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Drug Trafficking as a Challenge for Russia's Security and Border Policies

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Abstract

The paper focuses on the issue of transboundary drug-trafficking through Russia's post-Soviet borders, including such key features as its geographical directions, the spread of illicit drugs in the regions of Russia and its neighbor post-Soviet states, the organization and mechanisms of drug smuggling. The adequacy of Russian anti-narcotic policy is estimated on the basis of an analysis of qualitative and quantitative information, including statistical data for the period 1999-2005, expert assessments, and the results of event-analysis (of the cases of discovered attempts of drug smuggling) for the same period. The proposed recommendations are grounded in research results and, in the final part of the paper, corresponding foreign experience is considered.

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The views contained inside remain solely those of the author who may be contacted at golunov@policy.hu. For a fuller account of this policy research project, please visit <http://www.policy.hu/golunov/>

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Background

Illicit drug trade is one of the most dangerous and fast developing forms of transborder crime in the post-Soviet space. Its structures are stimulated by high profitability (1000% and more) and very able to react to challenges faster than their opposing state agencies opposing them. After the collapse of the USSR, Russia had to protect its new national borders. At a total length of (11 000 km, the security issues related to them can be compared to a combination of both the EU and the US's "problem borders". The border between Russia and Kazakhstan raise the greatest challenges for the authorities, as it is the most common route for the transporting of heroin, which is by far the most harmful hard drug for Russian society. The majority of the estimated 1,5 million Russian drug addicts depends on this drug and Russia's heroin market is considered to be the biggest in Europe.

Under these circumstances, Russia has to develop its own model of anti-narcotic policy, one that should be even more effective than other countries. However, it is difficult to evaluate the issue because information is dispersed through various state agencies. At the same time, information which is publicly available is often evidently distorted. In the fields of illegal drug trade and developing national anti-narcotic policy, independent expert estimations of the situation are pre-conditions for increasing effectiveness.

1 The Geography of Drug Smuggling through Post-Soviet Borders of the Russian Federation

1.1 Main Drug Smuggling Routes

The problem of smuggling through the Russia- Kazakhstan, Russia-Georgia, and Russia-Azerbaijan borders is connected to heroin production in Afghanistan and also (through Russia-Kazakhstan border) marijuana and hashish production in post-Soviet Central Asia. The traffic of marijuana from Ukraine and the Transcaucasian states, poppy straw from Ukraine, and synthetic drugs from the EU through Byelorussia, Ukraine, and Baltic states have considerable impact on the Russian drug market.

The traffic of heroin and raw opium (for converting to heroin in Russia) from Afghanistan is the most dangerous. In the 1990s this country became one of the main drug producing hub and the absolute leader in terms of the supply of opiates, producing almost 75-80% of their global volume [Afghanistan Opium Survey 2003].

There are several routes for opium trafficking. It is converted to heroin in underground laboratories both within Afghanistan and outside. The two main routes for opiate trafficking are the Balkan route and the Northern route. The first passes through Iran (or to Pakistan to the port of Karachi and then by sea as a variant), Turkey, the Balkan countries and then to Southern and Western Europe. The Northern route or "the Silk way" passes through Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan or the Uzbek part of the Fergana Valley, onto Kazakhstan and Russia, Belarus, Ukraine or the Northern Russian provinces towards EU countries. Various branches of the Northern route pass through the Afghanistan-Turkmenistan border to Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan, in most cases entering Russian territory after that [Afghanistan Opium Survey 2003].

Finally, there are also various "combined" ways: for example, Afghanistan-Iran-Azerbaijan or Armenia-Georgia-Russia. For traffickers, each of these routes has advantages and dis-advantages. The advantages of "the Balkan route" are the shorter distance between Afghanistan and EU countries and close ties between ethnic mafia groups consisting of citizens of Turkey, Iran, and EU states. At the same time, this route crosses more "risky" zones, such as Iran, which is a world leader in the seizure of opiates. "The Silk route" attracts drug smugglers by the relative transparency of most post-Soviet borders, the possibilities of using clan and ethnic ties for criminal operations in these states, and the huge capacity of the Russian heroin market. There is also little serious competition to opiates from cocaine or synthetic drugs. However, the use of "the Northern route" for the more solvent EU market is hampered by the longer distance, the increased number of middlemen, and the stricter migration regime that the EU established for citizens of CIS countries. This is why EU citizens, particularly from the new members states (Lithuania, Poland and others) play such a great part in the westwards drug-trafficking from the post-Soviet space.¹ The Northern route is more frequently used for supplies of opiates to Russia and post-Soviet countries while for the EU heroin markets, the drugs are transported mainly through the Balkan route.

¹ For example, Polish and Lithuanian citizens were among narco-couriers arrested in 2004 for an attempt to transport large lots of heroin to Germany by "the Northern route". [Bi-Annual Seizure Report 2004, 346].

The global cannabis market differs from the heroin one. The relative cheapness of cannabis (in the CIS it costs 0.3-0.4 dollars per gram [Afghanistan Opium Survey 2003]) means that a more significant volume of this drug is smuggled although this in turn increases the risks of discovery. Favorable natural conditions for large-scaled planting throughout Central Asia also influences production. The key cannabis trafficking routes are much shorter than those for opiates. Central Asia doesn't have serious influence over the global conjuncture, but there are some regions of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (especially the valley of the Chu (Shu) river) which are large suppliers to Russia.

The transportation of amphetamine-type stimulants and cocaine is mainly in the opposite direction, that is, from Europe to Asia. While the volume of these flows is much modest the problem should not be underestimated. It is important to take into consideration, that the number of synthetic drug consumers in the world is second only to the number of cannabis users. The widespread stereotype that associates the fight against drugs with seizures of heroin is, to some extent, favorable for the expansion of synthetic drugs for Russia, mainly from external sources.

