in the street”. For some purpose or other, he mentioned the Chechens who languish on the territory of Russia, the remains of people yet unidentified after two years, the obnoxiously low indemnification paid to inhabitants of the Chechen-Ingush Soviet Autonomous Republic, expelled in 1944, etc., as if Memorial Human Rights Center bear some responsibility for it. At the same time, he admitted that there had occurred some extremes during the resettlement of these people; however, on the whole, according to his statement, “not a single family was thrown out into the street”. Following the general message of Head of the Republic, N.Nukhazhiyev could not but characterise inhabitants of hostels as “a dependant and parasitic stratum of people who are convinced that the authorities are obliged to satisfy all their requirements” (*News Agency Grozny-Inform*, 02.02.2011).

As N.Nukhazhiyev declared, according to his proposal “officers of his staff in collaboration with representatives of public organisations of the Republic have inspected hostels of the city of Grozny” about which Memorial Human Rights Center reported. As explained by N.Nukhazhiyev, the information that people are being evicted from hostels into the street did not prove to be true. At the same time, during the inspection it was found out that “only inhabitants registered in rural areas were evicted from hostels of Grozny”. But “nobody of them confirmed that they “were being thrown out into the street” in their conversations with human rights activists”. Heads of rural administrations, according to N.Nukhazhiyev, are engaged in accommodating them, “providing them with housing or paying for their rented flats” (*News Agency Grozny-Inform*, 03.02.2011).

On 3 February, Chairman of Memorial Human Rights Center Oleg Orlov and Councillor of the same organisation Svetlana Gannushkina held a press conference in the Independent Press Centre in Moscow, at which they gave an account to journalists regarding the misadventures of resettled and evicted Chechen families. In the opinion of the human rights advocates, it is impossible to resolve this issue in the legal domain on the territory of the Chechen Republic. S.Gannushkina gave an example. “My interlocutor in the Investigatory Committee pored over an application brought to him (that of evicted persons: Memorial Human Rights Center) and said: “Do you want me to say what will happen further? Further on, they will come and withdraw the application”. “Why?”, I asked. And he replied to me: “Because some men will come to them at night and tell them to do so” (www.memo.ru/2011/02/03/0302111.htm#_Toc123). Earlier, on **1 February, 2011**, S.Gannushkina had a possibility to convey the essence of the problem personally to President of the Russian Federation **D.Medvedev** at a session of the Council for Development of Civil Society and Human Rights. S.Gannushkina handed over a letter from evicted inhabitants of the Chechen Republic and some materials gathered by human rights advocates (for the shorthand report of the speech of S.Gannushkina please see: <http://www.kremlin.ru/transcripts/10194>).

Soon after S.Gannushkina delivered her speech in the face of President of the Russian Federation at the press conference of human rights activists in Moscow, the situation in Chechnya changed essentially. It got about that the destiny of the majority of families evicted from their flats in

Argun to hostels of Grozny had been on the whole happily settled. Some information appeared in mass-media of the Chechen Republic, stating that on **7 February** and on **17 February** some flats were allocated to 16 and 60 families accordingly, which had formerly lived in *111, Kadyrov Street* and *9A, Titov Street* in Argun. Employees of Memorial Human Rights Center, who met the people, confirmed the information. The flats were purchased using some money of the Welfare Fund named Akhmad-Khadzhi Kadyrov in various districts of Grozny, mainly in *Zavodskoy* and *Staropromyslovsky Districts* because the accommodation there is cheaper, and the officials had to confine themselves to the allocated sum. Some families were proposed several flats to choose from and some were offered a fixed sum with which they were to acquire a housing at their option. However, a number of settlers expressed their discontent about the condition of flats or an inconsistency between their area and the composition of their family. As of the middle of March, 2011, part of the families has already left their hostels in Grozny, and part of them expect to be accommodated in new flats.

After the high-profile intervention of human rights activists in the problem of inhabitants of Argun and dwellers of Grozny hostels and the altogether successful settlement of their destiny, it seemed to many people in the Republic (as well as to human rights activists) that the episode of evictions of inhabitants having a rural residence registration from the town's hostels was suspended. Considering the fact that the eviction from the hostels was executed for the purpose of vacating the premises for the inhabitants of the two Argun houses in Kadyrov and Titov Streets and that now they were being given some permanent habitation, the issue of the eviction from hostels seemed to have lost its urgency (www.memo.ru/2011/03/11/1103112.html).

However, in the spring of 2011 the eviction continued, this time under other pretexts: it was reported that in March and April tenants of two more hostels in **15/4, Dudaev Street, the Octyabrsky District** and **76, Depovskaya Street in the town of Gudermes** received orders that they should urgently vacate their accommodations.

