

Conflict Studies Research Centre

Caucasus Series

07/07



**Municipal Reform in the
North Caucasus: A Time
Bomb in the Making**

C W Blandy

March 2007

Defence Academy of the United Kingdom

Municipal Reform in the North Caucasus: A Time Bomb in the Making

C W Blandy

Key Points

- * The implementation of local government reforms have worked to the disadvantage of the Balkar minority peoples and could bring further unrest in 2009.
- * Perceived regional government bias against the Balkars has been exacerbated by the authoritarianism of the law enforcement organs, which continue to act as an instrument of repression, which Kabardins also resent.
- * Continued violence by radicals living in jama'ats will unsettle ethnic Russians and cause more to leave the North Caucasus.
- * Development, including tourism, is much needed.

Contents

The Problem	1
Kabardino-Balkar Republic	2
Table 1 – KBR Population Percentages by Nationality and Rayon – 1959 Census	3
Table 2 – KBR Population: Kabardins, Balkars and Russians – 1939 to 2002	3
Balkar Minority Struggle	3
Map - Nal'chik and the Villages of Khazan'ya and Belaya Rechka	4
Complicating Factors	6
Box 1 – Third Large Counter-Terrorist Operation in KBR Since Beginning of 2005	7
The Future	8

Municipal Reform in the North Caucasus: A Time Bomb in the Making

C W Blandy

The Problem

This paper draws attention to the situation in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria (KBR) where the introduction of republican legislation on municipal boundaries in early 2005, prior to the full pan-Russia implementation of reform in local government, runs counter to the interests of the Balkar minority people. The matter was referred to the Constitutional Court of Russia in 2005. On 17 July 2006¹ the court announced that it did not have the mind to deliberate further about matters concerning territory: a strange decision reminiscent of the earlier nonfeasance and inertia which surrounded the incomplete process of rehabilitation of deported nations on their return to the North Caucasus in 1957. With regard to KBR two issues become readily apparent, first the question of rights of ownership in common over ethnic land and second one of economics, with the transfer of rural areas to urban control attracting an axiomatic higher level of rent and taxation. Unless these issues are fairly settled they are a “a time bomb in the making” adding to the tension and spread of violence throughout the North Caucasus. *“Territories considered as oases of peace yesterday are being dragged into a zone of instability.”*² Moreover, the slide into violence has the potential to accelerate the exodus of ethnic Russians from the North Caucasus.

*“No one and nothing can interfere in the strengthening of stability and security in Chechnya and the North Caucasus. Together we will do everything for the blossoming of this bounteous land and the wellbeing of all the nations who live here”.*³

These ornate, honeyed words sit uneasily alongside the realities of President Putin’s formula of economic development within a system of tight political control. The logical extension of control emanating from the centre to federal districts required the reform of local government throughout the Russian Federation, not only to redefine boundaries but also to tighten control and security in urban and residential conurbations, and perhaps more importantly in the case of the North Caucasus amongst rural communities and settlements, hitherto considered to be hotbeds of religious radicalism and terrorism. The vehicle through which the reforms are to be achieved is Federal Law (FZ) No.131 *“Concerning the general principles of the organisation of local government in the Russian Federation”*, adopted by the State Duma on 16 September 2003 and approved by the Federation Council on 24 September 2003. The deadline for implementation throughout Russia was originally 1 January 2006. Nevertheless, as with most large scale projects, in this instance with a massive increase in the number of municipalities from some 11,500 to 25,000, it came as no surprise that the implementation was put off until 2009. With regard to Chechnya there will be an additional transitional period until 1 January 2010.⁴

Particularly in the North Caucasus there is a paramount need to take account of the views of the local population in the interests of reducing tension, especially when the government requires their support in the fight against terrorism: another example of dysfunctional and myopic decision-making. Government reform is in the process of imposing one 'yardstick' over the whole expanse of Russia which does not take into account regional specifics, geographic features and perhaps most importantly social-cultural differences.⁵ The implementation of measures in their present form will tend to undermine and destroy rural communities, leading to redundancy, marginalisation or indeed emasculation of centuries-old village councils in favour of urban control. This will be a recipe for further unrest in the North Caucasus, where there are well-known instances of inter-ethnic tension, as for example between Balkar and Kabardin. Certain provisions of FZ 131 have already become a catalyst for increased Ingush opposition from the 'Akkhi-Yurt' movement against President Murat Zyazikov over Prigorodnyy rayon.⁶

Apart from the effects of the Chechen conflicts, three long-standing factors above all others have exacerbated inter-ethnic strife in the North Caucasus: first, the mass deportations of Muslim mountain peoples ordered by Stalin between November 1943 and March 1944 have resulted in unresolved issues stemming from their rehabilitation, where cases have been allowed to stagnate since 1957. Second, "50% of regional boundaries lack legal documentation".⁷ Finally, the endemic blight of corruption permeates regional and federal government.

