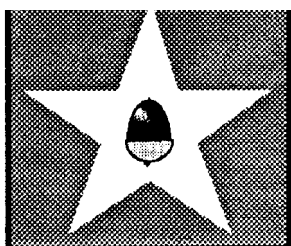


Conflict Studies Research Centre

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**The Federal Border
Guard Service**

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The Federal Border Guard Service

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"A country begins with its border"
Russian saying

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Looking for Borders

The collapse of the Soviet border guard structures and the slow emergence of the Federal Border Service (FPS) of the Russian Federation is one of the least known episodes in the history of Russia's power structures. Non-controversial politically, removed, by the very nature of their activities, from the decisionmaking centres and almost never appearing on the front pages of the national dailies, the FPS reforms were of little interest to the average citizen, politician or journalist.

A part of the KGB USSR until the end of 1991, the Main Border Troops Directorate was an important part of the Soviet public suppression and control apparatus. The Soviet leaders attached considerable importance, and corresponding resources, to the protection of the state borders and as a result the USSR was virtually padlocked. Border control was made easier by the close co-operation between the KGB structures, strict control over the movement of the Soviet population inside the country, wide and well controlled border security areas, a permanent foreign travel ban imposed on the majority of the population and a less than welcoming policy towards foreign visitors. Most borders of the European part of the USSR were the "safe" buffer zones of the Warsaw Pact members. The borders with the non-communist world were guarded by the Border Troops, with back-up from the Soviet Armed Forces.

The turmoil of August 1991 triggered the break up of the Soviet Union and provoked political struggle inside Russia. In the post August 1991 purges, the commission investigating the coup of 1991 recommended the dismissal of several top KGB border troops officers. The head of the Military-Political Directorate of the Main Directorate of the Border Troops, General Nikolay Britivin, and his first deputy were fired immediately. The commission also recommended the dismissal of the head of the Border Troops, General Kalinichenko, for "political immaturity". He was not fired and survived in his post longer than any other top KGB official.¹ The remaining officers were not a target of political "seduction" campaigns, intimidation or rolling purges.

The collapse of the political and economic system which dominated the Soviet Union for more than seventy years was almost immediately followed by the collapse of the union and the gradual emergence of 14 independent states, eight of whom have land borders with Russia (Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Belorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan); one (Turkmenistan) shares the Caspian Sea with Russia and several other countries; and five (Armenia, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Moldova) do not share borders with Russia although Armenia and Tajikistan regard Moscow as a political ally and allow Russia to station border troops on their soil.

The resubordination of the border troops to the Security and Internal Affairs Ministry on 21 December 1991, after the collapse of the KGB and several days before the final collapse of the USSR was of little importance. What really mattered was the borders they were supposed to protect. The old Soviet borders of the new Russia were reasonably well protected, in theory at least. The new borders with the newly independent republics were yet to be delineated, demarcated² and their infrastructure built and manned. The old external, Soviet, borders of the new

republics were crumbling fast. Colonel-General Vladimir Ivanovich Shlyakhtin, the first commander of the Russian Border Troops, described the situation when he took over in June 1992 as chaotic. The borders in the Baltic countries and the Transcaucasus had practically ceased to exist. By June 1992, Ukraine, Moldova, Belorussia, the Transcaucasus and Central Asian states had begun to organise their own border guard structures and the Russian border troops, with a rapidly dwindling conscript pool, still guarded the Kyrgyz, Tajik and Turkmen borders.³ At the beginning of 1992 no one could have any doubts that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia wanted to have as little to do with Russia as possible. This was not the case with other former republics. To plan delineation and demarcation of any borders in these chaotic times was impossible for several reasons:

- There were still powerful political forces in Moscow unwilling to accept the end of the Soviet Union, or hoping to set up a voluntary union with some of the former republics.
- The delineation would take time, demarcation would take time, money and manpower. The new border posts could not be built because of a shortage of funds and manpower.
- There was little enthusiasm for the new borders among the inhabitants of the border areas. They often had strong ethnic and economic links with those across the new borders.
- The administrative structures of the new states were not yet formed and in many cases there would have been no one to talk to Moscow about border issues.

At the beginning of 1992 Border Troops were stationed in all the FSU republics. As a substructure of the KGB the Border Troops were, in several republics, its only “stay behind” branch, left with sensitive papers. In some instances the Russian Border Troops were guarding borders because Moscow, and sometimes local authorities, wanted them to; on occasion they ran the last KGB errands and transported KGB files back to Moscow.

At the first stage of the fragmentation of the USSR (1991-1992) the border guards attempted a large scale damage limitation operation including a smooth withdrawal of border guard troops from the newly independent republics unwilling to seek Russia’s assistance in protecting their own borders, retaining the Russian border guards on the old Soviet borders whenever that was legally possible.⁴ In the second stage (1992-1993), Russia attempted to establish large and medium border formations, as well as smaller border guard units, to guard new borders, in accordance with Boris Yeltsin’s decree of 12 June 1992 “On establishing the border troops of the Russian Federation”.⁵ Many border units controlled by Moscow were transferred from the old Soviet to the Russian borders in August 1992.⁶ Kazakhstan took over its own border guards on 18 August 1992. On 24 August 1992, Yeltsin transferred the Border Troops on the Tajik borders to Russian jurisdiction. On 23 September the group of Russian border guards in Tajikistan was created by a presidential decree. On 9 November Russia signed an agreement with Kyrgyzstan giving Russia the responsibility for guarding the Kyrgyz border as Kyrgyzstan had no border guards of its own. On 25 May 1993 Russia and Tajikistan signed an agreement on the status of the Russian border troops there.⁷ On 24 December 1993 the leaders of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Russia signed a memorandum on co-operation to protect their external borders.⁸

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The chaos at Russia's borders reflected the chaos at the top in the Kremlin. It took two years before Boris Yeltsin understood the need for a consistent border policy and even longer before he began to implement it.

The World's Longest Border

Russia has presently 16 neighbours. Half of all Soviet border guard districts, with their infrastructure, were left in the newly independent countries. Russia's borders are 60,933 km long (62,000 km in the USSR). Of the total 14,509 km of Russian land borders, 13,500 km were new in 1992. Some parts are not yet delineated and some not yet demarcated. Russia's water frontiers (sea, rivers and lakes) stretch for about 56,500 km, of which about 38,000 km is the sea coastline. Russia's exclusive economic zone covers 8.6 million km.

The number of people legally crossing Russia's borders went from 17m in 1992 to about 65m in 1999.⁹ General Andrey Nikolayev, a former head of the Russian Federal Border Service, refers to 50-60 border crossings in the USSR, with an annual average of 2 million crossings. The USSR had an exceptionally busy Olympic year in 1980, when 5 million people crossed the Soviet borders. Nikolayev is probably referring to either the European part of Russia, or to the crossings reserved for foreign passport holders, and his claim that the number of people crossing Russia's borders went up 100 times appears to be a case of extreme rounding up of recent border statistics.¹⁰ At the end of its existence the USSR had a total of 195 border crossings. In 2000, Russia opened 78 new border crossings, reaching 440. No crossings were opened in 2001. Of the 440, there are 142 vehicle crossing points, 85 air crossings, 102 sea and river border crossings and 58 railway crossings. In 2000, 47 border crossings had a simplified crossing procedure. Statistically there is one Russian border detachment per 100, or more, kilometres when, according to the present director of the FPS, there should be one detachment for every 10-15 km. Of the 89 subjects of the Russian Federation 45 are border regions, and they include about 74 million people, ie 49.9% of the total population of the Russian Federation. Twenty-four subjects of the Russian Federation are border regions for the first time.¹¹

Structure

Immediately after the break up of the Soviet Union the leaders of the Border Troops faced several nearly impossible tasks. With the exception of the three Baltic states they could not even imagine which of the new states surrounding Russia would want to be completely independent, what kind of border regimes they would be willing to accept and which new borders would need their full attention, once they were delineated and demarcated, a process in which the Border Troops would only play a secondary role as experts. They could not predict which of the new countries would require their services before they could set up their own border protection bodies and which of their requests for help would be accepted by Moscow. The border troops were in the middle of a political vacuum with several political storms gathering on the horizon. Removed from the KGB and renamed the State Border Committee, the new body was immediately transferred to the new Russian Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs, almost equally quickly declared by the Supreme Court to be illegal. On 12 June 1992, after the division of the delegatised ministry, the State Border Committee was abolished and new bodies, the Border Guards and

the Main Command of the Border Troops were put under the jurisdiction of the newly formed Security Ministry, where they stayed until December 1993.¹²

By 1993, in comparison with the average annual crossings in the Soviet period, the number of citizens crossing the Russian borders had increased 21 times. Between 1991 and 1993 the number of detained potential immigrants wanting to enter Russia increased tenfold. This included citizens of 33 countries with whom Russia has no borders.¹³

In 1993, Yeltsin was going through one of the most difficult moments in his political life. He had very little faith in the structures which once belonged to the KGB and to strengthen the Border Troops so they would be able to process the increasing flood of tourists, immigrants, refugees, illegal workers and smugglers, he would have to provide them with the means to do it. This in turn would mean more power and possibly a bigger threat for him in the impending conflict with his political opponents. Yeltsin had already in 1992 formed a civilian border controlling organ, the Federal Migration Service (FMS). The new service employed in 1999 4,000 people, of which slightly more than 200 worked in the central apparatus. About 70% of FMS employees used to work for the Interior Ministry (MVD), Federal Security Service or the Border Troops. Before its functions were subsumed into the Interior Ministry in 2001, the FMS had five directorates: Immigration, Legal, Operational, Internal Migration, Collection, Analysis and other substructures. Every subject of the Russian Federation had a FMS office with 15 to 300 people. There were 114 immigration cells at the border control posts around and inside Russia. The FMS had also two types of transit centres. The first group was earmarked for foreigners claiming refugee status in Russia. There should have been 13 of them but in reality there were only three. The other centres were for homeless Russians arriving from the CIS countries, who in 1999 officially numbered 900,000. Shortage of funds allowed the FMS to keep the transit centres for foreigners only. The Russians, it was assumed, had relatives and contacts in the country and the foreigners were usually less fortunate and had to be looked at more closely by the FMS and special services. The centres were located in Krasnodar, Perm and Rostov Oblast.¹⁴ In 1999 there were 700,000 foreign nationals, from 50 countries, whose residence status still had to be clarified, living in Russia. The FMS was responsible for: the formulation of state migration policy, its implementation and co-ordination with other bodies dealing with foreigners working in Russia, for Russians working legally abroad and for people claiming refugee status in Russia. The FMS had its migration problem areas. These were: Krasnodar kray, where for every legally registered migrant, 3-5 were not registered, Stavropol kray where there were 140,000 migrants but only 63,000 of them were officially registered and the Far Eastern region. In 1999, more than 20,000 Chinese nationals lived illegally in the Ussuriysk region alone.¹⁵