Thus, law enforcement agencies are inactive, law is silent and people depart to live with their relatives, never waiting for a help of the state. Head of the Republic is convinced that every homeless person has a relative who is ready and obliged to accept him at his quarters. In this way, the problem of internally displaced persons, the presence of whom constantly reminds one of the recent war, is being resolved in Chechnya. Just hide them from sight, do not see their tears and you yourself might trust in the picture of general prosperity and well-being.

7. Some new decisions adopted by the European Court of Human Rights

During the winter of 2010-2011, the European Court of Human Rights adopted ten decisions on cases concerning infringement of human rights in the North Caucasus. Complaints of 68 applicants were satisfied, all of the complainants are inhabitants of the Chechen Republic. In seven cases, interests of the applicants were represented by the non-governmental organisation "Legal Initiative in Russia"; in two of them (Abuyeva versus Russia and Gisaev versus Russia), lawyers of Memorial Human Rights Center together with lawyers of the European Human Rights Advocacy Center (EHRAC) pleaded the complainants; and in one of them (The Taimuskhonovs versus Russia), a lawyer of Memorial Human Rights Center Dokka Itslayev did accordingly. It is necessary to note that on *20 January, 2011* the European Court passed a decision on a complaint of an employee of Memorial Human Rights Center, an inhabitant of Grozny, Akhmed Gisaev, who was subjected to abduction and torture by officers of power structures in autumn 2003.

The total sum of indemnifications under decisions of ECHR in winter 2010-2011 made up an unprecedented amount: **2 305 000** euros for a moral damage, **59 000** euros for a material damage, and **42 873** euros for litigation expenses. In regard with one of cases alone, namely "**Abuyeva and others versus Russia**", the European Court inflicted a penalty for a moral damage to an extent of **1 700 000** euros. One cannot but note that the sums of indemnifications set by the European Court in the past months grew essentially. Whereas earlier the Court prescribed payments at a rate of **30 000-**

35 000 euros for everyone who was recognised as a person perished due to the fault of the Russian Federation, now the standard size of redemptions has grown up to **60 000-65 000 euros**.

All in all, since **February, 2005**, **161 judicial decisions** have been taken on cases concerning the infringement of human rights in the zone of the armed confrontation in the North Caucasus.

Russia yet remains a leader as regards the number of appeals lodged with the European court. The data furnished in the Annual Final Report which was published on the Court's site (http://www.echr.coe.int/NR/rdonlyres/F2735259-F638-4E83-82DFAAC7E934A1D6/0/AnnualReport2010January2011_prov2.pdf) testify to it. By the end of 2010, the number of appeals from Russia made 28.9 % of all the cases which were brought to trial. *Turkey* ranks second and *Romania* comes third. However, the number of complaints from Russia failed to increase as compared with the past year. The Court rejects the major part of applications as unacceptable. Basically, 204 decisions were taken versus Russia last year. The number of cases that the Court dismissed increased by 50 in connection with amicable agreements or due to renunciations of demands. In 2010, a law concerning the right of citizens to indemnification due to non-fulfillment of judicial decisions and red-tapery came into force in Russia. Formerly, such cases made up to 30 % of all complaints from Russia, considered by ECHR. It can be expected that in this context the number of complaints from Russia, adjudged by ECHR, will be reduced now ("*Vedomosti*" [gazette], 28.01.2011).

Meanwhile, on 26 January, 2011 the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) passed a special resolution concerning the execution of decisions of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in nine countries of the Council of Europe. Russia is mentioned therein in a context of "*the persistent non-performance of decisions of national courts, facts of death of people and cruel treatment on the part of law enforcement agencies, illegal detention in custody and excessive terms of temporary detention*". The existing problem, according to the Assembly, is of systemic nature. Cases of illegal keeping in custody there also arouse PASE's anxiety. The Assembly again expressed its concern about actions of power structures in the Chechen Republic in its document. "*The greatest concern is caused by serious and numerous infringements of human rights in this region*", the Resolution says. The Russian delegation in PASE agreed on the whole with the provisions of the Resolution but termed it "*unduly critical*" (RIA Novosti News Agency, 26.01.2011, News Agency Rosbalt, 26.01.2011).

Abuyeva and others versus Russia (the decision was made on 29 December, 2011)

The applicants are 29 inhabitants of the village of *Katyr-Yurt*, the *Chechen Republic*.