Kabardino-Balkar Republic

In the 1920s the Bolshevik nationalities policy of divide and rule was put into effect in the national-territorial demarcation of the North Caucasus. As part of this process Stavropol' province together with the Kuban' and Terek oblasts were replaced by four autonomous republics of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), namely, the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, Dagestan ASSR, North Osetian ASSR, and the Checheno-Ingush ASSR.⁸ The period between 1940 and 1959 was perhaps one of the most bitter in the development of the federal structure in the region, remembered for the massive deportations and repressions, not only of the Muslim mountain peoples of the North Caucasus, the Karachay, the Balkars, the Chechens, the Ingush, but also the Buddhist Kalmyks, and moreover "*Crimean Tatars, Soviet Germans, Meskhetian Turks, Koreans, Kurds, Greeks and other peoples*".⁹ The list of deportations accounted for more than one third of the peoples of the North Caucasus. Furthermore, republics such as the Kalmyk and the Checheno-Ingush ASSRs were liquidated, as were the national autonomies of the Karachay and Balkar, with their territory handed over to Stavropol' kray, the Georgian SSR, Dagestan ASSR and North Osetian ASSR.¹⁰

The land shortage experienced during Tsarist times was also a factor in the 20th century, in territorial problems between Kabardin and Balkar, Karachay and Cherkess, and elsewhere in the North Caucasus.

"The complication of national-state demarcation in the North Caucasus was connected to the land question... [which] was extremely bitter due to the shortage of land, which was aggravated by the fact that a large mass of the population were occupied in cattle breeding requiring extensive pasture land".¹¹

The question of land in KBR remains a particularly emotive one, having some similarity with the problems facing North Osetian and Ingush in Prigorodnyy rayon. During the time of the deportation of the Balkars in 1944-1957, the borders of Balkar rayony were altered with the temporary transfer of Priel'brus'ya¹² to Georgia. After the Balkar return from exile and rehabilitation of the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, representatives of the 'punished people' were dispersed to areas possessing a mixed population,¹³ which in turn had the effect of reducing Balkar cohesion and political influence. Sovetskiy rayon was the only rayon in the republic which was dominated by a Balkar population. Table 1 shows the population percentages in the 1959 census, where the Balkar population in Sovetskiy rayon attained some 52.3%.

Table 1 – KBR Population Percentages by Nationality and Rayon – 1959 Census¹⁴

Rayony	Russian %	Kabardin %	Balkar %	Ukrainian %	Osetian %	Other %
Nal'chikskiy	58.4	17.3	9.4	3.5	2.1	8.9
Baksanskiy	12.5	84.8	0.2	0.7	-	1.8
Zol'skiy	8.7	82.7	5.3	0.7	0.4	2.2
Legkenskiy	6.2	78.2	3.3	0.5	10.4	1.4
Mayskiy	86.3	2.2	-	2.6	0.4	8.5
Primankinskiy	55.6	38.9	-	1.9	1.9	1.7
Prokhladnenskiy	90.3	1.0	-	4.0	0.5	4.2
Sovetskiy	5.1	41.0	52.3	-	0.5	1.1
Terskiy	15.6	77.8	0.9	0.3	1.6	3.8
Uravanskiy	30.6	64.5	0.3	1.9	0.7	2.0
Cheimskiy	5.9	74.8	17.7	0.3	0.3	1.0
El'brusskiy	28.2	38.4	26.8	1.3	0.8	5.5
Average:	38.7	45.3	8.1	2.0	1.5	4.4

Table 2 provides details of population growth between 1939 and 2002. A point to note is the decline of the Russian population from 240,000 in the 1989 census to 226,620 in the 2002 census, a reduction of some 5.9%.