At more than 7500-kilometer long, the Russia Kazakhstan border is the longest continuous boundary in the world and it has serious importance for drug trafficking and the fight against it. When smugglers cross it, they find themselves in another region, another price zone, one of the largest transit points to EU, and at the same time, in one of the largest drug markets. According to Kazakhstan experts, 30% of imported narcotics are consumed in the country [Ashimbayev et. al. 2004: 6] while 70% is transported outside and most to Russia. The statistical information on seizures at the Kazakhstan-Russian border offers some evidence of the huge scale of narco-trafficking. For the period between 1997 and 2004, when the South-Eastern Regional Branch of Border Guard Service (responsible for the most of the Russia-Kazakhstan border except the territories of Astrakhan province and the Republic of Altai) has existed, officials seized more than 3.5 tons of heroin. In 2004 only, they seized 416 kg of drugs including 100 kg of heroin [Interfax-Ural 2004]. Unfortunately, the border and customs services don't always have common statistical information concerning seizures.

Almost every province bordering Kazakhstan (with the exception of the Republic of Altai, where the borderland is mountainous and there is no stable trans-boundary communication) is an area of large-scale drug-trafficking. Delivery routes for opiates and cannabis drugs cross the border at the same checkpoints. Taking into account the

drug-related statistical information analyzed, the main flows of smuggling drugs aim at Moscow and St. Petersburg, the resort regions of the Northern Caucasus (especially Krasnodar krai), major cities in the Volga and Ural regions (first of all, Samara and Yekaterinburg) and Western Siberia (Tiumen, Khanty-Mansiysk etc.).

Analyzing information about drug seizures at the Russian-Kazakhstan border, the author can surmise that in the last few years the main trans-boundary drug-trafficking routes have gradually been shifting eastwards. According to official information, the Siberian Federal Area is ranked first for heroin seizures in Russia (21% of the whole volume).² This tendency can be explained by the relative short distance of the "Eastern direction" and, in contrast to other Russian provinces, a higher purchasing power in the gas and oil producing region. This market is increasingly attractive with the continued rise in oil prices.

The Northern and partly the Balkan routes pass through Russian borders with the Transcaucasian states. These routes run from Central Asia and Iran through Azerbaijan and Georgia towards Russia or the EU countries. Within Russia, narcotics are transported northwards and to the "rich" resort areas of Krasnodar and Stavropol kraises. The main direction of Trans-caucasian drug-trafficking is through the Baku - Rostov "motorway" (through Azerbaijan and the Republic of Dagestan), and also partly through the Ossetian part of the Russian-Georgian border. For a long time Chechnya, was a comfortable hub for the trafficking of drugs originating in Afghanistan. The drug trade at the Abkhazian area of Russia-Georgia border is less developed in comparison with other parts of this region. Nevertheless, the marijuana growing in Abkhazia and subsequent smuggling to Krasnodar krai, is considered a widespread illegal business in the area. From 1993 until May 1998 Russian border guards, responsible for this section, managed to seize more than 5 kg of drugs [Schlogoleva 1998] while in 2002 customs officers confiscated 10 kg of narcotic substances.³

Talking into account the volume of drug seizures, the "Caucasian route" is by no means the main channel for drug smuggling. In 2002 representatives of the North Caucasian Branch of the Border Guard Service seized 60 kg narcotics [Rossiya -

² The information was obtained by Dr. Grigory Olekh from Siberian Federal District's Branch of the Federal Agency for the Control over Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances. See: [Golunov et al. 2004: 21].

³ The information has been obtained from Southern Operations Customs (Rostov, Russia) by Dr. Nataliya Batischeva in August 2005.

Regiony 2001] while in 2001 they confiscated only 6,7 kg.⁴ It is important to note that from 2001 till 2004, in the Abkhazian and Ossetian parts of the border, Russian customs officers seized only marijuana and that the largest volume confiscated at the Russia-Azerbaijan border was only 8,2 kg.⁵ However, from a considered point of view, the Caucasus is one of the potentially most dangerous directions. In most cases, the routes running through the western post-Soviet borders of Russia are used for trafficking of opiates towards the EU. At the same time, synthetic drugs, cannabis and poppy straw are trafficked towards Russia. As regards the Russia-Ukraine border, according to Ukrainian sources, the main smuggling routes go through border points in Rostov, Belgorod and Briansk oblasts [Kovalenko et al. 2001]. Through the Russia-Byelorussia border, the main drug trafficking routes pass along the transborder motorways and railways of Briansk, Gomel, Smolensk, and Mogilyov oblasts. In the Baltic area, the smugglers make frequent use of two motorways and two railways, connecting Pskov oblast and Latvia, a motorway and a railway connecting Leningrad oblast and Estonia, and the exclave Kaliningrad oblast.

It should be noted that amongst Russia's western post-Soviet boundaries the Ukrainian border is distinguished by the most intensive exchange of illicit drugs. For a long time, the balance of such exchange was in favor of Ukraine because of poppy straws' supplies to Russia, but since 2000 taking into account their quantitative and qualitative characteristics, the incoming and outgoing flows can be considered to be comparable.

1.2 Regional Geography of the Dissemination of Illicit Drugs

A correct estimation of the scale or at least the trends in the dissemination of illicit drugs in Russia is a necessary condition for adequate policy making. Unfortunately, at present this can not be considered solved. Estimates originate mainly from several state departments (Federal Agency for the Control over Drugs and Psychotropic Substances – Gosnarkokontrol, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Federal Security Service, Federal Customs Service, Ministry of Health Care and Social Development) with the

⁴ The information from the speech of the Head of the Northern Caucasian Branch of Russian Federal Border Guard Service general-colonel E. V. Bolkhovitinov at the press conference organized 15 January 2002 (news release obtained from the Stavropol office Northern Caucasian Branch of Russian Federal Border Guard Service).