The applicants are victims, as well as relatives of persons perished during a non-selective bombardment of *Katyr-Yurt* during the period from **4 to 7 February, 2000** carried out federal troops, as a result of which tens of peaceful civilians died and tens more were wounded with various levels of injuries. In *February, 2005*, the European Court passed a decision on the events in the village of *Katyr-Yurt* in accordance with of a complaint, namely "*Isayeva versus Russia*" (*Complaint No.57950/00*, <http://www.memo.ru/hr/news/ecdec.htm>). It was one of the first decisions of ECHR on complaints about infringements of human rights in the zone of armed confrontation in the North Caucasus.

In February, 2000, about 25 thousand people lived in *Katyr-Yurt*. On **4 February, 2000**, a big group of Chechen insurgents entered the village. The inhabitants were not notified about the operation that was being prepared by servicemen for eliminating the insurgents. Without preliminarily creating safe passages for the escape of the local residents, the Russian servicemen began military operation aimed at annihilating the insurgents, delivering missile-and-bomb attacks. Both the roads leading from the *Katyr-Yurt* were supervised by military guard-posts, moreover the passage through one of the posts was closed to the inhabitants. Thus, the evacuation of the local residents was heavily hindered. The bombardment of *Katyr-Yurt* proceeded till **7 February**. Generals **Vladimir Shamanov** and **Yakov Nedobitko** were in charge of the penetrating force, they planned and carried out the operation.

On 16 September, 2000, the Office of Public Prosecutor of the Achhoi-Martanovsky District initiated a criminal case regarding the mass death of people in the bombardment of *Katyr-Yurt*. The

applicants were recognised as victims. However, *in March, 2002*, the Military Procuracy closed the criminal case. It referred to a report of a military expert as of 2002 in its decision, in which the actions of the Russian military command were considered to be imperative and corresponding to legislation. The applicants were not notified about this decision until *2005*. In *2005*, after the European Court passed a decision on the case “Isayeva versus Russia”, the criminal investigation of the case of the bombardment in Katyr-Yurt was renewed, but in *2007* it was closed again on the same grounds as in *2002*.

The European Court ascertained an infringement by the Russian Federation of Article 2 of the European Convention for Protection of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms (in its material and procedural aspects), as well as pointed out that there were no effective means of legal protection at the disposal of the applicants. It is important to note that, in the procedure of Article 46 of Convention, the European Court in its decision directly explained to the Russian Federation that the latter should carry out a new criminal investigation into the events on *4-7 February, 2000*.

1 700 000 euros as an indemnification for a moral damage, as well as **2 266 euros** for litigation costs were awarded to the applicants (www.memo.ru/2010/12/04/0412101.htm; please also see “*Novaya Gazeta*”, 06.12.2010; *Grani.Ru*, 6.12.2010; “*Novaya Gazeta*”, 21.02.2000).

Dzhabrailova and Dzhabrailova versus Russia, (the decision was made on 2 December, 2010)

The women applicants are inhabitants of *the village of New Tsentoroi, the Chechen Republic*.

On the night of *19 February, 2003*, about 30 Russian servicemen abducted Isa Aitamirov from the house of his aunt in the village of *Novy Tsentoroi*. They made Isa sit in an armoured troop-carrier and left. Since then, nobody has seen him. An investigation into the fact of his disappearance turned out to be ineffective.

According to the Court’s judgement, the Russian authorities violated a number of articles of the European Convention for Protection of Human Rights, particularly Article 2 (the right to life); Article 3 (prohibition against inhumane and debasing treatment); Article 5 (the right to freedom and personal inviolability); and Article 13 (the right to effective means of legal protection).

They awarded: **65 000 euros** for a moral damage altogether to all the applicants, **9 000 euros** for a material damage altogether to all the applicants, and **5 500 euros** for litigation costs.

The Taimuskhanovs versus Russia (the decision was made on 16 December, 2010)

The applicants are three inhabitants of the Chechen Republic.

On the morning of *30 December, 2002*, a certain **Ruslan Taimuskhanov**, his mother and one more person (his name is not revealed by the Court) were driving homeward. At a guard-post near *the village of Stariye Atagi* in which the federal forces were carrying out a mop-up operation, some servicemen stopped their car. The people were ordered to leave the car, then they were made to sit in a minibus and were taken away in the direction of Grozny. On the way, mother of Ruslan and the second passenger were made to get out. Ruslan remained in the car. Since then, he has been missing. An investigation of his disappearance has yielded no results.

According to the Court’s judgement, the Russian authorities have infringed on a number of articles of the European Convention for Protection of Human Rights, particularly Article 2 (the right to life), Article 3 (prohibition against inhumane and debasing treatment); Article 5 (the right to freedom and personal inviolability); and Article 13 (the right to effective means of legal protection).