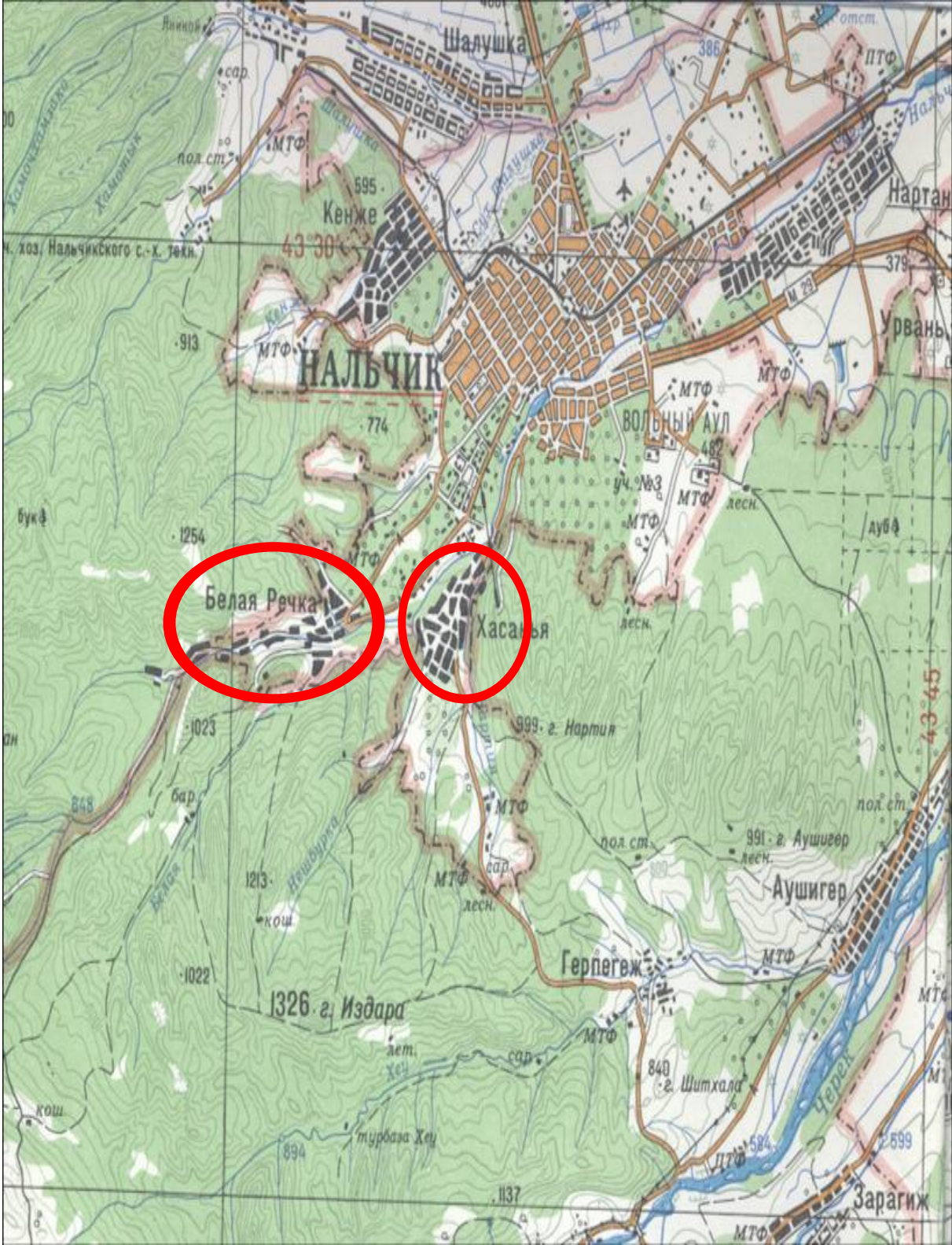
Table 2 – KBR Population: Kabardins, Balkars and Russians – 1939 to 2002¹⁵

People/Date	1939	1959	1989	2002	% Share In 2002
Kabardin	150,300	190,300	363,500	498,702	60.1%
Balkar	39,000	34,100	70,800	104,951	12.6%
Russian	127,100	162,600	240,800	226,620	27.3%
Totals	316,400	387,700	677,100	830,273	100%

Balkar Minority Struggle

It is important to remember that besides tension between Balkar and Kabardin other neighbouring nationalities or ethnic groups could well become involved. Peoples who share a Caucasian identity and culture are the Cherkess, Adygei, Kabardins and the minority Abazas. The Balkar and Karachay are of Turkic origin, language and culture. Unlike the Balkar minority in KBR the Turkic Karachay in Karachayevo-Cherkessia are more numerous than the Cherkess. The Nogay mainly live in Stavropol' kray, Chechnya and Dagestan but they are present in Karachayevo-Cherkessia, where they have managed to form a new Nogay rayon out of the former Adyge-Khabl rayon.¹⁶ As a rule the Nogay tend to support the Karachay.