⁵ Calculated by the information obtained from Southern Operations Customs (Rostov, Russia) by Dr. Nataliya Batischeva in August 2005.

information often being partial and not correlating with the information of other departments. Independent expertise is weak, partly because of the lack of publicly available information.

The problems concerning a correct evaluation of the issues can be illustrated by the divergence in the estimation of the number of drug addicts' in Russia. From autumn 2004 until summer 2005, state officials from various departments increased this number from 2 million - Prosecutor-General Vladimir Ustinov, November 2004 [Igoshina 2004], to 4 million - the Minister of Interior Affairs Rashid Nurgaliev, December 2004 [Cry.ru 2004], and 3-8 million - Director of the Department for Interdepartmental Interaction in the Preventive Sphere of Gosnarkokontrol Boris Tselinsky, June 2005 [NEWSru.com 2005]. In July 2005 the Ministry of Health Care and Social Development declared that there are 1,5 million drug addicts and that 6 million people in Russia have at some point taken narcotics [Mironov 2005]. The mass-media and officials, including those from Gosnarkokontrol, often present the situation as catastrophic. Wanting to persuade society to take extraordinary measures, they focus attention on the number of 6 million. The situation at the regional level is similar: in order to estimate the number of drug addicts some officials multiply the number of registered drug addicts by four, others by ten.

In order to improve estimations concerning the role of various routes in the Russian drug trade, the dynamics of drug addiction and drug-related crimes in both border and transit regions will be analyzed using the following data:

- The number and relative share per 100,000 of officially registered addicts at regional narcotic health centers;
- The annual increase in the number of these citizens,
- The number and share per 100,000 of drug-related crimes for the period 1999-2004. This information was obtained from The Russian State Statistical Committee (Goskomstat) in November 2005.

It should be understood that the this data is cannot be said to be representative. The number of officially registered drug addicts in Russia is only a fraction of their real amount and this varies from province to province depending on the effectiveness of local social policy. Many drug-related crimes are not registered as such despite the fact that a great share of registered crimes are committed by addicts. This statistical information only reflects some of the manifestations of drug-related activity detected by the law-enforcement bodies. Taking this into account, the author will focus not so much on quantitative indicators and estimations as on the relative position of a province

compared with other provinces using the above mentioned indicators. If the tendencies established by the presence of several indicators coincide, then the reliability of the comparative conclusions is considered adequate.

In order to identify tendencies in the development of drug addiction and drug-related criminality for 1999-2004 regions were ranked by both relative and absolute indicators. Focusing on these ten regions can be justified by the fact that these provide more than 50% of registered drug addicts and 35-45% of drug-related crimes in Russia. By the number of officially registered drug addicts, Moscow has constantly ranked first among other Russian provinces, with the only exception of Samara oblast in 2001. From 1999-2004 the top ten provinces constantly included Altai, Krasnodar, and Primorsky krajs, Irkutsk, Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, Rostov, Sverdlovsk, and Tiumen oblasts. Among these provinces (and other regions, which have been among leaders in 1999-2004) three regions border Kazakhstan (Altai krai, Tiumen and Novosibirsk oblasts⁶), one area (Krasnodar krai) is on the border with Georgia, while two regions (Krasnodar krai and Rostov oblast) border with Ukraine.

The highest annual increase in the number of drug addicts was registered in Moscow (with the exception of 2001 when Moscow ranked second after Krasnodar krai, and in 2004 when it was also behind Irkutsk oblast). The top ten provinces very often include Krasnodar krai, Irkutsk, Kemerovo, Rostov, Samara, and Tiumen oblasts. Among 15 regions that belonged in this top ten group throughout the period, 6 were border provinces, four of them bordering Kazakhstan (Altai, Krasnodar krajs, Novosibirsk, Rostov, Tiumen, and Cheliabinsk oblasts).

The share of drug addicts in a population can influence levels of social tension, if it is accepted that the number of registered drug addicts in various regions is proportionate to their real number. According to the mentioned indicator, in 1999-2004 regions ranked the first were as follows: Tomsk oblast (1999), Tiumen oblast (2000), Samara oblast (2001, 2004), and Khanty-Mansiysky Autonomous Okrug (2003). The top ten included 14 Russian regions, among which 4 bordered Kazakhstan Astrakhan, Novosibirsk, Omsk, and Tiumen oblasts), 1 (Krasnodar krai) - Georgia and Ukraine. By the annual growth of drug addicts' share among leaders were Tiumen oblast (1999), Khanty- Mansiysky Autonomous Okrug (2000), Kemerovo oblast (2001), Primorsky krai

⁶ From the considered point of view border region means a province, through which great legal and illegal flows run. In this section the Samara oblast is not regarded as a border region, though it has 5 km border with Kazakhstan, because there are no communication ways in this part of the border. At the same time Samara oblast is one of the leaders in Russia by drug consumption and drugrelated criminality

(2002-2003), Irkutsk oblast (2004); Besides, the top ten frequently included Altai and Krasnodar kraises, Samara and Novosibirsk oblasts. Twenty provinces were among leaders in some years, including 6 border regions (Altai and Krasnodar kraises, Novosibirsk, Orenburg, Rostov, and Tiumen oblasts⁷) 4 of that border Kazakhstan.