The creation of the FMS made the situation of the once privileged border troops even more difficult. Officers were leaving in droves and the conscription system was falling apart. There were too many questions which would have to be answered by politicians before the border guards could begin to plan for the future. The event which probably had the most dramatic impact on Boris Yeltsin's views on border security was an attack, on 13 July 1993, on the 12th Moscow Border Troops detachment, stationed at the Tajik-Afghan border, by a group of Tajik Islamic radicals and Afghan fighters. The attack went on for 10 hours. The outgunned and undermanned border troops had no air support and not enough military back-up. Although the detachment repulsed the attack, 22 border guards and Russian soldiers supporting them died in the battle.¹⁶

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The events on the Afghan border were widely reported by the Russian media. Boris Yeltsin reacted instantly. He relieved General Shlyakhtin, Commander of RF Border Troops, of his duties and publicly criticised the lack of co-operation between the Security Ministry, to which the border troops were subordinated, the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Defence. Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev was tasked with helping to develop a dialogue between the Tajik government and the opposition. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was to pay more attention to Central Asia, and the relevant ministries and power structures were instructed to present the Security Council, within one month, with their proposals for overall measures to forestall crisis situations along the length of Russia's borders.¹⁷ Boris Yeltsin nominated General Andrey Nikolayev, the first deputy chief of the military General Staff, as the new head of the Border Guards. After five months, all the reform plans were ready. The Federal Border Service and the Main Command of the Border Troops was established on 30 December 1993 by Presidential Decree No 2318.¹⁸ As a federal organ of executive power, the FPS was tasked with protection of state borders, territorial waters, the continental shelf, economic special zones and with the implementation of the state border policies. Further changes were enacted by Yeltsin on 30 December 1994. The name of the new organisation was shortened to the Federal Border Service, several departments were added to the central apparatus and some of the existing ones were reinforced.

The FPS then had a central apparatus which includes: the Main Staff; the newly created demilitarised Border Guards Department;¹⁹ the FPS Aviation; the Main Military Council; the Military-Scientific Council; the Main Military-Technical Council; the Foreign Treaties Department; the Intelligence Department; the Operational-Investigative Department; the Counterintelligence Department; the Internal Security Department; the Centre of Operational-Border Research; the Scientific Research Technical Test Centre; and educational establishments. The FPS had six Border Districts and several groups with different titles stationed in Russia and in some of the CIS states. For the first time the head of the border guards became a member of the Security Council.

In spite of the new, independent, ministerial status of the FPS and his own military background, General Nikolayev tried to make the service more cost-effective and less military. The FPS was there to protect Russia's borders, not to defend them.²⁰ In 1996 he proposed to reduce the FPS and to improve co-operation with other interested federal organs, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defence, the Federal Security Service, the State Customs Committee, the Federal Migration Service, and the Intelligence Service.²¹ Politically astute and trusted by Yeltsin, Gen Nikolayev mapped out six main tasks facing the FPS.

1. The development of the FPS,
2. Modernising the FPS within the existing budgetary constraints,
3. Realistic demilitarisation of the FPS,
4. Setting up of the Naval Guards,
5. Strengthening the border area security belt along all Russia's borders, and
6. Modernising the legal basis of the FPS activities.²²

On 5 October 1996 Yeltsin signed the decree "On the Fundamentals of the Border Policy of the Russian Federation".²³ In all vital border decisions, like with all other important decisions concerning power structures, Yeltsin ruled by decree. The parliament was not consulted. In July 1997 Yeltsin issued Decree 732 "On the situation in the FPS", strengthening the centralised management system of the organisation. The decree was preceded by the creation of a naval component of the

FPS. In August 1998 the new, modernised FPS structure was announced. The most significant feature of this reform was a demilitarisation of the service, which meant, among other things, a transfer of heavy armament and equipment to the Army.²⁴

The FPS director has one first deputy who also has the title of the Chief of the Main Staff and seven deputies, including one responsible for international treaties. The Main Staff, with supervision from the FPS director, is in charge of: border guards, border naval units, border aviation units (FPS aviation is responsible only for local combat support, search and transport), intelligence²⁵ and counterintelligence organs, departments of border protection, an operational and search department, the diplomatic protection department,²⁶ border control,²⁷ internal security, personnel education, rear services, foreign liaison and international treaties departments.

The number of Regional Directorates (RD) of the FPS was originally established at 11.

- The Arctic RD,
- The Far Eastern RD,
- The Transbaykal RD
- The Western RD,
- The Kaliningrad RD,
- The Northeast RD,
- The Northwest RD,
- The North Caucasus RD,
- The Pacific RD,
- The Southeast RD
- The Caucasus Special RD.

The FPS also had a regional directorate in the city of Chelyabinsk; three Border Guard groups, in Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and in Armenia; three FPS operational groups in Belorussia, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan.²⁸

FPS personnel also work on 5 border crossings in Armenia and 9 in Tajikistan.²⁹ In 1996 the FPS also acquired its own special forces unit "Sigma".³⁰ The new structure of the FPS is still, in theory at least, a part of the national defence mechanism, in accordance with the Presidential Decree of 8 December 1997 and the law "On Defence", stipulating that in case of military conflict the border regions are transferred under the command of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces.³¹

In August 1998, just before the Russian financial crash, further reforms were introduced, although even before the crash there was very little hope that the original reforms would succeed. In 1997 only 50%³² of the 6 trillion roubles budget earmarked reached the FPS. The budgetary shortfall in 1998 was smaller but still represented a substantial percentage of the planned allocation.³³

The multitude of federal organisations performing their own tasks at the borders made the effective functioning of the new border control system very difficult. In 1995 twelve services had various responsibilities at Russia's borders.³⁴ Their number went up by the end of the century. The FPS has to co-operate not only with the power structures but also with the Ministry of Natural Resources, the State Fishing Committee, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and others. It is entitled

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to conduct intelligence and counterintelligence work, in the interest of border protection only, in co-operation with the Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR) and the Federal Security Service (FSB).³⁵ It can also conduct “small, border diplomacy” in co-operation with the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The FPS sought FAPSI co-operation to improve its communication system.³⁶ Its increasingly important combat role at the borders with Georgia required a cryptographically “safe” communication system compatible with the MOD, MVD, FSB and FAPSI units deployed in Chechnya. It seems that in view of its demilitarisation, shortage of funds and personnel, FPS co-operation with the Ministry of Defence is restricted to Chechnya and occasional individual operations.

Writing for *Voyennaya Mysl*, Russia’s most important military journal, Major-General Ye Derbin alluded to the insufficient co-operation between the FPS and the MOD, and emphasised the lack of co-ordination in preparation for the defence of Russian borders against an invasion.³⁷

The FPS Aviation

About twenty years ago, the Border Troops acquired their own aviation detachment, based at Sheremetev-1 in Moscow. The unit has Tu-134, Il-76, An-72 and a Mi-8 subunit. The detachment is the main reserve of the FPS main command and flies passengers and cargo all over Russia and the CIS republics.³⁸ Like most of the other air formations in Russia, the FPS aviation has a permanent shortage of fuel, spare parts and experienced pilots. In the air transport units every pilot should have a minimum of 60 flying hours a year. In 1999 the average flying time in the air regiment at Yoshkar, a FPS air base, was 2 hours. This will have repercussions on future performance as it takes five years to train the second pilot and another five years to make him the first pilot, providing that they have enough flying hours. In 3-4 years the older pilots will be retiring and the new generation of pilots will not be properly trained. Some of the younger pilots have flown a total of 40 hours or less throughout their working life. Russia is full of qualified pilots with very few flying hours.

Every regional directorate or FPS group has 1-3 air units (regiments and squadrons) and also controls independent back-up air regiments and smaller air units for support, combat and transport duties. The new development programme for FPS aviation envisages the creation, by 2010, of strong aviation groups. They are expected to cope with any border task with which ground based FPS forces have problems. FPS aviation has at its disposal helicopters Mi-2, Mi-8, Mi-24, Mi-26, Ka27 and Yak 18, An-24, An-26, An-72, Il-76 and Tu-134 fixed wing aircraft.³⁹ This is not a modern fleet and the aircraft are not equipped adequately. The FPS has also an air regiment of heavy transport aviation based in Yoshkar Olu, a former home of two military Air Defence (PVO) air-wings of MiG-23. When the PVO units were disbanded, the fast jet pilots who wanted to stay and work for the FPS had to learn to fly slower aircraft, An-26, An-72 and Il-76.⁴⁰

Another problem facing the FPS aviation is that even in sensitive areas requiring immediate reaction, the units scattered around several air bases are not sufficiently well co-ordinated and have inadequate rear support services. The FPS aviation of the North Caucasus, based in Stavropol, Kochubeyvskoye, Gelendzhik, Adler, Makhachkala and Kaspiysk is a good example of this situation.⁴¹ Most of the present FPS aviation appears to be inherited from the Ministry of Defence. In the mid 1990s, the service wanted to buy the Finist SM-92 or the amphibious Be-200,

ideal for border guard duties, but couldn't afford them. The FPS' most powerful air asset are five An-74, equipped with 30mm cannons and unguided missiles, for the maritime search-and-immobilise patrols against ocean going poachers.⁴²

The FPS Naval Component

The Russian water frontiers stretch for about 38,800 km, of which approximately 7,500 km are river borders. The protection of maritime borders was given a low priority in the early 1990s. The owners and the sailors of Russian boats fishing illegally could, in theory at least, be caught on dry land sooner or later, even if they were selling their illegal proceeds in foreign ports. Foreign poachers were a different matter. They could outrun and out-navigate the FPS fleet. The transgressors were becoming bolder and the stories about their outrageous exploits began to reach the Russian media. When in 1996 a ship under the Maltese flag escaped from Novorossiysk the Russian authorities decided to invest in a technologically advanced naval border control system.⁴³ The Naval Security of the FPS, a sort of Russian Coast Guard, came into being with Decree 950 "On measures to ensure the protection of maritime biological resources", signed by Yeltsin on 29 August 1997.⁴⁴ Its tasks were fully defined only in July 1998. From 1 July 1998, the FPS took over the task of protecting Russia's maritime bioresources. A new civilian body within the FPS, the Maritime Biological Resources Protection Authority - OMBIR, was created for that purpose. The new organisation is also responsible for protecting Russian fishing rights in the Caspian Sea and fighting caviar poachers.⁴⁵ The role of the new FPS sub-structure is complicated by the fact that the responsibility for protecting Russian biological resources lies with the Ministry of Agriculture, which has its own policies and tasks.