Map - Nal'chik and the Villages of Khazan'ya and Belaya Rechka



At the beginning of the 1990s the restoration of justice in relation to Balkar territories was strongly influenced by the programme of the Balkar ethno-nationalistic organisation 'Tere' (National Council of the Balkar People). The main factors which figured in Balkar ethnic complaints were: insufficient representation of the Balkar people in government organs, poverty and low social mobility in areas of compact residence of the Balkar people. As well as the disparity in size between the Kabardin and Balkar populations and complaints about the lack of Balkar representation, other aggravating factors were: widespread corruption, a common factor in the North Caucasus,¹⁷ which in this particular instance had concentrated power, control and wealth in the person of then Kabardin President Valeriy Kokov, his relations and close associates; socio-economic problems with high unemployment, 20% on average but reaching 70% in remote mountain villages; the lack of basic amenities in several mountain rayony.¹⁸ Connected in part to the struggle of Chechens against Moscow, the growth of jama'ats in Kabardino-Balkaria and in other central North Caucasus republics has been a contributory factor and a symptom of disaffection.

The core element in the present tension on the part of the Balkar minority was the fact that in 2004 the government in Nal'chik introduced a new law to the effect that all farmland was now the property of local government authorities. This would give them the right to lease land, but the full privatisation of land would be postponed for 49 years.¹⁹ On 2 March 2006 two other local laws came into force, "*Concerning the status and boundaries of municipal formations*" and "*Concerning the administrative territorial structure*".²⁰ The main Balkar grievance, which forced them to seek judgement from the constitutional court was the redrawing of the administrative-territorial map, where several predominantly Balkar villages would be joined to the urban municipal formation of the republic's capital city, Nal'chik, very much a Russo-Kabardin entity (shown in map). In this the Balkar villagers suffered serious disadvantages. First, they lost the status of a villager, but they also had to pay an extra charge to the salary of the budget holders. The status of their land was changed to so-called inter-village land. Secondly, joining the territories to a town, indeed in this case to the capital city, led to the requirement to pay much higher taxes on property.²¹

The majority of large villages included for 'refashioning', such as Khasan'ya and Belaya Rechka, were traditional centres of Balkar life. Through the new laws, legally they ceased to be villages and unable to continue as municipal formations with their own village councils, elected deputies, and control of their own finances.²² A villager from Karagach emphasised the fact that: "*The main dream for every ordinary villager is private ownership of land. We have to give out land to those who live on it. They should become the owners, not the agricultural bureaucrats who stole everything under the collective farm system and afterwards during the time of crisis.*"²³

The chairman of the republic's parliamentary committee on agrarian policy was confident that the current law was in accordance with federal legislation. On the other hand those farming the land held the view that the new law deepened the crisis of agriculture in KBR: because rental prices were so high thousands of hectares of agricultural land were left uncultivated. Agricultural economist Safudin Elmesov said: "*Of all the types of land stewardship, rent is the most ineffective. It means that no one cares for the land, because the tenant is not sure whether he will be able to retain his plot the following year. As a result he tries to squeeze the maximum out of the rented land while taking minimum care of it. Nor does renting solve the problem of village employment, as the majority of residents do not have the equipment, fuel or fertilisers [they need] to rent the land.*"²⁴

Professor Timur Shalov, an expert on land usage at Kabardino-Balkaria's university, warned that popular dissatisfaction over the land issue could lead to social revolt as it did on 13 October 2005 when Nal'chik was attacked by fighters under the command of Shamil' Basayev and Anzor Astemirov.²⁵

Pasture and hay fields surrounding these villages were previously subordinated to village organs and were principally for the inhabitants of those villages, who were occupied mainly in livestock farming. In 2005 they were faced with the fact that in order to graze their livestock where they and their forbears had enjoyed this right, rent now had to be paid to Nal'chik. Only Kabardin Nal'chik has the authority to decide how to use this land: renting land to the former tenants, or to new ones, in processes wide open to abuse. It also signified that villages situated by or close to a town found themselves in a state of serfdom. Mountain populated points some distance from Nal'chik in Cherekskiy, El'brusskiy, parts of Chegemskiy and Zol'skiy rayony also lost the right to control and order the lands around them.