By the number of drug related crimes the city of Moscow ranked the first in 2000, 2002-2004, while Saint-Petersburg was the leader in 1999 and 2001. The top ten often included Novosibirsk, Rostov, Samara, Sverdlovsk and Tiumen oblasts. From 1999 until 2004 16 regions belonged to the top ten, among them 5 (Krasnodar krai, Novosibirsk, Rostov, Tiumen and Cheliabinsk oblasts) were border provinces including bordering Kazakhstan.

The share of drug-related crimes per 100 000 people was the largest in Saint-Petersburg (1999), Samara (2000), Astrakhan oblasts (2001), Primorsky krai (2002-2003), Khanty-Mansiysky Autonomous Okrug (2004). The top ten frequently included oblasts in Krasnodar and Primorsky kraises, Novosibirsk, Samara, Tiumen, and Tomsk. Seventeen provinces were in the top ten in 1999-2004, among them 7 boundary provinces (Krasnodar krai, Astrakhan, Novosibirsk, Kurgan, Omsk, Rostov, and Tiumen oblasts) 5 of which bordered Kazakhstan. Taking into account the absolute and relative indicators for 1999 until 2004 and considering them in aggregate, the top five⁸ included Novosibirsk, Samara, and Tiumen oblasts, Krasnodar and Primorsky kraises. Only two of these provinces (Krasnodar Krai and Tiumen oblast) have borders with post-Soviet states.

By 2004 the top ten had included 46 provinces, 9 of which bordered Kazakhstan but only Tiumen oblast, Altai krai and Novosibirsk oblast were in these top tens frequently, one province - Krasnodar krai bordered with Georgia and two - Krasnodar krai and Rostov oblast bordered with Ukraine. It is significant that no one Russian province on the border with Belarus or the Baltic states has ever belonged to the group of "leaders" in 1999-2004.

There are similar tendencies in drug consumption in the CIS countries bordering Russia. In Kazakhstan for the period of 2003-2004 Almaty and Karaganda oblasts (the

⁷ The republics of Kabardino-Balkaria and Karachayevo-Tcherkessia are also do not considered to be border regions as these areas there are no transboundary communications with Georgia and there are very little possibilities to arrange cross-border drug smuggling. However, during the period of 1999-2004 these North-Caucasian republics belonged to the top ten according to relative indicators.

⁸ In this case just five (not ten) regions are definitely distinguished by the aggregate of the mentioned indicators for the period from 1999 until 2004. Other regions can be distinguished only by separate indicators for shorter periods.

latter is the main miner's region of the country) were the leaders in narcotic consumption and drug-related criminality. Among Kazakhstani provinces bordering Russia, the East Kazakhstan oblast ranked the third according to the number of drug-related crimes and the fifth according to the number of officially registered drug addicts. Pavlodar and Aktiubinsk oblasts ranked the same as East Kazakhstan province according to the relative share of drug addicts among the total regional population.⁹ In Ukraine, the regions bordering Russia (among them were such miner's centers as Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts and the main resort zone of the country – the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea) ranked from second to fourth place according to officially registered number of drug addicts. This was only surpassed by the Dnipropetrovsk oblast [Region Online 2003]. According to the relative share of drug addicts, these regions ranked from the third to the fifth. It should be noted that Kharkiv oblast, one of the largest regions at the Ukraine-Russia borderland, was not among the provinces top-ranked by the mentioned indices. In Belarus the clear leaders in drug consumption are the city of Minsk (1917 registered addicts in 2004), Gomel oblast bordering Russia (1454), and the Brest oblast bordering Poland (797). According to the corresponding relative indicators, regions' positions remain the same. However, other than in the Gomel oblast regions bordering Russia, Vitebsk and Mogilyov oblasts ranked seventh and eighth [Belorusskoye 2005], despite the fact that very important trans-boundary motorways and railways pass through Mogilyov oblast.

The analysis shows that the border or transit location of a region is important but not decisive for the dissemination and consumption of illicit drugs (especially hard) in the provinces of the Russian Federation and neighbouring CIS states. The most important factors are the level of social-economic development (such as high purchasing capacity of large groups) and low social mobility. These aspects are insufficiently considered in modern national anti-narcotic policy. The emphasis is on strengthening the national borders and forming «security belts» at the Russia- Kazakhstan borderland. But, as will be demonstrated later, considering the volume of the national illicit drug market, only a tiny fraction of narcotics are seized at borders. In other words, border regions do not play a decisive role in the structure of narcotic consumption in Russia.

⁹ Calculated on the basis of: [Ministry of the Internal Affairs, 2005].

2 Organization of Smuggling Process

2.1 Methods of Smuggling and the Structure of Criminal Groups Involved

Crossing borders is the most risky stage of drug-trafficking. It forces smugglers to use special tactics, and to constantly modify their strategies and techniques. The commonest methods used but discovered by law enforcement structures can be divided into the following:

- Masking drugs in large consignments of transported vegetables and fruits (including inside these products), industrial goods and raw materials;
- Concealment inside human bodies (swallowing etc.);
- Concealment in baggage, under clothes and inside shoes;
- Creating hiding places in cars, lorries and the carriages of trains;
- Concealment in packaged products and industrial goods, including factory wrapping and built-in hiding places;
- Throwing down drugs before arrival at checkpoints; later accessories pick them up.