The naval component of the FPS should be able to protect the 200 km wide maritime exclusive economic zone, with the Russian Navy being responsible for the underwater protection of Russia's maritime borders.⁴⁶ Naval Security employs 1,600 people and has at its disposal about 1,000 vessels. Every day 80 vessels go out to sea and 30 of them are responsible only for protection of biological resources.⁴⁷ However, the FPS naval security element still lacks funding and resource allocation is chaotic. According to the Russian Chamber of Auditors, during the past five years, naval security received 10-15% of funds needed for technical equipment and on-board personnel. The replacement of obsolete or unseaworthy vessels is insufficient. The seaworthy vessels lack modern communications equipment.⁴⁸ The FPS badly needs fast boats and more fuel, to be able to catch poachers. The take-over by the FPS of the Khabarovsk shipyard, to build and modernise the existing FPS vessels, was a small step in the right direction, but was taken much too late.⁴⁹ In 2001 Russian border guards registered increased concealment of transported fish, illegal transport of food to foreign ports, poaching and disregarding orders when ships were apprehended by the FPS maritime patrols.⁵⁰ There are also smuggling problems in the Azov Sea, especially in Taganrog and the Kerch straits, for which neither the legal framework for the FPS operation nor adequate equipment has been provided. The maritime frontiers of the Barents Sea, the Bering Sea, the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea have still to be delineated by the countries concerned.⁵¹

FPS Educational Establishments

A young Russian who dreams about joining the FPS may want to enrol at the FPS Suvorov School in Ulyanovsk. The school accepts boys who have completed the first eight years of their education, for the final two years of the standard ten-year secondary education programme.⁵² The FPS also organises special courses in several civilian secondary schools. In 1997, two such courses were organised in two schools in Khabarovsk and in 1998 similar courses were introduced in Chita, Vladivostok, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, Belogorod and Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.⁵³ More prestigious, but with a similar educational profile is the First Cadet Corps of the FPS, established in 2001, in St Petersburg. It also aims to attract 14-15 year old boys who successfully completed the first 8 years of their education and who would then be willing to study further at other educational establishments of the FPS. The corps replaced the Independent Border Control Detachment "St Petersburg" set up in 1996. In 2000, the first 53 (out of the 77 who started the course) cadets graduated from the new school.⁵⁴

Those who have completed the FPS sponsored schools or courses have a head start when they apply for a place in the FPS colleges, all of which also accept holders of civilian secondary school diplomas.

One of the most popular FPS colleges is the Moscow Military Institute. In the early 1990s the institute underwent many changes. After August 1991, like in all other military and militarised educational establishments the Communist Party, the Party Commission and Communist Youth cells were banned and the Military Political Department was replaced by the Department for Work with Personnel.⁵⁵ However, an unusual political struggle went on within the school. On 8 May 1992 the school was renamed The Higher Border Guard School and two weeks later, on 25 May, amid political squabbling, it was renamed, once again, The Red Banner Higher Border Guard School named after the Order of the October Revolution. The name of the school was changed once again when the school became an institute and lost its communist flavour in 1996, as the Moscow Military Institute of the Federal Border Guard Service of the Russian Federation. The school's curriculum had been changed in the early 1990s, reflecting Russia's political, economic, social and geographic changes.⁵⁶

The school has the following faculties:

- The command faculty,
- The border control faculty,
- The operational-search faculty,
- The extramural faculty,

and departments:

- The border guards administrative-service department,
- The general tactical and combat department,
- The border guard control department,
- The state and legal affairs department,
- The general legal affairs department,
- The criminal and legal department,
- The special judicial subjects department,
- The social sciences department,
- The psychology and pedagogical department,

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The history and culture department,
The border guard technical equipment department,
The armament and fire range practice department,
The PE and sport department,
The higher mathematics department,
The foreign languages department,
The special language training department.⁵⁷

The institute is highly popular among secondary school leavers and attracted in the mid 1990s 16 candidates for every place.⁵⁸

The FPS also runs the Border Military Institute of the FPS in Golitsyno in the Odintsovo region and the Kaliningrad Border Guard Institute. The Golitsyno Institute was closed in the 1950s and resurrected on 3 October 1967 as the Higher Border Guard Military Political School. The school lost its political focus in 1991 but survived because of the shortage of border guard officers. In 1996 it was renamed The Golitsino Military Institute of the FPS of the Russian Federation. The institute has 15 faculties.⁵⁹

After the dissolution of the USSR, Russia lost the Alma-Aty Border Troops Higher Command School, taken over by Kazakhstan. In 1993, the Russian Council of Ministers transferred the Higher Military Construction School in Khabarovsk to the Border Troops. The new institute has 22 faculties and also offers postgraduate degrees. Its first commandant was one of the most famous border troops officers, the hero of the 1969 Russo-Chinese battles on Damanskiy island and the first commander of the KGB special "Alfa" team, Major-General Bubenin. The first graduation in the Khabarovsk institute took place in 1998.⁶⁰

There are also several establishments of higher education, both military and civilian, training specialists for the FPS. One such is the Military Construction School in Krasnodar. The Rear and Supply Troops Academy of the Russian MOD has a Border Troops Faculty. There is also a Border Troops Faculty at Chita University and a Border Troops Medical Faculty at the Nizhniy Novgorod Medical Academy.⁶¹ FSP NBC specialists come from the Kostroma Military NBC Defence University and the Military Faculty at the Mendeleev Chemical Technical University. The university, known in the past as the Mendeleev Institute, conducts teaching in Moscow and in Novomoskov'ye. The military faculty attracts between 500 and 600 candidates annually.⁶²

Selected officers with a FPS college degree and command experience are allowed to enrol at the Moscow Border Troops Academy. Yeltsin signed a decree setting up the academy, on the basis of the former All Union Further Training Border Troops Institute, on 18 February 1992.⁶³ Called in the Soviet period the Border Troops Academy, it was downgraded in June 1992 to an institute and subordinated to the newly set up Ministry of Security. The Institute regained its independence when in December 1993 Yeltsin disbanded the Security Ministry, and its former status on 3 April 1994, when it became the Border Troops Academy of the Russian Federation.⁶⁴ The Academy offers three-year courses and trains young officers with command experience who would like to improve their qualifications and their prospects for promotion. This is the top FPS educational establishment and those who want to study further usually choose the General Staff Academy of the Ministry of Defence.

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In spite of this impressive educational machinery, Russia still lacks border guard officers, as so many of them leave the service. During the last 3 years the FPS lost annually, on average, 12% of the graduates of the FPS schools. The shortage of young FPS commanders reached 16% of the total number of personnel in the units directly involved in border protection. To fill the gap, the FPS organised additional officer training courses for 300 people.⁶⁵

In February 2002 the FPS announced the closure of the Kurgan Higher Aviation School, which it took over from the MOD in 1998.⁶⁶ With the reductions in the Armed Forces there is a surplus of pilots and financial constraints do not permit the FPS to enlarge their air fleet in any significant way.

Facing a shortage of trained personnel, the FPS began to accept female students at some of their higher schools. The Moscow FPS Military Institute trains border checkpoint specialists and the Golitsyno FPS Military Institute has been training female psychologists and lawyers since 1997. For practical exercises, female cadets from both academies meet once a year at a training centre in the Yaroslav region. In 2000, 400 female candidates competed for 25 places set aside for them at the two higher schools. The Khabarovsk Military Border Guard Institute also opened its gates to female cadets.

After a break of several years, Russia again began to train foreign border guards. A group of Mongolian border guard students was to begin their course, at the Khabarovsk FPS Institute in February 2001, although the number of students and the financial arrangements had not been finalised. Three Kazakh students graduated from the institute in 1999 and one Georgian cadet continued studying there in 2001.⁶⁷ The Kaliningrad FPS institute announced that it would train 30 Namibian border guards, in addition to five officers and five sergeants, including one woman, studying on a three month accelerated course. The new group was to attend a six-month course.⁶⁸

The FPS Lawyers, Friend or Foe?

On 17 December 1993, two weeks before the creation of the new Federal Border Service, Russia's Prosecutor General formed the Military Prosecutor's Office of the Federal Border Guards Service. This new structure was assigned the task of ensuring that FPS units strictly abide by the law while guarding Russia's state borders. In 1994, 13 military prosecutor's offices were set up within military districts and separate army contingents, and have been in operation since 1 January 1995. The Military Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Border Guards Group located in the Republic of Tajikistan began operating on 1 July 1994. In 1996, military prosecutor's offices of the FPS were formed in the Nalchik, Caspian, Krasnodar and Yerevan garrisons and began to operate on the premises of the corresponding prosecutor-investigative bodies of the Military Prosecutor's Office of the Caucasus Special Border Guards District. In theory, every border district and every FPS group should have its own prosecutor's office.⁶⁹ It is not known if the prosecutors' offices have succeed in keeping the FPS personnel on the straight and narrow.

The Commanders

Colonel-General Ilya Yakovlevich **Kalinichenko**, the last head of the Soviet Border Troops and the first commander of the Russian Border Troops, was a professional border guard officer who began his career guarding Soviet borders in 1950. Thirty five years later he was appointed the head of the USSR KGB Border Troops. He survived the purges after the 1991 coup, although many of his underlings were forced out of the service. He retired in June 1992, at the age of 61.

Colonel-General Vladimir Ivanovich **Shlyakhtin** took over the command of the Border Troops on 14 June 1992. He lasted one year, but was blamed for the debacle of the 12th Moscow border detachment, mauled on 13 June 1993 by the Islamic militants on the Tajik-Afghan border. Shlyakhtin was retired on 27 June 1993 at the age of 52.

General Andrey Ivanovich **Nikolayev** was one of the most promising young officers in the Ministry of Defence, when in June 1992 at the age of 43 he became the first deputy head of the Main Operational Directorate of the General Staff of the Ministry of Defence and in December 1992 the First Deputy Chief of the General Staff. In August 1993, Boris Yeltsin nominated him to the post of a Deputy Minister of Security and the commander of the Border Troops. When five months later Yeltsin dissolved the ministry and replaced it with the Federal Counterintelligence Service, General Nikolayev kept his position and responsibilities, with the changed title of a deputy director. In autumn 1994, the FPS was made an independent service and Nikolayev became its head. His talents and hard work were probably helped by the fact that his late father, a colonel general, and Boris Yeltsin were once members of the Urals Military District Council.⁷⁰ Yeltsin's recognition that something had to be done with the porous Russian borders and Nikolayev's dynamism brought about radical changes in the FPS. In December 1996 Nikolayev resigned after President Yeltsin accused the FPS of failing to stop the Chechen commander Salman Raduyev from attacking the village of Kizlyar. His resignation was not accepted. Army General Nikolayev retired, at his own request, on 19 December 1997. Five months later he was elected a member of the lower chamber of the Russian parliament. He was replaced on a temporary basis by one of his deputies, Aleksandr Ivanovich **Tymko**. A 51 year old professional border guard, Tymko was prematurely retired in March 1998, and was replaced by another border guard professional, Nikolay Nikolayevich Bordyuzha.