In the North Caucasus, it is not private ownership which counts, but the ethnic ownership of land.²⁶ The fastening of Balkar villages to Kabardin and Russian Nal'chik gained an ethnic resonance. Balkar inhabitants began to consider this process as ignoring their minority rights, which in turn focussed on the negative part of their history, namely the deportation and return of the Balkar people. Any discrimination was considered by the Balkars as a continuation of state repressive policy. In this, popular consciousness makes no distinction between federal and regional government.²⁷ Had the Balkars been able to return to their original lands in 1957 free from the punitive dispersion in former Balkar rayony they would presumably have been able to withstand any takeover by Russo-Kabardin Nal'chik.

This large-scale territorial delimitation project surprisingly paid no attention to explaining the policy to the public. As a result there were representations concerning ethnic ownership of land and Balkar anger at the inability or unwillingness on the part of the KBR government to review questions concerning ethnic ownership of property. It is hardly surprising that people even in the central north Caucasus, as opposed to their more belligerent neighbours in the north east Caucasus, should start to feel compelled to seek an alternative system devoid of Russian control. One fact which was surprising was the number of Kabardins who took part in the Nalchik raid in October 2005, and not just Balkars.

Complicating Factors

Connected to the struggle of Chechens against Moscow through the underground network of Shamil Basayev has been the advent of jama'ats not only in Dagestan but also in the central North Caucasus, with the "Yarmuk" jama'at in Kabardino-Balkaria occupying a prominent militant position. Whilst jama'ats have been portrayed as armed Islamist groups by the authorities, *Izvestia* in December 2004 quoted an FSB operative as saying "*I think that excepting mountain farmsteads, there are jama'ats in every village where there are 20-30 people. Wahhabism in truth is more a social idea than a religious one.*"²⁸ According to *kavkazweb* jama'ats are "*rapidly developing parallel power structures that do not seek to perpetrate terrorist atrocities but to create a separate social space where Russian social and legal norms no longer obtain.*"²⁹

Many people in KBR blame former President Kokov's policies of repression for the explosion of violence and raid on Nal'chik on 13 October 2005. Kokov was also credited with almost destroying the Balkar opposition, neutralising Balkar political

influence and marginalising the Balkar community throughout the republic in his long period in power.³⁰ He had been in power as leader of Kabardino-Balkaria for 15 years since 1990, having first been chairman of KBR Supreme Soviet from 1990 to 1991. He was elected President in 1992 and was re-elected on two further occasions: namely in 1997 when he attained 98% of the vote and in 2002 with 87%. He was instrumental in maintaining a rigid hierachichal system based on the Kabardin elites. In early 2005 there had been a succession of brutal operations by federal and republic forces against Islamic practices and dissident members of “Yarmuk”. A large-scale four day operation is detailed in Box 1 below.

Box 1 – Third Large Counter-Terrorist Operation in KBR Since Beginning of 2005³¹

A large special operation was carried out jointly by members of the MVD [Interior Ministry] and FSB in Kabardino-Balkaria. Additional militia forces were drafted in from neighbouring regions to supplement republic MVD personnel. The Nał'chik main road was taken under control. In the course of three days massive checking and scrutiny took place not only in the republic capital Nał'chik but also in four rayony of KBR.

According to a statement by the republic MVD more than 31,000 citizens were checked. 36 people were arrested, 12 of them were on the federal wanted list. Searches were made of approximately 21,000 private homes, 60 hotels, 47 hostels, 38 markets, 229 dacha complexes, 3,800 garages and 7,200 vehicles (two were stolen and 12 had no number plates). In the course of the operation 90 unregistered shotguns and carbines, more than 130 rounds of ammunition were seized.

A source in the main Southern Federal District MVD Directorate emphasised that the special operation in Kabardino-Balkaria was connected to intelligence about the possible location of boyeviki. This had nothing to do with the death of Aslan Maskhadov. This was the third operation since the beginning of this year which had been carried out in the republic including El'bruss rayon. In a word, the members of the ‘Yarmuk’ Jama'at who had been killed in January had come from the village of Kendelen in El'bruss rayon. The successful operation conducted in Nał'chik was concluded not only with the liquidation of fighters but also of a workshop in which explosive materials were produced. Eight fiendish vehicles were found ready for use. Maps were also found of Kabardino-Balkaria and Stavropol' kray, on which the locations of terrorist acts had been marked.