In order to further mask their cargo, criminals try to create favorable impression by using representatives of “less suspicious” social groups as couriers. Large amounts of narcotics are transported by women, children, pensioners (sometimes even veterans of the Great Patriotic War), representatives of “European” ethnic groups (Russians in particular) and so on. The organizers of large-scale smuggling operations in the direction Kazakhstan-Azerbaijan-Russia prefer to use Russian vehicles and drivers because vehicles with Azeri or Kazakh license plates, can be stopped and inspected at almost every checkpoint of the road police.¹⁰

Several examples can be used to support the contention that high status of couriers is systematically relied on to mask illegal cargo. Probably the most remarkable case took place on October 14th 2005 at the Russia-Kazakhstan border checkpoint «Sagarchin» during the examination of «Jeep» having a diplomatic license plate. The driver of the car, an employee of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was trying to smuggle 380 kg of narcotics including 362 kg of heroin. In this case, a combination of the above-mentioned smuggling methods was used: drugs were transported in a

¹⁰ Information from the interview with Mrs. Tatiana Beklemishcheva, a Deputy Director of the Main Directorate for the Fight against Smuggling of the Federal Customs Service. She was interviewed by Yana Denissova in February of 2005.

pecially equipped steel tank under the car and their presence was masked by the smell of onion and vinegar. [Narkotiki 2005: 2].

In many respects, the method of transportation is determined by the peculiarities of the transborder drug dealing organization. Individualists, small groups, as well as major groupings which control all stages of supply, can be involved in smuggling. In the post-Soviet period one of the main trends of transboundary narco-trafficking has become the growing influence of organized crime, branching groupings in contrast to individualists and small groups. These organised groups aim to control smuggling and sales. A considerable part specializes in several kinds of trans-boundary criminal activity, e.g. smuggling other goods. At the same time small criminal groups, often supported by relatives or ethnic links, still dominate the Eurasian drug trafficking. Large hierarchical cartels of monopolists, controlling all operations in the drug market still have not appeared. The process of centralization is hampered by the breadth of the field for their activities, the necessity to survive in a hostile environment (centralized structures are easier to discover) and even by the unwritten norms of the criminal community.

According to these norms, drug-trafficking is a condemned occupation that restrains the involvement of organized criminals in this process. In supplying drugs to Russia large groups divide the traffic into several stages with different carriers involved; in some cases these carriers act as second-hand dealers. Within such a scheme drugs are delivered to a fixed place and passed to another courier who pays his or her partner money for the work done. It is very difficult to discover such criminal networks and it reduces the effectiveness of the "force strategy. It is often conceded that in most situations only small-scale traffickers ("camels"/"verbliudy" in slang), dealers ("pushers"), and consumers are detained. Such persons are also prosecuted in the majority of criminal cases. Arrests of ordinary couriers do not pose serious damage to narco-business as it is not very difficult to hire new carriers. This makes it unsurprising that the tactical achievements of power structures can do little to change the long-term situation: organized criminality both in Russia and neighbor post-Soviet countries simply redesigns its strategy and tactics in response to actions by the authorities.

Sometimes criminal groups provide official structures good indices for their reports by exposing inveterate drug addicts to police or servicemen at border control. Criminal groups use to recruit representatives of professions and occupations whose status or professional skills help smugglers surpass control at borders. Among such professions are railwaymen, conductors of trains, passenger bus drivers, and workers of enterprises

producing wrappers. Many inhabitants of border areas are also recruited to participate in this criminal business. They can relatively easily orientate themselves at localities, becoming well informed about the regimes of Border Guard and Customs Services' work. For a considerable proportion of local inhabitants at border areas, illegal transboundary operations is almost the sole source of significant income.

The success of drug-trafficking operations often depends on corrupt ties between drug dealers and state officials. Criminals try to penetrate into Border and Customs services, Gosnarkontrol and some structures of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Some officials are sure that smugglers frequently have advance information of operations prepared against them. The grounds for corruption in structures counteracting transboundary drug trafficking is very serious. Firstly, such officials have relatively small salaries while corrupt ties offer possibilities to make a very quick and often very large profits. For instance, an officer letting pass a large amount of narcotics can immediately become the owner of an apartment or a very good car. Secondly, Customs and especially Border Guard services have serious cadre problems: for example, the local structures of the Border Service are recruited from inhabitants from border localities who have many informal connections with their countrymen.

The fight against corruption is often very complicated with the problem of establishing criminal intent in such officials' actions: in many cases the success of a criminal operation relies on a state official to be just inattentive or not enough diligent at a certain moment. That is why his or her actions can be estimated as negligence or administrative violation of law, not resulting in criminal responsibility. At least, a corrupt official may be unaware of the exact nature of a smuggled cargo.

2.2 The Importance of Ethnic Factors

According to a stereotype widely held in both power structures and public opinion, drug dealing is a field in which some ethnic groups, especially Tajiks, Gipsies, Azeris, and Chechens, specialize. Unfortunately, officials often have a friendly, neutral, and even favorable attitude towards the mass media (including state and even departmental ones) that equates these groups with the narcodealers. Such ideas essentially contribute to a decrease in the level of tolerance in Russian society.

This situation requires a thorough and impartial analysis of the importance that ethnic factors have in illicit drug dealing. Unfortunately, having almost no access to the corresponding office files, the author often had to rely on interpreting indirect statistical

information and using trustworthy expert estimations of the structural organization of the drug-trafficking process.

As it will be shown below, the law enforcement structures are only able to discover a paltry share of the demand for hard drugs in Russia. This makes it rather doubtful that the corresponding statistical data on seizure could even be a partially adequate reflection of the structure of drug dealing. This information can mirror, on the one hand, the more successful activity of police and security agencies against some criminal groups including the mono-ethnic groupings, and, on the other hand, greater lenience of some drug-trafficking mechanisms in respect to others. The representatives of «visible» ethnic minorities from Central Asia evidently attract more attention during customs and other inspections. It thus seems very probable that attempts at smuggling by representatives of such groups are discovered more frequently than similar attempts made by persons having an «European appearance».