Born in 1949, **Bordyuzha** graduated from the Perm Higher Command Engineering Military School in 1972, served three years in the Strategic Rocket Forces and then, in 1975, joined the KGB Military Counterintelligence Directorate. After graduating from the Novosibirsk Military Counterintelligence School he held increasingly important posts in the KGB system. In 1989, Nikolay Bordyuzha headed the personnel department of the 8th Directorate of the KGB, responsible for communication and cryptography. Between 1991 and June 1992 he was the first head of the Personnel Directorate of the newly set up Government Communications Committee of the USSR and later held the same position in the Russian Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information. In June 1992 Nikolay Bordyuzha became a deputy head of the Border Troops, responsible for personnel and internal security. He kept his position in the new independent FPS, after completing advanced courses at the General Staff Academy. In September 1998 he was transferred to the Security Council, where he served as Secretary of the Council. He ran the presidential administration for four months but was relieved of

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his responsibilities in 1999, and, after a brief illness, posted as the Russian ambassador to Denmark.

The new director, Colonel-General Konstantin Vyacheslavovich **Totskiy**, started his career in 1971 at the age of 21, after graduating from the Moscow Higher School of Border Guards. He served in various increasingly important posts within the Soviet and then Russian border guard organisations until 1996, when he was nominated as commandant of the FPS Academy. However, in that position, usually regarded as a graveyard for high ranking officers, he was promoted, with the recommendation of Nikolayev, to Colonel-General and in mid-September 1998, once again with Andrey Nikolayev's recommendation, became Director of the FPS.

How Many Border Guards Do You Need?

Shrouded by secrecy - after all the border guards belonged in the past to one of the most secretive security structures - but uncontroversial politically, the FPS rarely attracts the attention of the Russian media or provokes inquisitive questions from attention-seeking politicians, although if they had read the Border Guard official monthly "Pogranichnik" throughout the 1990s they might have asked about its anti-Yeltsin attitude and its "period of stagnation" journalistic style. This lack of interest helped the heads of the Border Guards to fight for resources by quoting occasionally dubious statistics and making unrealistic plans.

Vadim Bakatin, then Chairman of the KGB, wrote in the post August 1991 period that at the time when he took over, the total number of employees of the KGB was 480,000 and the Border Troops Chief Directorate represented about half of the KGB's total personnel and its budget.⁷¹ This would mean that there were about 240,000 people serving in the Main Border Troops Directorate (GUPV). However, Andrey Nikolayev, the FPS' reformer and a parliamentarian, gives two different figures in one of his books, "Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom" in which he claims on page 4 that the USSR KGB had 200,000 border guards, and on page 194 that it had 230,000.

At the beginning of the 1990s when the shortage of conscripts, NCOs and officers in the border protection structures was growing, Boris Yeltsin planned unrealistically large structures to guard Russia's borders. At the beginning of the 1990s the country's economy was crumbling, there were about 100 million fewer Russian passport holders than there were Soviet passport holders, the conscription service was falling apart and border guard officers and NCOs were leaving in droves. And yet the presidential decree of 30 December 1993 envisaged 250,000 people for the protection of Russia's borders.⁷² Former Director Andrey Nikolayev calculated that for adequate border protection the FPS would need 360,000 people, but acknowledged that this number could not be achieved.⁷³

Thus the number of border troops planned by Yeltsin was 10,000-40,000 more than in the Soviet era, when the conscription pool was larger, conscription was easily enforceable, the officers were paid well, the state was the only employer and the tasks were clearly defined. Instead, not surprisingly, the number of border guards kept falling. By 1993, when these ambitious plans were made, the number of border guards was down to 143,000 and 37% of the officers had left the organisation by 1997. There was not one border post with a full complement and 40% of the Soviet border guard forces and up to 50% of their engineering and technical equipment had been left outside Russia. However, by 1998, the FPS

recruited 36,000 professional border guards, 8,500 of them officers from the crumbling Russian armed forces. It also began to recruit women. By the end of 1999, there were more than 12,000 women employed by the FPS. This, according to Alevtina Viktorovna Aparina, the Chairman of the Duma Committee for Women's Affairs, represented 5.2% of FPS personnel.⁷⁴

Conscription into the FPS became a delicate and discreet operation. In the past, as a part of the all-powerful KGB, the Border Troops could pick and choose. They could select their conscripts, but treated them better than other power structures. In the mid 1990s, its main attraction was that FPS soldiers were not serving in Chechnya, like their MVD or MOD counterparts. In the hot spots the FPS uses almost exclusively either contract soldiers or volunteers and there is more than enough work in other, calmer regions of Russia. By 1998, the number of FPS personnel had increased to 210,000, 10% of whom were civilians. More than 20,000 personnel manned border crossing points, including the airports and ports.⁷⁵

Yeltsin legally capped the number of people working in the central apparatus of the FPS at 1,400.⁷⁶ Judging by the number of generals in the FPS the service will have great difficulties in adhering to its quota. The USSR had 90 Border Troops generals. By 1996 the number of FPS generals was down to 75 and plans were made to increase this number to 145. By 1999 there were already 200 generals in the service.⁷⁷

It entirely probable that those in charge of the FPS were aware of the unrealistic development and restructuring plans of their organisation, but being badly in need of funds they misled Yeltsin, inflated the numbers by using "dead souls" (part-timers, those who had left or were leaving the service), expecting that the organisation would never get the promised funds and would subsequently take all the personnel cuts with a smile. The first cuts were announced together with the restructuring which began in 1998, and at the beginning of 1999 the FPS had undergone several changes and reductions. It was then announced that the number of personnel was to be reduced by 10,000 and six departments of internal security were to be cut, together with several naval formations and support subunits.⁷⁸ Director of the FPS Colonel-General Totskiy said in May 2001 that the service was to be reduced from 200,000 to 182,500 men within the next five years.⁷⁹ Between 1998 and 2001 the FPS lost annually, on average, 12% of the graduates of the FPS schools.⁸⁰ Major-General Nikolay Burnosov announced in March 2001 that the FPS personnel is to be cut by 15,000 troops by 2005, with the beginning of the new five-year plan. The announced cuts will include 1,000 civilians.⁸¹ This begs a question whether this is a rolling reduction which began in 1998, or we are hearing statements about reductions to forestall future demands for further cuts. Russia cannot afford to get rid of its border control personnel, unless it plans to get rid of some of the borders.

The present reforms and cuts look like the implementation of the plans introduced by Army General Nikolayev, to "demilitarise" border troops by replacing border districts with border regional directorates and the reduction, by up to 50%, of the number of personnel in the central command structures of regional directorates. According to his plans, the number of people in the central decisionmaking bodies was not to exceed 1% of the number of their subordinates in the regions. For the first time, civilian personnel were to be introduced into the FPS decisionmaking structures.⁸² The announced cuts may not improve the FPS budget if they mean only the employment of civilian personnel, rather than redundancies and

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retirements. In some areas, locally recruited civilians would be cheaper, but in the uninhabited regions the newly recruited civilians would require additional funds for housing, infrastructure and hardship post payments.

The FPS commanders have to make allowances for the low quality of the conscripts they receive from the conscription centres all over Russia. In 1998, the FPS sued 47 city, territorial, and regional administrations for having drafted unhealthy young men. During the first six months of service of the Spring 1998 intake, 1,430 conscripts who arrived to serve at FPS units were reported "partially fit for army service", which meant that they should not have been drafted at all, and 56 men were "unfit for army service". Correspondingly, in 1997, there were 2,814 "partially fit" and 144 "unfit" conscripts in FPS units. In the Spring 1998 intake, the highest percentage of unfit conscripts came to the FPS from Moscow and the Moscow region, the Republic of Yakutia, and the Tyumen and Sverdlovsk regions. When the FPS conducted a medical examination of a group of conscripts, a third of all of the men examined were reported to have chronic diseases, 5.9% had psychoneurological diseases, 6.7% neuropsychic deviations, and 2.1% were users of strong neuroleptics and other powerful medicines.⁸³

The Neighbours

Co-Ordinating, Not Commanding

On 20 March 1992 at the meeting of the CIS heads of state in Kiev an agreement to establish the Joint Command of the Border Guards Troops was signed, and the status of the CIS border troops was accepted.⁸⁴ On 6 July 1992, at the meeting of the CIS heads of state in Moscow, the Council of the Commanders of the Border Troops of the CIS was created, with the simultaneous removal of the Joint Command of the Border troops of the CIS.⁸⁵ All important border talks with the CIS members appear to be conducted at the level of the heads of states, with the FPS serving only as one of the advisory bodies. The CIS Border Committee has met 12 times since its inception, which is almost twice a year, but the most constructive relations are determined by bilateral talks: the FPS' best contacts are with their Belorussian, Armenian, Kazakh and Tajik counterparts. The Council of the Commanders of the Border Guards of the CIS (Russian acronym SKPV) has more clout than the Committee but is not very effective. The Council is currently planning to co-ordinate border control policies. Its plans will have to be submitted for approval to the heads of the member states.⁸⁶ However, at the 41st SKPV meeting, held in Tbilisi in July 2001, the 12 participating nations failed to agree on a single border policy concept.⁸⁷

The Russian FPS has links with 35 countries and plans to have its representatives in several countries bordering Russia. At the end of 2001, it had officers in the Russian embassies in Helsinki and Ulan Bator.⁸⁸ Russia also takes part in the meetings of the Commanders of the border guard forces of the Black Sea. The latest meeting took place in Bulgaria in September 2001 and was attended by delegations from Turkey, Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania, Ukraine and Russia. The next meeting is to take place in Georgia in 2002.⁸⁹

In spite of the chaos in most of the former Soviet republics in the post-December 1991 break up of the USSR, it soon became clear that Russia would have three types of borders:

- The old, Soviet borders some of which would have to be renegotiated and readjusted,
- Borders with the former Soviet republics Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which decided not to join the CIS. Some parts of these borders were yet to be agreed on and all of them would have to be demarcated,
- Borders with the CIS member states, Belorussia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Kazakhstan. All of them had to be delineated and demarcated.