One cannot but speculate about the efficacy and the negative impact of the operation outlined in Box 1: a wide spectrum of KBR society would appear to have suffered importunity and inconvenience at the hands of the law enforcement organs, if not actual arrest. These operations need to be carried out with great care, not to antagonise the local population and create a section of society which believes that the only way to have a more peaceful life is to overthrow the government. On 12 April 2006 in the Kabardino-Balkar parliament the new President Arsen Kanokov, who had been in power since September 2005, launched a bitter criticism of the KBR law enforcement agencies over their performance before and during the attack on Nał'chik in the previous October. *“The speech which President Arsen Kanokov made... brought into the open a power struggle between the president himself, appointed last year as a market-minded reformer, and the local interior ministry which was closely linked to the authoritarian regime he replaced.”*³²

Kanokov's address to parliament came a month after the resignation of the veteran, authoritarian interior minister Khachim Shogenov, a long time associate of the former president Valeriy Kokov. Two days after accepting his resignation, President Kanokov appointed Shogenov as his personal adviser on law-enforcement coordination.³³ The appointment begged questions concerning Kanokov's freedom of action with regard to federal law enforcement organisations, and in particular the republic ministry of the interior. A year later, although "*Kanokov is making great strides to improve the socio-economic situation in KBR, he is not fully in control of his own security apparatus, for not only is the republic interior ministry not entirely obedient to the president but also Nal'chik is home to the North Caucasus Anti-Terrorist Centre.*"³⁴

Repressive measures were still the practice in KBR. For example relatives of the members of Kabardino-Balkaria's jama'at who were killed in the previous year's attack were still being refused the right to bury their loved ones, despite repeated requests. New reports of arrests, searches and violence circulated around the republic. A well-known lawyer was prevented from defending her client; a human rights activist was searched and detained. A local resident claimed he was abducted and badly injured by the police and then denied medical treatment. Dana Tsei quoted Ruslan Badalov, head of the Chechen National Salvation Committee human rights group, who said "*The methods have been well tested in Chechnya. The usual method of the Russian security services is to give themselves one day to make a man confess and sign. If the man does not confess within a day of his kidnapping, he is likely to disappear without trace for ever.*"³⁵

According Dana Tsei some 300 young men had left their homes over the previous year or so, apparently to join the Islamists.³⁶ Naturally, people are worried about the future, perhaps none more so than the ethnic Russian population. A possible palliative could be the opening of a new military township for border troops at Verkhnyy Baksan:

*"It is the fifth military township which has been built in Kabardino-Balkaria within the framework of the federal directed programme "State border RF (2003-2010)" and Integrated plan of strengthening the protection and construction of Russia's state borders in the North Caucasus region. In all according to [Livantsov] by the end of 2007, there will be 72 border posts, seven official complexes for the control of border detachments and one training centre. The cost of these plans amounts to more than 14.8 mlrd rubles."*³⁷

The ethnic Russian population in the Muslim republics of the North Caucasus shows a significant drop between 1989 and 2002: in North Osetia by 24,466; Karachayevo-Cherkessia 28,022; Kabardino-Balkaria 13,180 and Aygeya 5,320. On the other hand Stavropol' kray and Krasnodar kray gained respectively 31,859 and 135,772 ethnic Russians. It could be said that these increases are evidence of Russians wanting to move into areas where there is already a substantial Russian population and therefore a feeling of greater security.

The Future

In the implementation of local government reform, the detailed demarcation and other work has been left to the local authorities already in place. In the case of KBR, the result has been to perpetuate and exacerbate feelings of resentment among the

Balkar minority against both the ruling elite and the remote Russian federal centre. Unfortunately, the more the concept of a single Russia is trumpeted the greater the opposition from the Muslim peoples will become, because in many respects the template is linked more to urban conditions, residential conurbations and uniform shopping precincts than the socio-economic and religious ideas which govern the lives of people living in more remote and harsh conditions. The sheer effort to survive is illustrated by the Balkars living in Verkhnyaya Balkaria. *“Knitting is one of the few ways of earning an income in Verkhnyaya Balkaria. Zukhra says that children start knitting at the age of about five or six. Only those families where every one knits are able to make a profit”*.³⁸ In short, the more obtrusive the presence of the power-wielding structures, the more likely will be the growth of opposition toward Russian authorities, laws and presence, which in turn will encourage more ethnic Russians to migrate further north and west in the search for greater security.