If the assumption that the statistical data on drug-related seizures is a partial reflection of the real structure of drug dealing, then rather contradictory conclusions can be reached. At first sight, the analysis allows us to assert that Russian citizens, in the majority ethnic Russians, rank first in terms of numbers of seizures, Ukrainians rank second, and citizens of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan rank below these two. This correlation is regularly reflected in the annual reports of Federal Customs Service [Tamozhnya 2004] and reports of other agencies. Such statistical information doesn't show however, the importance of ethnic factor in the trafficking of heroin which is the most dangerous hard drug. It should be also taken into account that a significant part of drug-related arrests is provided by small scale retailers (including many consumers) and drug addicts themselves who were detained for possession of too large doses. Therefore, an analysis of the ethnic structure of drug-related arrests does not provide a reliable indication of the composition of transboundary drug-trafficking criminal groups.

Despite these shortcomings, event analysis of Internet news items concerning seizures at the Russia-Kazakhstan border gives some idea on the structure of drug smuggling.¹¹ In almost 60% of cases the traffickers were citizens of Russia or

¹¹ The analysis was carried out by Sergey Golunov, Yana Denissova, and Liudmila Reshetnikova within research projects «Drug Trafficking as a Challenge for Russia-Kazakhstan Border Security» and «Transboundary Crime through Russia's Borders with Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Kazakhstan: Social and Political Effects». These projects were co-ordinated by the Center of Regional and Transboundary Studies of Volgograd State University in 2004-2005 and supported by the Transnational Crime and Corruption Center (American University, Washington, D.C., USA) and were headed by the author.

Kazakhstan but in the majority of these cases they were trying to smuggle cannabis. At the same time, almost all the smugglers from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan as well as the majority of Kyrgyzstani smugglers were detained for trafficking of opiates. Tajikistan ranked first by the citizenship of persons arrested for trafficking of heroin and raw opium, Russia, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan were second, third and fourth respectively. An attempt to analyse the ethnic structure of these arrests raises the possibility that the number of Russians and representatives of other «European» ethnic groups detained is comparable to the number of Tajiks, Uzbeks, and other «ethnic Central Asians».

The statistical information on drug-related crimes committed in Kazakhstan in 2004 can be also interpreted in different ways. The citizens of Kazakhstan committed 94,5 % of such crimes while the citizens of Russia 2,5%, of Kyrgyzstan 1,8%, Uzbekistan 1%, and Tajikistan only 0,3%. The structure of confiscations made was similar: 96% was of cannabis drugs and only 4% (including 2% of heroin and 2% of raw opium) was of opiates. Of course, this doesn't imply any direct connection between the analyzed two groups of indices, but such a correlation makes it statistically improbable that the contribution of Central Asian ethnic minorities to the trafficking of hard drugs is less than the contribution of Russian citizens and «European» ethnic groups.

A contrary assertion can be easily placed in serious question by analyzing qualitative information on seizures of extremely large quantities of heroin. At present, Border Guard and Customs services are able to discover approximately 1 ton per year while all law enforcement structures discover roughly 4 tons. In the above mentioned case of the official from the Russian Foreign Ministry attempting to smuggle 360 kg of heroin in a car with a diplomatic license plate, such a volume represents one third of all the drugs seized at all national borders, and one tenth of the drugs discovered by all Russian law enforcement structures combined, and, as mentioned earlier, evidently larger share of narcotics are confiscated from ethnic migrants. The Russian post-Soviet borders, including the Russia-Kazakhstan boundary, are crossed by millions of people, motor vehicles and thousands of trains. It is highly likely that tens of extremely large amounts of drugs are successfully smuggled by groups with very different ethnic compositions. If this assessment is correct, then monoethnic criminal groups are just the tip of the iceberg.

If the statistical data on drug seizures does not support any definite conclusions on the role of Central Asian ethnic criminal groupings in smuggling of hard drugs to Russia, do the organizational mechanisms for drug-trafficking allow for such

conclusions? As mentioned, the structure of drug dealing includes the production, trafficking to wholesale markets, and retail, being dividing into numerous constituents. Both inter-related and independent criminal groups of different scales operate at the each of these stages. A part of them is mono-ethnic while another one is inter-ethnic. A situation whereby different stages of the drug trafficking process are controlled by various groupings of both kinds is rather typical.

Ironically, the stereotype which is widespread in Estonia is that the issues of narcomania and drug dealing are predominantly Russian. This takes into account the fact that the majority of drug addicts live in Ida-Virumaa district where the share of ethnic Russians is especially high. This example demonstrates that the attempt to represent drug dealing as a traditional occupation of some ethnic minorities can easily act as a boomerang.

Taking into account the poly natured structure of drug dealing in which elements often compete to supply illegal wholesale or consumer markets, weakening one kind of group should almost inevitably (due to the superprofitability of the business) result in the substitution of weaker units by more viable ones.

It appears that the introduction of a visa regime for citizens of Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan can only have a short-term positive effect for Russian security although in the beginning this effect may appear significant. As the U.S. Experience showed, toughening policy towards remote South American countries who were the producers of cocaine resulted in a reinforcement of the drug cartels in neighboring Mexico. Hence, a flexible and pluralistic structure of drug-trafficking can respond to similar toughening of Russian policy making Kazakhstan the key intermediate center.