There are still about 13,500 km, including 900 km maritime, of frontiers which are yet to be delineated by Russia and some of her neighbours and that includes borders with Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Ukraine, Japan, Azerbaijan and the USA. The situation is complicated by the fact that 15 Russian commissions take part in delineation and demarcation of the borders between Russia and its neighbours.⁹⁰

The Old Soviet Borders

China

In the Soviet era, the 4,206 km of the land border with China was one of the most militarised borders on earth. The border disagreements between China and the USSR began at the end of the 1950s with the ideological split between the two communist parties. In 1957, China ploughed several hectares of land in the region of the Khanka Lake and at the beginning of the 1960s the situation in the Tumgan river border region became tense. The border talks conducted in 1963 and 1964 failed and Chairman Mao made a declaration which was received in Moscow as a claim for 1,500,000 sq km of Soviet territory. On 2 March 1969, after several minor provocations, the Chinese attempted to take by force Damanskiy Island, one of the areas in dispute. After 14 days of firefight, and losses on both sides, the USSR won the conflict. In 1992, Russia accepted China's claims to Damanskiy Island.⁹¹

The agreement between Russia and China on the eastern parts of the border was signed on 16 May 1991, and on the western part in 1994. The 1991 agreement excludes two sections: Bolshoy Island on the Argun river, with the disputed territory covering 28 km of borders and 58 sq km of land, and Tarabarov and Bolshoy Ussuriyskiy on the Amur with 30 km of river border and 336.7 sq km of land disputed.⁹² As a result of earlier agreements Russia acquired 70 hectares of arable land near Khanka lake. China was to receive 968 hectares in Ussuriysk region, 330 hectares in the Khasan region and another 410 hectares in the Khanka region.⁹³ The border talks about the disputed land in Primorye and Khabarovsk region continue, although Russia has suggested that its pragmatism has been exhausted.⁹⁴

Russia recently began to voice its concern about the uncontrolled flood of Chinese traders and workers trying to settle in the Russian Far East. FPS analysts calculate that with the present emigration trends, in 20 years there will be a Chinese ethnic majority in the Chita and Amurskaya oblasts and Khabarovsk and Primorskiy krais. This could destabilise the region and reduce Moscow's influence in the area.⁹⁵ This issue is especially sensitive for the regional authorities, as the enterprising and hard working Chinese bring work to unemployed areas in the Russian Far East and unilateral border restrictions imposed by Moscow could provoke reciprocal gestures from Beijing with a disastrous effect on Russian cross border traders. In the meantime Russia expels 5,000 Chinese nationals every year.⁹⁶

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Co-operation between the two countries continues, but the statements issued by both sides look better than the reality. Between 28 August and 10 September 2000 the Russian and Chinese border control organisations conducted talks about border co-operation between the two countries. The talks were concluded and the minutes of negotiation signed but no agreement was reached.⁹⁷ In August 2001 Chinese and Russian border guards conducted a joint exercise to prevent ship escapes from the border check point pier.⁹⁸

Finland

After the first post-October 1917 military conflict between Finland and Soviet Russia, both countries signed, on 14 October 1920, the Treaty of Tartu, defining the borders between the two countries. Twenty four years later, as a result of two military conflicts, Finland had lost the whole Karelian Isthmus, the northwestern part of Lake Ladoga, several islands in the Gulf of Finland, the territories west of Merkiarvi, part of Rybachiy and Sredniy peninsulas and Petsamo (Pechenga) region. In 1947 Finland was forced to secede a further 176 sq km to Russia.⁹⁹ No talks are conducted as to the return of any part of Finland taken by the Soviet Union.

Japan

After WWII, the USSR took twelve of the Kuril Islands. Moscow refused to discuss the status of the islands until 1956, when the USSR and Japan signed a joint declaration on cessation of hostilities, which stipulated that, after signing a peace agreement, Khabomai and Shikotan islands would be returned to Japan. The agreement did not mention two other islands, Iturup and Kunashir, appropriated by Moscow.¹⁰⁰ In 1991, Mikhail Gorbachev accepted the legality of the 1956 declaration and promised to look at the possibility of returning the islands to Japan. A similar statement was made in October 1993 by Yeltsin, during his visit to Japan. In 1995 Tokyo suggested that Moscow should recognise the Japanese right to the islands without an immediate promise to give them back but Moscow instead proposed "freezing" the problem of what the Japanese describe as "the Northern Territories" and invited Japan to develop the territories jointly. The resistance to the transfer of the islands comes mainly from the Russian Pacific Fleet, afraid to lose control of the surrounding waters and concerned that the islands may be used in the future as naval and military bases. The FPS will not be able to count on the enthusiastic co-operation of Japanese authorities when trying to cope with illegal fishing boats and smuggling, as long as the problem of the Kuril Islands is not solved. So far the differences of opinion between Japan and Russia on Kunashir, Iturup and the "Small" Kuril Islands have not been bridged.¹⁰¹

Mongolia

In March 1958, after four months of bilateral talks, Mongolia gave 2,322 sq km of its land to the USSR. No demands for the return of that land have been made by the government in Ulan Bator but one of the Mongolian nationalist movements lobbies for its return to Mongolia, claiming also 121 sq km of Russian Buryatiya, called until 1958 the Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.¹⁰² Both countries organised a commission which is to tackle the problem of lost and stolen cattle.¹⁰³ Between 1990-1995 more than 3,500 cattle were taken across the border from Tuva (Russia) to Mongolia. When in 1994 500 additional Russian border guards reinforced the Tuva section of the border the cattle smuggling decreased markedly, but not for long. In 1998 3,500 cattle were stolen along the Russo-Mongol border on the Russian side and 2,500 on the Mongolian side.¹⁰⁴

North Korea

Russia has no border disagreements with North Korea although trilateral border talks, including China, have been continuing since 1993.¹⁰⁵ As long as the present regime in Pyongyang continues holding the whole population in control, the FPS does not expect floods of illegal migrants or well organised cross border smugglers.

Norway

The talks on the dividing of the Barents Sea continental shelf between Russia and Norway started in 1970. In January 1978, both countries agreed not to attempt to control the fishing in the disputed area between Novaya Zemlya, Franz-Joseph Land and Spitsbergen. This agreement has been renewed annually on 1 July.¹⁰⁶ The discovery of coal deposits on Spitsbergen may complicate future maritime and fishing debates between the two neighbours. Possibly as a result of the Kursk accident, in August 2001 Russian and Norwegian border troops conducted a joint naval search and rescue exercise in the Barents Sea.¹⁰⁷

Poland

There are no border disagreements between Russia (the Kaliningrad region) and Poland. Moscow periodically returns to the subject of a transit corridor or simplified visa regime and transit routes through Poland to Kaliningrad. An EU candidate member, a member of NATO, and a victim of Russia's expansionist ambitions in the past, Poland has so far rejected all the proposals.

USA

Russia has no legal border agreement with the USA, although the USSR and the USA signed on 1 June 1990 an agreement on the sea frontiers of the Barents Sea and the economic zones of the Arctic Sea and the Pacific Ocean. The agreement was ratified by the US Senate 16 September 1991. Russia is yet to ratify it.¹⁰⁸

The Baltic Countries

The length of Russia's borders with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania is 1,025 km.¹⁰⁹ From the beginning of their post-Soviet resurrection the three Baltic states focussed on the West. Soon, they began to speak about joining NATO and the EU, a decision which has already made their borders with Russia and Belorussia increasingly less transparent.

Estonia

Demarcation of the borders between the two countries was conducted only by Russia between June 1994 and June 1995. Estonia accepted the demarcation in 1997 but Russia wanted to have 9.5 sq km more of the Chudskoye and Teploye lakes. Estonia demands, in return, 5 sq km of land. Although there are no border disagreements between the two countries the 270,000 Russian speaking population of Estonia inhabiting mainly the Narva and Sillamyae regions may become in the future a source of disagreement as to their citizenship and related border regime procedures.¹¹⁰

Latvia

Latvia was incorporated into the USSR by force, on 5 August 1940. In 1944, part of the Latvia Soviet Republic, the Aberne/Pytalovskiy region, was transferred to the Pskov Oblast of the RSFSR. Latvia never accepted the annexation of that region. Moscow would be willing to accept the disputed region as a free economic zone, a suggestion not acceptable to Riga.¹¹¹

Lithuania

Russia signed a border delineation agreement with Lithuania in 1997. In comparison with other former Soviet republics the border disagreements between Russia and Lithuania are limited to minor issues of water frontiers and the Kaliningrad region. Moscow would like to have easier access through Lithuania to Kaliningrad but is in no position to issue any demands. Lithuania demands a strict demarcation of the border across Lake Vishtinets and of the river Neman, in the Sovetsk city region, where it wants the border to run in the middle of the river and not along the river bank on its side.¹¹² Vilnius and Moscow disagree also on the sea border near Kaliningrad covering potentially rich oil deposits.¹¹³

CIS Members**Azerbaijan**

The border between the Dagestani part of Russia and Azerbaijan is yet to be delineated. The population on both sides of the border is not happy with any border control as it limits their frontier trading.¹¹⁴ Azerbaijan disputes 87.1 km of its borders with Russia in 12 places, claiming 24.7 sq km. Russia (Dagestan) and Baku also disagree on the use of the resources of the river Samur.¹¹⁵

Belorussia

The border between Russia and Belorussia has been delineated. Russia has never withdrawn Russian border troops from Belorussia. In March 1996 Russia set up Border Guard Operational Groups in Kazakhstan and Belorussia.¹¹⁶ The official reason for the Russian FPS presence in Belorussia is assistance in combating illegal migration and drug and weapons smuggling in and out of the Union state of Russia and Belorussia. Stationing border guards on the Russo-Belorussian internal borders has not been considered.

Georgia

Border talks with Tbilisi started in 1993. By 1999 politicians on both sides agreed on 191 km of the common border and their experts agreed on a further 463.3 km. Georgia disputes 10 km of the border with Dagestan and three places in North Osetia-Alanya totalling 32 km. These claims translate into 82.5 sq km of land.¹¹⁷

In October 1996, the Georgian parliament decided that Georgia would protect its own borders and that 8,000 Russian border guards were to be replaced by 1,500 Georgian guards.¹¹⁸ The most vulnerable part of the Russo-Georgian border is guarded, on the Russian side, by the 3,000 strong Itum-Kale detachment, the largest in the FPS. The detachment has 30 border posts, 12 of which can only be supplied by air.¹¹⁹ The unit attempts to cover all the routes from Georgia to Chechnya, paying special attention to the Argun Gorge and the nearby area. The alleged support given by Russia to the Abkhaz and Southern Osetians has damaged Russo-Georgian relations. This, and the lack of funds, were the main reasons why until recently Georgia was reluctant to seal its borders with Chechnya.

Kazakhstan

Russia's border with Kazakhstan is 7,569 km long and all of it is "new", post Soviet, transparent, lacking infrastructure and personnel. There are 27 railway crossings and innumerable road crossings between the two countries, most of them in the steppes.¹²⁰ The citizens of both countries are allowed to cross the borders anywhere they wish but they are expected to pay customs duties as agreed by both countries.¹²¹

Russia and Kazakhstan signed their first important border co-operation agreement on 21 October 1994. Border guards of both countries were to focus primarily on drug trafficking, illegal migration and large scale smuggling of natural resources and goods. Both countries exchanged border operational groups and plan to improve further their co-operation, exchanging information, training and operational information. On 19 July 1995 Boris Yeltsin signed a decree "On conducting the experiment on non-military protection of independent sections of the state borders of the Russian Federation". The non-military border guards, frequently recruited locally, were deployed on the Russo-Kazakh border on a permanent basis.