The way forward in order to minimise the effects of radical extremism and the inadequacies of FZ 131 at the local level must be related to economic development, particularly in an age where the internet widens the scope of outside influence, both good and bad. Investment as opposed to the ever-increasing emphasis on military and repressive measures must be allowed to flow into economically depressed areas. The natural beauty of the North Caucasus provides a basis for the development of the tourist industry, not only for summer rambling but also for winter sports.³⁹ President Kanokov and Presidential Plenipotentiary Dmitriy Kozak are working hand-in-hand to stimulate investment, in which *“KBR, for example... could expect an annual number of tourists up to the level of soviet times (around 500,000 people) and then exceed it”*.⁴⁰ According to Kozak the appearance of an international Caucasus resort will give a stimulus to the economy of the region: *“First and foremost it will create places of work for the republic’s inhabitants. In Priel’brus, for example 23,000 jobs will be created.”*⁴¹ Projects on such a scale of development take time, but might work to the advantage of Balkar people in the end!

Endnotes

¹ <http://2006.novayagazeta.ru/nomer/2006/54n/n54n-s11.shtml> *Novaya Gazeta* No 54 20 July 2006 “*El’brus prevyshe Konstitutsii*” by Anna Politkovskaya.

² <http://politcom.ru/article.php?id=3090> *Politcom.ru* 19 July 2006. “*Munitsipal’naya reforma vzryvayet Severnyy Kavkaz*” by Sergey Markedonov.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Yuzhnyy Reporter* No 87, 25 December 2006 “*Chechne dali “otsrochku”*” by Alena Sedlak.

⁵ <http://politcom.ru/article.php?id=3090> *Politcom.ru* 19 July 2006.

⁶ For this and other examples see C W Blandy “*Whither Ingushetia*” *Caucasus Series* 06/03 January 2006.

⁷ See *Ibid.* Page 9.

⁸ V M Kabuzan “*Naseleniye Severnogo Kavkaza v XIX – XX Vekakh – Etnostaticheskoye Issledovaniye*”, *Russko-Baltiyskiy informatsionnyy tsentr Blits*, St Peterburg, 1996, page 220.

⁹ Damair Yusofovich Shapsugov “*Konstitutsii ustavy i dogovory – Subbyektov Rossiyskoy Federatsii na Severnom Kavkaz*” page 35, *Izdatel’stvo Skags*, 1998.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ O I Chistyakov quoted in *Ibid* page 12.

¹² Artur Tsutsiyev “*Atlas – Etnopoliticheskoy – Istorii Kavkaza (1774-2004)*”, *Yevropa*, Moscow 2006, page 78.

¹³ <http://politcom.ru/article.php?id=3090> *Politcom.ru* 19 July 2006. “*Munitsipal’naya reforma vzryvayeet Severnyy Kavkaz*” by Sergey Markedonov.

¹⁴ *Op cit* V M Kabuzan, page 216, Table 76.

¹⁵ 2002 Census from Svodnyye itogi Vserossiyskoy perepisy naseleniya 2002 goda, sotsial'noye izdaniye, Vol 14, Table 4.2 Rossiyskaya Federatsiya Federal'naya Suzhba Gosudarstvenoy Statistiki, Moscow 2005.

¹⁶ The new district comprises five predominantly Nogay villages: Ikon-Khalk, Adil-Khalk, Erkin-Yurt, Erkin-Khalt and Erkin-Shakhar and occupies 187 sq km with a population of some 15,000 people.

¹⁷ C W Blandy *"The North Caucasus on the Brink of Far-Reaching Destabilisation"* CSRC Caucasus Series 05/36, August 2005, pages 5 & 2. "The present unrest is centred on El'brus *rayon*, populated and hitherto administered by Balkars. Balkars are protesting about limitations to their economic interests as a result of changes stemming from Federal Law No 131 on local government and new boundaries. The republic government, controlled by the Kabardins, wishes to take over the administration of the *rayon* as it is a popular tourist centre and thus a valuable economic resource for the region as a whole. Throughout June 2005 in El'brus many thousands of protest actions have taken place against the local government law which makes the tourist zone into a centre of republican importance. Despite objections, the republican government has introduced a special presidential post, whose functions duplicate those of the Balkar *rayon* head of administration, Khazir Makitov. The El'brus population has demanded that Makitov remains in post, the law on local government amended and the legitimacy of the president's special representative not recognised."

¹⁸ <http://www.rferl/featuresarticle/2005/8/C64A178F-FD88-4DC4-A2D1-69E2F98A40C4.html> RFE/RL internet version Wednesday 17 August 2005 "Russia: What is The Biggest Threat to Stability in Kabardino-Balkaria?" by Liz Fuller.