The effectiveness of trafficking mechanisms can be restored very quickly while ethnically Russian drug mafia will use the opportunity to get rid of some competitors and strengthen its lobbyist influence on Russian power structures. The accusation of an ethnic group in drug dealing logically means that, at least more than a half of this group participates in this process, especially at the stages of wholesale delivery and/or retail. The estimated capacity of the heroin market is about 150-300 tons a year while the supposed number of migrants from Tajikistan to Russia is 600-800 thousand per

annum.¹² If a half of Tajik migrants would supply 100 tons of heroin to Russian illegal market, each of them should smuggle 250-300 gram as a minimum. It is difficult to suppose that such a concentrated accumulation of narcotics transported by large crowds, certainly already regarded as risk group by law enforcement structures would remain undiscovered. It indirectly means that only a minority of Tajik migrants participate in drug-trafficking to Russia. The number of representatives of other visible ethnic minorities such as Uzbeks, Azeris, Chechens, Gypsies arrested for smuggling, is significantly smaller suggesting that there is little ground to associate any ethnic group with drug dealing.

According to representatives of law enforcement, certain schemes which are used by organized criminal groups belie the idea of the mono-ethnic character of drug trafficking. In many cases the traffic supposedly is divided into several stages: at the end of each one the illicit cargo is loaded to another vehicle having a new driver who pays off the previous courier [Golunov et. al.:27-28]. In this case the Russia-Kazakhstan border is crossed by a vehicle having Kazakhstani, or (that is better) Russian license plate and then driven by a citizen of Russia or Kazakhstan; otherwise, such a vehicle will attract increased attention at almost every road police post. The flexibility of drug traffickers, who can be familiar with regulations of border regime and can change from routes that are more risky, are frequently noted by law enforcement officials. But these features imply not only the inter-ethnic character of a criminal organization but also that its 'brain' is not situated in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan or Uzbekistan but in Kazakhstan or Russia itself. If one assumes that these organizations are headed by Tajiks or Central Asian migrants with Russian citizenship, the involvement of other ethnic groups necessarily diminishes the share of Central Asians in the smuggling process. Again, it provides no grounds for making entire ethnic groups responsible.

The statements of some experts from law enforcement agencies also introduces another conclusion. According to these statements, in many Russian provinces (including the regions bordering with Kazakhstan) there are no criminal groups specializing only in trading opiates.¹³ But this many-sided specialization assumes a

¹² Appraisal of the First Deputy of Russian Federal Migration Service I. Yunash from his statement at the meeting with journalists from CIS countries in September of 2004. See: [Tajikistan National Informational Agency, 2004].

¹³ For example, this opinion was expressed by the Head of Orenburg province Branch of Gosnarkokontrol interviewed by the author on 30 September 2004.

capability to penetrate different fields that can be easier achieved easier if the composition of such groups is multi-ethnic.

In many respects the grounds for ethnic criminal groups involved in drug trafficking undoubtedly exists and grows due to marginal status of many migrants to Russia. During a long time they have to pass through numerous and humiliating bureaucratic procedures often involving extortion. Many migrants are unable to meet all the legal requirements and this is very profitable for some law enforcement officials who systematically take advantage, all the while, stressing their importance as a «shield against the rush of aliens». In these circumstances migrants often have to rally around influential people having money and important social ties, but these people (including representatives of regional ethno-cultural organizations' leadership) are often involved in drug dealing and co-ordinate trafficking. It provides representatives of law enforcement agencies an additional cause to allege that some ethnic groups specialize in drug-trafficking. This argument, however, is based on no more correct premises than the previous one.

3 Ways of Problem Solving

Within the international arena, there are three main ways to struggle with narco-trafficking and its consequences:

- restriction measures including strengthening of border and customs control;
- demand reduction programs (social advertising, health protection, active policy towards the youth);
- harm reduction (prevention of overdoses, AIDS, and other diseases directly or indirectly caused by narcomania; social protection of drug addicts etc.) that means control over consumption of drugs
- limited legalization of some drugs.

To all appearances, it is just the first variant with the stress on the necessity of “hard-edged struggle against drug-trafficking” which has been chosen in Russia. This strategy is apparently the most popular both in power structures and in public opinion. The complex of concrete measures includes strengthening of technical and organizational potential of force structures, the development of informational databases, equipping of border checkpoints, and the establishment of new cynological centers. These activities require essential increase of funding that is sometimes achieved at the expense of other important spheres (education, health, support of activities of children

and the youth) that have a direct or indirect importance in the struggle against narcomania.

The increasing support for a “restriction policy” has brought some fruits reflected in the essential growth of statistical indices concerning the numbers of arrests and the volume of seized drugs. Trying to prove that increasing financial and other support could bring about more serious results, advocates frequently refer to the US experience that organizes expensive operations which result in seizures of impressive volumes of cocaine and other illicit drugs.

However, the effectiveness of restriction policies both in Russia and in many other countries (not excluding the USA) is often low compared to their financing. Even when they are sharply increased, they rarely bring a commensurable reduction in supply. International experience shows that as a rule law enforcement agencies are able to seize no more than 10% of supplied illicit drugs yet only a confiscation rate of 70%, can significantly undermine the profitability of the narco-business.

An approximate evaluation of the effectiveness of Russian law enforcement agencies leads to an even less optimistic conclusion. Basing on very moderate expert estimations and assuming that an average Russian heroin addict, the total number of which is 1 million, consumes 0,5 g. daily, the demand for heroin in Russia is more than 180 tons annually. As mentioned earlier, the South East Branch of the Federal Border Guard Service seized an average of 500 kg per year during its entire existence. In 2003, the Federal Customs Service confiscated 488 kg of heroin [Federal Customs Service 2004a], in 2004 more than 680 kg [Federal Customs Service 2004]. This means that the total volume of heroin confiscated annually by the Russian Border Guard and Customs services is less than 1 % of the market demand. It is also evidently less than the volume of seizures in Tajikistan where in 2004 4794,1 kg of heroin (it is a share equivalent to 2.6% of the mentioned demand) was seized [The Review of Central Asia 2005]. The total volume of heroin confiscated by all law enforcement agencies at Russian borders and inside the country in 2001-2003 did not exceed 1 ton annually. In 2004 it was 3,897 ton while in 2005 – more than. Additionally, 2058 kg of raw opium (from which 200 kg of heroin can be produced) was seized in 2004 [Tendentsii 2005: 8, 19].