The Russo-Kazakh border has neither fortification nor barbed wire as both sides see no need for it, and could not afford it. However, both countries signed an agreement to build 70 checkpoints with 500 servicemen protecting the border every day. Large unmanned stretches of the border are patrolled by mobile FPS groups. In 2000 Russia set up 10 border guard detachments and installed 11 special border crossings on its border with Kazakhstan. The strength of the FPS on the Kazakh border was to double in the near future.¹²² Two factors determining both sides' soft approach to their common border issues are that neither has any territorial claims on the other and that seven northeast oblasts of Kazakhstan (Vostochno Kazakhstanskaya, Karagandinskaya, Kokchetavskaya, Kustanayskaya, Pavlodarskaya, Severo-Kazakhstanskaya and Akmolinskaya) had a majority Slavic population.¹²³ 20% of the border between Russia and Kazakhstan is yet to be delineated. Both countries expect to finish delineation of their border by 2003.¹²⁴

Ukraine

Oleksandr Kupchyshyn, the head of the Legal and Treaties Department of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, announced in July 2001 that Russia and Ukraine would delineate the border but no demarcation of the border would be conducted. He described demarcation as not appropriate at the "present historical stage".¹²⁵ Almost one month later Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko announced that Kupchyshyn had been "very severely punished" and said that both countries would conduct delineation and demarcation, adding that the 97% of the Russo-Ukrainian land border had been accepted by both sides and that the process of delineation was to be completed by the end of the year.¹²⁶ Oleksandr Kupchyshyn spoke of 95% of the border being delineated, with the 5% remaining in 10 disputed areas in Kharkiv, Luhansk and Sumy Oblasts.¹²⁷ Talks about the land frontier with Ukraine started in April 1999. There are still 2,245.8 km of common borders, 1,502 km of which is land frontier, to be agreed. Both countries have practically agreed on the borders in Bryansk, Kursk, Belgorod and Voronezh oblasts and a part of the Rostov oblast. Talks on the Chernigov, Bryansk and Bryansk-Sumsk oblasts continue. The Ukrainians are insisting on the smallest detail. Russia does not want borders across the Sea of Azov or the Kerch Straits.¹²⁸

Another issue which surfaces periodically is Crimea. Incorporated into Russia in 1783, Crimea was offered by the RSFSR to Ukraine in 1954 in what seemed then an outburst of inconsequential generosity within the Soviet Union. All the relevant laws and decrees were passed and signed in accordance with Soviet laws. Not surprisingly, Kiev bases its claims to Crimea on that transfer, side-stepping the issue of its legality and the credentials of unelected Soviet bodies which took the fateful decisions in 1954. Attempting to increase its influence in Kiev, Moscow is in no hurry to claim Crimea, to which it has practically unlimited access.

Armenia

Russia and Armenia have no common border. On 30 September 1992, Russia and Armenia signed a treaty on the status of the Russian border guards in Armenia. The agreement allowed the Russians to recruit Armenians to the Russian border troop units stationed in Armenia. In 2001, 80% of the Russian border guard operational group in Armenia were Armenian nationals. Armenia is responsible for 57% of the group's budget. The FPS troops have four detachments: in Gyumrinsk, Oktembryansk, Artashat and Megry, looking over 345 km of the borders with Turkey and 45 km with Iran. Locked in a continuing conflict with Azerbaijan and bordering Turkey, Iran and Georgia, the Armenians see the Christian Orthodox Russia as their natural ally and Russia is happy to have an outpost in the area.¹²⁹ Moscow has no plans to take the FPS troops back to Russia.

Tajikistan

Separated from Russia by two countries, Tajikistan is one of the most important players in Moscow's border politics. The USSR did not pull out its border troops when, at the end of 1991, civil unrest took place in Tajikistan. However, it was not until 24 August 1992 that President Yeltsin issued a decree transferring the border guard troops stationed in Tajikistan under Russian jurisdiction.¹³⁰ Only then was the old Soviet Central Asian Border District officially abolished. On 23 September 1992, the Group of Border Guard Troops in Tajikistan was set up and local recruitment begun.

The build up of the Russian border guard contingent and its co-ordination with the Tajik was not fast enough. The attack on the 12th "Moscow" detachment in June 1993 changed everything. Within three years the number of border guards protecting the Tajik-Afghan border went up from 5,000 to 18,000 troops, 12,000 of which were Tajiks under Russian operational control. The border was also guarded by small units from Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.¹³¹ Many sources assessed the strength of the Russian/Tajik border contingent at 16,000. It is possible that the contribution of the three Central Asian, CIS countries was therefore about 2,000 troops.

In the middle of the build up, the Islamic radicals from across the border struck again. When on 19 August 1994 the Tajik radicals based in Afghanistan, supported by Arab and Taliban fighters, tried to attack the Moscow detachment again, the Russian and the Tajik troops were better prepared. The 500 attackers started with a preparatory artillery fire, but were met by stiff resistance. At dawn, the defenders received support from the Dushanbe Independent Air Regiment. Twenty helicopters attacked the intruders. Even this was not enough and the Russians and the Tajiks needed the support of Su-25 ground attack aircraft, border guard reserves and the 149th Motor-Rifle regiment of the Russian army's 201st Division.¹³²

The Russians and their southern CIS allies then began to set up a multilayer border protection system in Tajikistan. On the first lines of border protection new, fortified border outposts were built, reducing the average distance between them from 15-100 km to 2-3 km. The second line was the tactical reserve under the command of the heads of the border detachments. Vulnerable areas could also count on the operational reserves of the border guard groups. The border guards are equipped with 300 artillery systems and 300 artillery pieces. They also have at their disposal 50 combat and transport helicopters. The Russian and Tajik governments also strengthened contacts with the local population and began investigating those who supported the radicals and the drug dealers.¹³³

They won the battle with the Islamic radicals trying to penetrate the borders from Afghanistan but the battle with drug dealers has been less successful. Even General Totskiy, Director of the FPS, accepted in 1998 that the flow of heroin from Afghanistan to Tajikistan is growing.¹³⁴ Part of the problem lies in 73 km of the Afghan-Tajik border which is monitored only by the Tajiks. In 2000, every day the Russians saw helicopters passing from and to Afghanistan and logged 55 violation of Tajik airspace in the first seven months of that year. However, the Russians do not control Tajik airspace and all they can do is to inform the Tajik Air Defence Forces about the violations.¹³⁵ The Russians claim that most of the heroin from Afghanistan comes thorough that corridor. Robert Baer, the CIA station chief in Dushanbe between 1992-1995, blamed the Tajik Interior Minister Yacub Salimov for the heroin traffic but described several high ranking Russian officers as willing collaborators of the suspected Tajiks.¹³⁶

Most of the attempted border violations appear to be related to drug trafficking. In 2000, the FPS foiled 100 armed attempts to enter Tajikistan and detained 280 border violators. Five border guards were killed and seven wounded as a result of shootouts with drug smugglers.¹³⁷ Since 1993, 147 Russian border guards have been killed on the Tajik-Afghan border and 342 were wounded.¹³⁸ The Russians were able to recruit Russian contract soldiers, NCOs and officers, because the salaries they offer on the Tajik border are higher than those in Russia and every year counts for three towards early retirement.¹³⁹

The present deployment of the US military in Tajikistan worries the FPS to the point that Colonel-General Totskiy allowed himself to remark, during a visit to Tajikistan in January 2002, that Russia will not be happy if the US military presence in Tajikistan were to continue after the completion of the antiterrorist operation in Afghanistan. He acknowledged, however, that the operations can be expected to continue for a long time, adding that Russia does not intend to increase its contingent in Tajikistan.¹⁴⁰

Trouble Spots

The Caspian Sea

Most of the maritime border issues of the Caspian Sea, including the use of its natural resources, have not been resolved. However, with the potential benefit coming from fishing and exploration of natural resources in the Caspian Sea and its surroundings, and potentially disastrous consequences for the whole region if such disagreements were to turn into a local cold or hot war, the regional countries (Iran, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Russia and Azerbaijan) show restraint and patience whilst occasionally disagreeing with their Caspian stakeholders.

The Caspian Sea countries are divided into those who see it as a "closed sea", and support its division into national economic zones, in accordance with the UN maritime law - the most determined adherents to this view are Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, with Astana showing recently some flexibility in the matter - and Russia, Turkmenistan and Iran suggesting that the Caspian Sea should be treated like a lake, which would give all the countries concerned equal rights to use its resources. Ashkhabad and Teheran appear willing to compromise if they are offered a large enough share of the sea. Originally Russia objected to Azerbaijan's oil exploration of the Caspian oilfield but the large-scale involvement in the project of several Russian companies stopped Moscow from questioning the regional

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countries' rights to explore the local oilfields. At the talks, in September 1996, Russia objected only to the area explored being referred to as "the Azeri sector".¹⁴¹

In the meantime the FPS is preoccupied with protecting Russia's fishing rights in the Caspian Sea and fighting caviar poachers. For this reason, in July 2001 the Caspian Sea naval contingent was reinforced by 14 vessels. They are based in Astrakhan, Makhachkala and Kaspiysk.¹⁴² The poaching problem in the Caspian Sea will not go away. The level of unemployment on the Russian coast is high and so are the rewards from poaching.

Drugs

The Soviet Union's southern neighbours were traditionally producers of drugs and the tolerance towards them in the southern republics of the USSR was higher than in Russia, where everyone preferred vodka, including the government, its sole producer and the only financial benefactor. The situation changed with the war in Afghanistan when soldiers and younger officers "discovered" marijuana. The largely uncontrolled movement of troops to and from Afghanistan brought regular supplies to Russia's large cities. Between 1985-1990 the Soviet authorities intercepted 16 tonnes of drugs.¹⁴³ By the end of 1991 all organisations capable of combating drug trafficking were either victims of, or participants in, the political struggle and unemployment in the southern republics had rocketed. Drug trafficking flourished. The occasional announcements made by law enforcement bodies and the border guards about the large seizures of smuggled, usually soft drugs were of little relevance in view of the proliferation in the Russian cities and the selective press releases and optimistic assessments. In 1995, the Russian Border Guards intercepted on the Russian and other CIS borders 2.5 tonnes of what appeared to be soft drugs. In 1996 they intercepted 3.5 tonnes and in 1997, 2.7 tonnes.¹⁴⁴ In spite of improved border protection the drug smuggling to Russia is increasing. Five tonnes of drugs were intercepted by the Russian border guards on one section of the Russian border in the unfinished year 2001.¹⁴⁵ During the first 11 months of 2001, 26 tonnes of drugs were destroyed on the Russian-Ukrainian border.¹⁴⁶

The most vulnerable and politically sensitive border in the anti-drug campaign is the Afghan-Tajik border. Most of the Afghan heroin appears to be smuggled in the 73 km stretch in the Kalay-Khumb region, manned only by four Tajik detachments. The local Parkhar airfield used to handle regular flights from Afghanistan. The Russians estimate that 70% of drugs enter Tajikistan through that section¹⁴⁷ but are unwilling to admit that rogue elements in the Russian military and border guard contingents based in Tajikistan take an active role in drug trafficking. In 1996 border troops intercepted 2 kg heroin smuggled from Afghanistan. The opinions as to what percentage of drugs smuggled from Afghanistan to Tajikistan is intercepted varies widely. The FPS claimed in 1999 that one-third of all drugs smuggled through the Afghan-Tajik border are intercepted.¹⁴⁸ The others are less optimistic. The daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda* estimated that only 10% of heroin smuggled through the Afghan-Tajik border is confiscated.¹⁴⁹ In 2000 the Tajiks and the Russians intercepted 801.5 kg of heroin, which represented slightly more than a quarter of all intercepted drugs at the Tajik-Afghan border. Of the 5,477 kg drugs confiscated at the same border in 2001, heroin represented 2,429 kg.¹⁵⁰ According to some experts, over 50 tonnes of drugs are transported via the Chelyabinsk region, while no less than five tonnes are sold there. A fix of heroin in Chelyabinsk costs around 500% less than in St Petersburg or Moscow.¹⁵¹