¹⁹ Caucasus Reporting Service No. 340, 18 May 2006 "Land Crisis in Kabardino-Balkaria – Farmers say a failure to privatise land has left them impoverished" by Luiza Orazayeva in Nal'chik.

²⁰ <http://2006.novayagazeta.ru/nomer/2006/54n/n54n-s11.shtml> Novaya Gazeta No 54 20 July 2006 "El'brus prevyshe Konstitutsii" by Anna Politkovskaya.

²¹ <http://politcom.ru/article.php?id=3090> Politcom.ru 19 July 2006 "Munitsipal'naya reforma vzryvayet Severnyy Kavkaz" by Sergey Markedonov.

²² <http://2006.novayagazeta.ru/nomer/2006/54n/n54n-s11.shtml> Novaya Gazeta No 54 20 July 2006 "El'brus prevyshe Konstitutsii" by Anna Politkovskaya.

²³ Caucasus Reporting Service No. 340, 18 May 2006 "Land Crisis in Kabardino-Balkaria" by Luiza Orazayeva in Nal'chik.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ <http://politcom.ru/article.php?id=3090> Politcom.ru 19 July 2006 page 4. "Munitsipal'naya reforma vzryvayet Severnyy Kavkaz" by Sergey Markedonov.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ *Ideologiya Basayeva* by Vadim Rachkalov, *Izvestiya* 10 December 2004.

²⁹ <http://www.rferl/featuresarticle/2005/8/C64A178F-FD88-4DC4-A2D1-69E2F98A40C4.html> RFE/RL internet version 17 August 2005 "Russia: What is The Biggest Threat to Stability in Kabardino-Balkaria?" by Liz Fuller.

³⁰ Kokov suffered from cancer for several years before his death. On September 16, 2005 he announced his resignation.

³¹ http://www.ng.ru/events/2005-03-14/7_kbr.html Nezavisimaya Gazeta 14 March 2005 "V Kabardino-Balkarii ishchut boyevikov" by Maria Bondarenko.

³² Caucasus Reporting Service No 335, 13 April 2006 "Kabardino-Balkaria: President Lashes Police" by Valery Khatazhukov.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Caucasus Reporting Service No 362, 19 October 2006 "Nal'chik Nerves Still Jangling" by Dana Tsei.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ http://www.ng.ru/regions/2007-02-14/5_kavkaz.html Nezavisimaya Gazeta 14 February 2007 page 2 "Severnyy Kavkaz obrastayet voyennoy infrastrukturoy" by Vladimir Mukhin. The military townships under construction at Zelenchuskaya (Karachayevo-Cherkessi) and Botlikh (Dagestan) should not be forgotten.

³⁸ Caucasus Reporting Series No. 243, 21 July 2004 “*Balkars Cling to Alpine Lifestyle: A North Caucasus Mountain village defies the modern age, getting by on subsistence farming and knitting*” by Fatima Tisova. Page 2

³⁹ <http://reporter-ufo.ru/article.cfm?issue=107&article=2184> Yuzhnyy Reporter 14 February 2007 “*Al’py na Kavkaze*” by Tat’yana Serbina.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

Want to Know More ...?

See:

C W Blandy, "North Caucasus: On the Brink of Far-Reaching Destabilisation", *Conflict Studies Research Centre, Caucasus Series*, 05/36, August 2005.

Andrew McGregor "The Jamaat Movement in Kabardino-Balkaria" The Jamestown Foundation, *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume 3, Issue 7 07 April 2005.

Liz Fuller "Russia: Balkars Launch New Campaign For Own Republic" RFE/RL, 31 May 2005.

Liz Fuller "Russia: What is The Biggest Threat to Stability in Kabardino-Balkaria?" RFE/RL, 17 August 2005.

Disclaimer

The views expressed in this paper are entirely and solely those of the author and do not necessarily reflect official thinking and policy either of Her Majesty's Government or of the Ministry of Defence.

ISBN 978-1-905962-06-8

Published By:

**Defence Academy of the
United Kingdom**

Conflict Studies Research Centre

Defence Academy of the UK
Watchfield
Swindon
SN6 8TS
England

Telephone: (44) 1793 788856
Fax: (44) 1793 788841
Email: csrc@da.mod.uk
<http://www.defac.ac.uk/csrc>

ISBN 978-1-905962-06-8