They awarded: **65 000 euros** for a moral damage altogether to all the applicants, **6 000 euros** for a material damage altogether to all the applicants, and **4 000 euros** for litigation costs.

Tumayeva and others versus Russia (the decision was made on 16 December, 2010)

The applicants are six inhabitants of *the village of Valerik, the Chechen Republic*.

On the night of *18 to 19 September, 2004*, a special operation involving servicemen of the federal forces and divisions of the Chechen militia was being carried out in the village of Valerik. At

2 o'clock in the morning on 19 September, 2004, about 20 armed men broke into the house of *the Tumayevs*. They detained **Shamkhan Tumayev**, seated him in an “UAZ” car and drove away. Since then, Shamkhan has been missing. An investigation of his abduction has yielded no tangible results.

According to the Court’s decision, the Russian authorities have violated a number of articles of the European Convention for Protection of Human Rights, particularly Article 2 (the right to life), Article 3 (prohibition against inhumane and debasing treatment); Article 5 (the right to freedom and personal inviolability); and Article 13 (the right to effective means of legal protection).

They awarded: **60 000 euros** for a moral damage altogether to all the applicants, **11 000 euros** for a material damage altogether, and **2 500 euros** for litigation costs.

Malika Dzhamayeva and others versus Russia (the decision was made on 21 December, 2010)

Applicants are four inhabitants of *the village of Katyr-Yurt, the Chechen Republic*.

Khamid Mukayev was abducted by some Russian servicemen from his own house in the village of Katyr-Yurt in the course of a special operation in September, 2004. An investigation of the disappearance of Khamid has been ineffective.

According to the Court’s decision, the Russian authorities have violated a number of articles of the European Convention for Protection of Human Rights, particularly Article 2 (the right to life), Article 3 (prohibition against inhumane and debasing treatment); Article 5 (the right to freedom and personal inviolability); and Article 13 (the right to effective means of legal protection).

They awarded: **60 000 euros** for a moral damage altogether to all the applicants, **6 000 euros** for a material damage, and **7 500 euros** for litigation costs.

Udayeva and Yusupova versus Russia (the decision was taken on 21 December, 2010)

The woman applicants are inhabitants of *the village of Urus-Martan, the Chechen Republic*.

On **17 October, 2000**, in the afternoon, **Ali Udayev** and **Ramzan Yusupov** were walking from their school in the suburbs of Urus-Martan. Some witnesses saw the boys strolling along the road between a cemetery and a field. Soon after that, Ramzan’s brother saw an explosion occur near the cemetery. Other witnesses saw and heard a Russian tank taking a shot. The bodies of Ali and Ramzan were found out in the place of the explosion. An investigation into their deaths has yielded no results.

The Court ascertained an infringement by the Russian Federation of Article 2 of the European Convention for Protection of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms (the right to life).

They awarded: **60 000 euros** for a moral damage altogether to all the applicants, **6 000 euros**, and **4 000 euros** for litigation costs.

Gisayev versus Russia (the decision was made on 20 January, 2011)

The applicant is an inhabitant of *Grozny, the Chechen Republic*.

Akhmed Gisayev was abducted on **23 October, 2003** from his house in Grozny by some Russian servicemen. Akhmed was delivered to “a secret prison”, an illegal place of detention, where he was severely tortured for two weeks for him to give information about Chechen insurgents. Akhmed was released on **7 November, 2003** after his relatives paid a ransom (*for more detail please see www.memo.ru/hr/news/gisaev.htm*).

The court held that Akhmed Gisayev was tortured by representatives of the authorities of the Russian Federation. Thereby, the Court ascertained the gravest possible infringement of Article 3 (prohibition against torture) of the European Convention for Protection of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms. The authorities of the Russian Federation refused to give copies of the materials of the criminal case to the Court, invoking the privacy of data on military operations, whereas a statement by Government of the Russian Federation to the effect that some effective investigation was conducted, failed to be supported by any proofs. The Court ascertained an infringement of Article 3 in its procedural part (the fact of subjecting to torture was not investigated properly).

The Russian authorities have also violated Article 2 (the right to life); Article 5 (the right to freedom and personal inviolability); and Article 13 (the right to effective means of legal protection).

The complaint was submitted to the European Court on **19 April, 2004** by Memorial Human Rights Center (Moscow) and the European Human Rights Advocacy Center (EHRAC, London). Lawyer **Isa Gandarov**, an employee of Memorial Human Rights Center in Ingushetia, was engaged in the process of the exhaustion of means of legal protection at a national level.