Chechnya

In the first Chechen conflict the role of what was then called the Caucasus Special Border District (KOPO) was limited to guarding Chechen borders with Ingushetia and Dagestan.¹⁵² This was the first time the FPS troops had been tasked with guarding internal borders. They operated on the Chechen-Ingush and Chechen-Dagestani border in accordance with the law on state support for the border regions.¹⁵³ The FPS role in guarding the internal, administrative borders was legally difficult to justify and politically sensitive, as it played into the Chechen hands as they were claiming sovereignty. On 1 March 1996 the FPS transferred the duties of border protection on the Chechen-Russian border to the MVD.¹⁵⁴

In the second Chechen conflict the FPS has been very active and its tasks clearly defined. The FPS troops entered Chechnya in December 1999 and set up a base in Itum-Kale.¹⁵⁵ They were to seal off the 81.4 km Russo/Chechen-Georgian border and control the Argun gorge through which the Chechen fighters try to enter Chechnya. Their new special forces unit "Sigma", together with Air Assault Troops took the Chechen base-camps in the Meshekhi area on 20 December 1999.¹⁵⁶ The first Chechen conflict showed the FPS leadership the need to have its own rapid deployment unit, capable of operating effectively in especially difficult combat situations. The setting up of such a unit must have started at the end of 1995, as the first announcement about its existence was made at the beginning of 1996. The group called "Sigma", with its HQ near Voronezh, is known officially as the Personnel Training Centre of the Western Regional Directorate of the FPS. Their commander, Colonel Sergey Sysoyev, served in Afghanistan in the 1980s in the special forces.¹⁵⁷

By March 2001, the FPS troops had destroyed two Chechen bases, two resistance points and 90 shelters used by the Chechen fighters as storage for their equipment. The FPS had also confiscated 40 vehicles, 11 diesel powered generators, 35 radio transceivers, 50 weapons, 100 kg of explosives and 30,000 pieces of ammunition. In the parallel battle for the hearts and minds of the Chechens, the FPS has offered medical assistance to the local population and distributed 25 tonnes of humanitarian assistance.¹⁵⁸

The FPS troops in Chechnya face well organized and well equipped Chechens with superior communications and optical equipment. The FPS troops also complain about their own rigid command structure and shortage of fuel for FPS aviation.¹⁵⁹ In Chechnya the FPS is responsible for passport control at the borders and helps the FSB by looking out for foreign nationals fighting on the Chechen side.

Conclusion

Russia is not threatened by anyone. Even the occasional incursions of armed smugglers can be dealt with by lightly armed rapid reaction detachments from the FPS and law enforcement and security bodies. Russia cannot afford grandiose defence plans incorporating the FPS into its defence system. Even in the most unlikely scenario of a ground attack on Russia the FPS personnel could only serve as a reconnaissance, intelligence and support element. This is why the process of demilitarisation of the Russian border control system is continuing. It began late and it would be highly optimistic to expect from its leaders, all of whom began their careers in the highly disciplined, well funded and unaccountable KGB structures, to show too much enthusiasm when carrying out the demilitarisation process.¹⁶⁰

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The FPS' main tasks for the future are: combating drug and other smuggling, stemming illegal emigration, controlling human trafficking and protecting its resources in coastal waters. To do all this the FPS will have to improve its co-operation with the other ministries and organisations involved in controlling or monitoring the borders and the border areas and protecting their resources, especially given that the pressure of drug traffickers, smugglers, immigrants, cross border traders and illegal labourers on the Russian borders is not going to diminish.

With the arrival of Vladimir Putin all the budgetary "debts" to the power structures were apparently paid, but it is doubtful whether allowances were made for inflation, rising costs, structural costs of the continuing reforms and the financial crash of 1998.¹⁶¹

The plans for the development of the future border protection system of the Russian Federation envisage the completion of the reforms of the FPS, creation of a unified system of control at the Russian borders, the continuation of the development of collective CIS border security, the gradual withdrawal of Russian border guards still deployed at the CIS borders, but keeping operational and co-operation groups in the CIS states with whom appropriate agreements have been concluded. This first stage of the reforms is to be completed by 2005. The second stage is planned for the 2006-2010 period and is to include strengthening the FPS' capabilities and reinforcing Russia's borders.¹⁶²

There will be reductions, 15-30% on average, of the FPS groups in the Arctic regions, in the Kaliningrad Oblast, in the Northwest, Far East and Pacific Ocean regions. The central apparatus is to be reduced by one-third. The command structure of the FPS is to be made less rigid and the regional FPS bodies will have more powers. The Northern Caucasus region has been strengthened. The number of FPS troops in the Itum-Kale region on the most sensitive stretch between Chechnya and Russia has been increased by 15%.¹⁶³

No specific policy as to the border regimes with individual neighbours has been announced. It is difficult therefore to estimate the scale of expenditure on the reforms. The FPS has increased 10-fold the number of border arrests during the last 5 years. In 2000 the FPS stopped the activities of 52 organised people-smuggling groups and closed 109 illegal immigration channels; 72,000 foreign nationals were not allowed to cross Russian borders in 2000.¹⁶⁴ However, by 2000, 60% of the border signalling equipment had reached the end of its working life and by the end of 1999 only 10-15% of smuggled goods were being intercepted by the border guards. Nothing indicates that this state of affairs has improved in the recent years.¹⁶⁵

Russia's CIS partners will have to show that their border policies are appropriate if they want to keep their borders and border regimes with Russia as transparent as they are at present. Moscow was unhappy with several southern CIS states when they relaxed their border regimes with Turkey, China, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. Illegal migration to Russia and the seasonal influx of a non-registered labour force are on the rise.¹⁶⁶ Strengthening the border infrastructure and stricter control of cross border movement are bound to alienate large and influential Russian companies employing unregistered labour, traders and vote-sensitive politicians from the border areas and the Central Asian countries for whom trans-border trade and their migrant workers are a source of income and a social safety valve. A transparent or semi-transparent border between Russia and some of its southern

neighbours would require them to have almost identical interests and a reasonably co-ordinated economy with Russia. With the post 11 September events, the world's sudden interest in Central Asia and the resulting security and military contacts, as well as potential economic benefits for the whole region, the local leaders may decide that they want to reduce their links with Moscow. This would allow Russia to reinforce its own borders but would limit its capabilities to conduct the 21st century version of the Great Game.

One of the republics Russia will not have a manned border with is Belorussia. The two countries are officially a union-state. Even if the unpredictable Belorussian president decided to put guards on the already delineated border, Russia would not match Minsk with a similar move. The Russian-Ukrainian border is a delicate issue for Moscow and Kiev. Both pretend to have a well controlled common border. Russia has little interest in reinforcing its borders with Ukraine. Changes in Ukrainian border policies would only come with dramatic political changes in Kiev. The long border with China has changed from one of the most tense, to one of the more dynamic border trading areas of the world. Troubled increasingly by the influx of illegal Chinese immigrants as well as workers and traders overstaying their visas, the Russians will have to make the border controls with China more strict. This move should be accompanied by better control of foreign nationals in Russia. This does not have to mean an immediate mass expulsion of the Chinese population inhabiting the Russian Far East. Nevertheless, the Russian authorities will have to attempt to stem the flow of illegal immigrants from China, if only to avoid protests and negative voting of their own population. In the future therefore, Russian border guard may be underpaid, not appreciated, underfunded and undermanned but they will not be bored.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Vadim Bakatin, 'Izbavleniye ot KGB', *Novosti*, 1992, p73.
- 2 Delineation of state borders - contractual designation of location and direction of the state borders. Demarcation of state borders - detailed designation of borders on the ground based on delineation agreements.
- 3 *Pogranichnik*, June 2000, pp11-12.
- 4 Andrey Nikolayev, 'Na Perelome', *Sovremennyy Pisatel*, Moskva, 1998, p188.
- 5 *Ibid*, pp188-189.
- 6 Andrey Nikolayev, 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', *Granitsa*, 1998, p148; *Pogranichnik*, June 2000, pp10-12.
- 7 *Pogranichnik*, September 1997, pp38-39.
- 8 *Ibid*, p43.
- 9 <http://pogran.2000ru>
- 10 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p173-174.
- 11 *Ibid*, pp4, 5, 30, 89; 'Rossiya Na Perelome', Andrey Nikolayev, *Sovremennyy Pisatel* 1999, pp150, 167 & 171; *Pogranichnik*, April 1999, pp3-4; 'Na Perelome', p107; *Spetsluzhby I Ikh Predstaviteli V Rossiyskom Obshchestve*, SPIK-Tsentr, 1999, p17; *Pogranichnik Sodruzhestva*, April-June 2001, pp30, 31, 33, 56 & 57; *Pogranichnik*, September 1997, p38; *ibid*, October 2000, pp10-16.
- 12 'Na Perelome', p323.
- 13 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', pp92 & 109.
- 14 *Pogranichnik*, November 1999, pp24-29.
- 15 *Ibid*.
- 16 *Bratishka*, July-August 2001, p31; 'Rossiya Na Perelome', p287.
- 17 *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 30 July 1993, p1.
- 18 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p7.
- 19 The Russian term used in the Soviet era "pogranichnyye voyska" has usually been translated as "border guards" although strictly speaking they were "border troops". However

an individual member of “border troops”, an officer or a conscript, “pogranichnik”, has always been translated as a “border guard”, though the title strictly speaking is not military and could be translated as a “borderman”. The problem began when in 1994, in an attempt to demilitarise the whole system, the FPS introduced “strazha”, which can be translated as “guards” or the unflattering “watch”.

²⁰ 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p7; *Pogranichnik*, September, 1997, p42; 'Na Perelome', p189.

²¹ 'Spetsluzhby I Ikh Predstaviteli V Rossiyskom Obshchestve', p17, 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p186.

²² 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p123.

²³ 'Na Perelome', p324.

²⁴ 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p123.

²⁵ On 27 December 1990, in accordance with the order issued by the chairman of the KGB USSR, the Intelligence Directorate of the Main Directorate of Border Guard Troops changed its name, together with its subordinate structures, to the Operational Directorate. All Russia's border guard organisations conducted limited intelligence work throughout the 1990s but the title “intelligence” was returned to the FPS only in the mid 1990s. 'Shpionami ne rozhdaiutsa', AIS, im A Kh Artuzova, Moskva, 2001, p127.

²⁶ The Border Troops have been traditionally responsible for the security of Soviet/Russian diplomatic missions abroad. Serving border guard officers could apply for a foreign posting and, if selected, were trained on special courses, *Pogranichnik*, June 1998, pp30-31.

²⁷ The Border Control department was set up in 1995 as a directorate and its name was changed to a department in 1996, *Pogranichnik*, October 2000, pp10-16.

²⁸ The official formation of the FPS Operational Groups in Kazakhstan and Belorussia began in March 1996. 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p126.

²⁹ Galina, Kozhevnikova, Pavel Gazukin, 'Silovye Struktury Rossii', Panorama, Moskva, 2000, p26-27; *Pogranichnik*, October 2000, p10-16.

³⁰ *Soladat Udachi*, No 3, 2001, p26.

³¹ CZ PF 1997, No 52, St 3208, *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, 16 December 1997, p5 quoted in 'Silovye Struktury Rossii', p27.

³² The percentage of the allocated budget which actually reached the FPS varies between 50-62 % according to sources.

³³ 'Spetsluzhby I Ikh Predstaviteli V Rossiyskom Obshchestve', p19.

³⁴ 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p164.

³⁵ Gen Nikolayev admitted that Russia conducts intelligence work on the territories of other CIS countries, targeting drug dealers, arms dealers, smugglers and human traffickers, but claimed that his organisation shares that information with local border authorities (Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p224). That is probably true to some degree. It is, however, improbable that the FPS would be allowed the share its intelligence directly with the CIS partners without prior approval from the SVR or the FSB.

³⁶ 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', pp36, 121 & 176.

³⁷ *Voyennaya Mysl*, November 2001, p60.

³⁸ *Pogranichnik*, August 2000, pp26-29.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p6.

⁴⁰ *Pogranichnik*, November 2000, pp26-29.

⁴¹ *Pogranichnik*, December 1999, pp11-13; *Pogranichnik*, November 2000, pp26-29; 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p155.

⁴² 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p155.

⁴³ *Pogranichnik*, February 2001, pp76-78.

⁴⁴ 'Na Perelome', p324.

⁴⁵ *Pogranichnik*, May 2001, pp3-9.

⁴⁶ 'Spetsluzhby Rossii, Zakony I Kommentariy', Yurist, Moskva, 1997, p90.

⁴⁷ *Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, No 32, 1998, pp1 & 3; No 8, 1998, p1.

⁴⁸ *AVN*, 10 May 2001.

⁴⁹ 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p131; *AVN*, 8 August 2001.

⁵⁰ *AVN*, 20 August 2001.

⁵¹ *Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, No 32, 1998, pp1 & 3, *Pogranichnik*, May 2001, pp3-9.

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- 52 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p151.
53 *Pogranichnik*, March 1998, p17.
54 *Dalnevostochnyy Pogranichnik*, 2 February 2001, p15, *Pogranichnik*, October 2000, pp40-41; *ibid*, November 2000, pp8-14.
55 'Moskovskiy Voyennyi Institut Federalnoy Pogranichnoy Sluzhby Rossii', Granitsa, Moskva, 1999, p50.
56 *Ibid*, p51.
57 *Ibid*, pp150-151.
58 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p207.
59 *Pogranichnik*, November 2000, pp8-14.
60 *Ibid*, June 2000, pp13-15; *ibid*, March 1998, pp12-14, 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p151.
61 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', pp34, 66 & 113.
62 *Pogranichnik*, August 2000, pp22-25.
63 *Ibid*, November/December 1998, pp54-55.
64 *Ibid*, pp55-56.
65 *Ibid*, May 2001, pp3-9.
66 *Argumenty i Fakty*, Chelyabinsk, 13 February 2002, p5; 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p127.
67 *Dalnevostochnyy Pogranichnik*, 26 January 2001, p5.
68 *AVN*, 8 August 2001.
69 *Granitsa Rossii*, December 1998, pp2-3.
70 Nikolayev senior died in 1985 of throat cancer.
71 'Izbavleniye ot KGB', pp43 & 46.
72 *Pogranichnik*, September 1997, pp38-39.
73 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p188.
74 *Pogranichnik*, October 1999, pp66-68; 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', pp67 & 189-190; 'Na Perelome', p189; 'Spetsluzhby I Ikh Predstaviteli V Rossiyskom Obshchestve', p18.
75 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', pp189 & 194.
76 'Spetsluzhby I Ikh Predstaviteli V Rossiyskom Obshchestve', p18.
77 *Ibid*, p18; 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p160.
78 'Spetsluzhby I Ikh Predstaviteli V Rossiyskom Obshchestve', p19.
79 *Vesti*, 26 May 2001, p1.
80 *Pogranichnik*, May 2001, pp3-9.
81 'Voruzhennyye Sily Rossiyskoy Federatsii - Zashchitniki Nashego Otechestva, Armpress, p82, no date given.
82 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', pp218 & 232.
83 *Granitsa Rossii*, December 1998, pp2, 3.
84 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p323.
85 *Ibid*, pp323-324.
86 *Obozrevatel*, December 2001, p24.
87 *AVN*, 12 July 2001.
88 *Obozrevatel*, December 2001, p24.
89 Black Sea Press Information (Tbilisi), 10 September 2001.
90 *Obozrevatel*, December 2001, p23.
91 Timur Muzayev, 'Pogranichnyye Problemy Rossiyskoy Federatsii', Moskva, 1999, pp49-50.
92 *Pogranichnik*, December 1999, p11; 'Pogranichnyye Problemy Rossiyskoy Federatsii, p50.
93 'Pogranichnyye Problemy Rossiyskoy Federatsii', p50.
94 *Pogranichnik*, December 1999, p11.
95 'Pogranichnyye Problemy Rossiyskoy Federatsii', p55.
96 *Pogranichnik Sodruzhestva*, April-June 2001, p59.
97 *Pogranichnik*, 24-26 April 2001.
98 *ITAR-TASS*, 27 August 2001.
99 'Pogranichnyye Problemy Rossiyskoy Federatsii', p7.
100 *Ibid*, p59.
101 *Pogranichnik*, December 1999, p11.

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- 102 'Pogranichnyye Problemy Rossiyskoy Federatsii', pp46-48.
 103 *Obozrevatel*, December 2001, p24.
 104 *Zabaykalskiy Rabochiy*, 16 January 2001, p2; *Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*,
 No 11, 2000, p3.
 105 *Pogranichnik*, November 1999, p13.
 106 'Pogranichnyye Problemy Rossiyskoy Federatsii', p6.
 107 *AVN*, 28 August 2001.
 108 *Pogranichnik*, November 1999, pp13-17.
 109 Ibid.
 110 'Pogranichnyye Problemy Rossiyskoy Federatsii', 1999, p12.
 111 Ibid, pp13-14.
 112 Ibid, p15.
 113 Ibid, pp17-18.
 114 *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 15 December 1998, p2.
 115 *Pogranichnik*, November 1999, pp13-17.
 116 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p126.
 117 *Pogranichnik*, November 1999, pp13-17.
 118 'Na Perelome', p166.
 119 *Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, No 33, 2000, p5.
 120 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p227.
 121 'Spetsluzhby I Ikh Predstaviteli V Rossiyskom Obshchestve', p19.
 122 *AVN*, 15 May 2001; *Pogranichnik Sodruzhestva*, April-June 2001, p58; *Uralskiye*
Voyennyye Vesti, 23 May 2001, *Pogranichnik*, May 2001, pp3-9.
 123 In 1997 the number of oblasts was reduced from 19 to 15. 'Pogranichnyye Problemy
 Rossiyskoy Federatsii', p44.
 124 *Obozrevatel*, December 2001, p23.
 125 *Izvestiya*, 19 July 2001, FBIS.
 126 *Kommersant*, 15 August 2001, p3
 127 Ibid, 18 July 2001, p2; *Izvestiya*, 19 July 2001, FBIS.
 128 *Pogranichnik*, December 1999, p11; *Obozrevatel*, December 2001, p23.
 129 *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 14 March 2001, p2.
 130 'Rossiya Na Perelome', p286.
 131 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', pp144 & 171.
 132 'Rossiya Na Perelome', p292.
 133 Ibid, pp293-294.
 134 *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 15 December 1998, p2.
 135 *Moskovskiye Novosti*, 22-28 August 2000, p8.
 136 Robert Baer, 'See No Evil', Crown Publishers, NY, 2002, p151.
 137 *Pogranichnik*, May 2001, p3.
 138 *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 16 January 2002, p7.
 139 *Moskovskiye Novosti*, 22-28 August 2000, p8.
 140 *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 18 January 2002, p5.
 141 'Pogranichnyye Problemy Rossiyskoy Federatsii', p42; *Pogranichnik*, November 1999,
 pp13-17; see also C W Blandy, *The Caspian: Commnatory Crosscurrents*, CSRC, S40,
 January 1999.
 142 *ITAR-TASS*, 27 July 2001.
 143 'Izbavleniye ot KGB', p182.
 144 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p6. Nikolayev refers to the smuggled drugs
 as "zelye - grass".
 145 *ORT*, 4 December 2001.
 146 *AVN*, 5 November 2001.
 147 *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, 21 February 2001, p8.
 148 *Pogranichnik*, January 1999, pp3-6.
 149 *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, 21 February 2001, p8.
 150 *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 16 January 2002, p7.
 151 *Uralskiye Voyennyye Vesti*, 23 May 2001, p5.
 152 *Obozrevatel*, December 2001, p64; 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p126.
 153 *Pogranichnik*, April 1998, p1, *ibid*, December 1999, pp3-10; *ibid*, February 2000,
 pp3-7.

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- 154 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p126.
155 *ITAR-TASS*, 30 July 2001; *Pogranichnik*, January 2001, p6.
156 *Pogranichnik*, May 2000, p13.
157 *Soldat Udachi*, No 3, 2001, pp25-26.
158 *Pogranichnik*, May 2001, pp3-9.
159 *Na Rubezhakh Rodiny*, No 25, 2001, p3.
160 The "traditional" attitude of the older generation of the FPS officers is shown by the First Deputy Director of the FPS - the Chief the Main Staff of the FPS, Colonel-General Nikolay Reznichenko, who gave an example of "unnamed European countries" in which "every inhabitant living in the border area is a non-organic member of border guards". If the person in question fails to perform adequately when needed, he can be "moved from that border area". *Pogranichnik Sodruzhestva*, April-June 2001, p59.
161 *Granitsa Rossii*, December 1998, pp2-3.
162 'Rubezhi Rossii - Razdumaya o Vazhnom', p125-126.
163 *Pogranichnik Sodruzhestva*, April-June 2001, p58.
164 *Pogranichnik*, May 2001, pp3-9.
165 Interview with Colonel-General Konstantin Vasilevich Tot'skiy, Director of the FPS. *Pogranichnik*, January 1999, pp3-6.
166 *Pogranichnik*, November 1999, p24-29.

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