Since **the summer of 2008**, Akhmed Gisaev has worked in the Representative Office of Memorial Human Center in Grozny. Jointly with **Natalya Estemirova** he was busy investigating crimes committed by officers of power structures (for example, he inquired into the case of the abduction of Aпти Zainalov: please see www.memo.ru/2010/06/25/250620101.htm#_Toc264640914). Soon after N.Estemirova's murder on **15 July, 2009**, some armed persons began to demonstratively shadow Akhmed and threaten him (www.memo.ru/hr/hotpoints/caucas1/msg/2009/08/m172821.htm).

On the insistence of Memorial Human Rights Center, A.Gisaev left the bounds of Russia along with his wife and his child.

They awarded: **55 000 euros** for a moral damage, and **1 957 euros** for litigation costs.

The Dudarovs versus Russia, (the decision was made on 10 February, 2011)

The applicants are two inhabitants of *the village of Ken-Yurt, the Chechen Republic*.

On the night of 17 to 18 November, 2002, a group of armed persons wearing masks and dressed in camouflage uniforms drove in their armoured vehicles to the house of the Dudarovs in the village of Ken-Yurt. They detained **Magomed Dudarov**, a son of the applicants, born in 1979, made him sit in one of the vehicles and drove him away. Since then, he has been reported missing. An investigation of the case has yielded no results.

According to the Court's judgement, the Russian authorities violated a number of articles of the European Convention for Protection of Human Rights, particularly Article 2 (the right to life), Article 3 (prohibition against inhumane and debasing treatment); Article 5 (the right to freedom and personal inviolability); and Article 13 (the right to effective means of legal protection).

They awarded: **60 000 euros** for a moral damage to both the applicants together, and **4 000 euros** for litigation costs.

The Nasukhanovs versus Russia (the decision was made on 20 December, 2010)

The applicants are six inhabitants of *the village Pervomaiskoye, the Chechen Republic*.

In the period of 14 to 18 February, 2002, the Russian federal forces were carrying out a special operation aimed at "mopping-up" *the village of Stariye Atagi*. On the morning of **14 February**, three brothers: **Movsar, Movladi and Vakh, the Nasukhanovs**, were detained by some servicemen in their house in Stariye Atagi. Next day, their father learnt that they had been delivered to a station for sifting captives, located on the premises of a poultry house and a mill. Vakh came back home on **16 February, 2002**. And on **20 February**, some burnt remains of the bodies of Movsar and Movladi were found out in *the village of Mesker-Yurt*. A legal investigation by Russian law enforcement agencies has yielded no results.

According to the Court's judgement, the Russian authorities have infringed on a number of articles of the European Convention for Protection of Human Rights, particularly Article 2 (the right to life), Article 3 (prohibition against inhumane and debasing treatment); Article 5 (the right to freedom and personal inviolability); and Article 13 (the right to effective means of legal protection).

They awarded: **25 000 euros** for a moral damage to the first and second applicants each (namely, to **Z.D.Nasukhanova** and **M.D.Kasumov**) and **2 500 euros** to each of the four others; **2 000 euros** for a material damage to the first and second applicants together, and **3 650 euros** for litigation costs.

Khakiyeva, Temirgeriyeva and others versus Russia, (the decision was made on 17 February, 2011)

The applicants are 14 inhabitants of *Grozny, the Chechen Republic*.

In August and December, 2002, inhabitants of Grozny **Lemma Khakiev** and **Mussa Temirgeriyev** were detained by some armed men dressed in camouflage uniforms and, according to

some complainants, were delivered to different military units of the city. Right after their detention, their relatives applied to the authorities, reporting the disappearance of the above residents. Some criminal cases were initiated. However, so far neither of the investigations has yielded any results, and the fates of Khakieev and Temirgeriyeva are unknown. The Russian authorities did not give any materials of the criminal cases upon demand of the Court, however they sent some information about the unsuccessful searches for the missing persons. The Court studied the circumstances of the case and decided that it was possible to consider the abducted persons as perished in consequence of their detention by the servicemen.

According to the Court's judgement, the Russian authorities have violated a number of articles of the European Convention For Protection of Human Rights, particularly Article 2 (the right to life), Article 3 (prohibition against inhumane and debasing treatment); Article 5 (the right to freedom and personal inviolability); and Article 13 (the right to effective means of legal protection).

They awarded: **120 000 euros** for a moral damage, **25 000 euros** for a material damage altogether, and **7 500 euros** for litigation costs.