These figures mean that law enforcement agencies are currently able to seize no more that 2,5% of the volume demanded by the Russian heroin market and that this is slightly less than the volume of heroin confiscated in Tajikistan. It raises serious doubts

about the adequacy of the current national anti-narcotic policy whereby the main financial and organizational resources are concentrated in the hands of the police and militarized structures. By similar reasoning the idea that the withdrawal of Russian troops from Tajikistan will have catastrophic consequences for national security, only partially prevented by the closure of the Russia-Kazakhstan border is also not the case (see the final section «7 myths»).

It seems that one of the main weaknesses of the restrictive strategy is its reliance on security and police agencies. It has an excessive administrative staff machinery and numerous armies of low-paid employees but it is ill equipped for fighting drug-trafficking. In May 2004, President Vladimir Putin admitted that about 40 000 personnel in Russia are directly involved in this field while in the USA the corresponding number is about 10 000 [Rodnaya gazeta 2004: 6]. In the same year, it became known that up to 80 percent of financial resources and staff of certain Border Guard regional branches were concentrated in their managing departments [Krasnaya zvezda 2004]. Such structures are very vulnerable against corruption: proposed bribes can be hundred times greater than salaries.

As both Russian and U.S. experience shows, an intolerant repressive policy can promote the strengthening of ties between drug addicts and criminal communities, increasing death rates due to overdoses and infection diseases and worsening inter-ethnic relations. In Russia and the USA, repressive measures are often directed mainly towards representatives of ethnic minorities. Even such apparently positive consequences of the restrictive policy, such as an increase in prices for hard drugs can have unfavorable spin-offs including sudden jumps in the rate of street crimes (as addicts need larger amounts of money) and the number of deaths caused by cheaper but lower quality narcotics.

The main alternative to the restrictive policy is to reduce demand focusing on health protection, youth policy, social advertising, and other such measures. This assumes the active involvement of non-governmental structures such as anti-narcotic foundations, sport clubs, religious organizations. The psychological ground for demand reduction is to support important social aims which divert young people away from drugs or create powerful stimuli for surpassing drug addiction.

Unfortunately, the effectiveness of many officially supported anti-narcotic programs is low, frequently taking the form of Soviet style agitation which is conducted by bureaucrats with few relevant qualifications. This agitation often only provokes interests

in drugs amongst teenagers. But even those effective demand reduction measures are usually under financed. For example, in Orenburg oblast, they were funded only by 12 percent for 2003 and by 6 percent for the first half of 2004.

The new Federal Program “Complex Measures for Counteraction to Drug Abuse and their Illicit Circulation” adopted in September 2005 [Federal'naya Tselevaya programma 2005] can be regarded as demonstrating some shift towards demand reduction. The Program has a very ambitious aim to diminish the number of drug addicts in Russia by 20 percent while the estimated volume of confiscated drugs should be increased from 8,9 to 10,7 percent. The Program's budget of \$ 108,2 million is to be distributed among Gosnarkokontrol (41 percent), the Ministry of Health and Social Development (12 percent), the Agency “Rospechat” (8 percent), the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Education (7 percent for each one), the Federal Security Service, the Ministry of Agriculture and Federal Sport, Physical Culture Agency (4 percent for each one), the Customs Service (0,6 percent), and other agencies. It should be noted that since 2006 the greater share of funds allocated to Gosnarkokontrol will be spent for social advertising and other forms of propaganda. Around \$ 107,8 million of these funds is destined for direct distribution among NGO's. As the Program aims for the “creation of the unified system of positive moral values determining the negative attitude towards illicit drug consumption”, it seems, however, that many of its actions may well take the shape of another centralized Soviet style agitation without serious effect.

The main problem is that the budget is too small to achieve the targeted aims. At the same time, the financing of anti-narcotic agencies in 2006, according to the national budget's project, is 14 times (of these structures' management alone - “only” 2,1 times) as big as the funds allocated for this Program for the same period. On the other hand, if the complex of mainly social measures aiming to diminish drug addiction by 20 percent has the four-year funding of \$ 107,8 million, the need in state antinarcotics bodies, for a budget of \$ 299,2 million for 2006 only is rather doubtful [Prilozheniye 8 2005]. Taking into account the huge share of expenses for national security in 2006, this program cannot be regarded as a crucial turn from a restriction towards a demand reduction based strategy. The importance of harm reduction as a strategy against narcomania and drug-related crime in Russia is not only underestimated but also often perceived by officials and public opinion as indirect encouraging of consumption. Such a distorted perception (of course, for a healthy person a possibility to get gratuitous treatment is not a very powerful stimulus to fall sick), combined with a widespread contemptuous

attitude towards addicts, impedes any serious estimation of the advantages of this strategy. In the Netherlands, this approach is considered as important an element of national drug control policy as demand reduction [Synthetic Drug Trafficking 2003: 74].

Although, the restrictive approach can often force addicts towards organized crime, effective social and medical supports can make a part of this huge army loyal or, at least, neutral in fight between the state and drug mafia. It is also important that harm reduction measures can diminish the number of deaths caused by overdoses, infections by AIDS and hepatitis. No wonder that in the Netherlands this number is less than the number of deaths from alcohol and tobacco consumption. On the whole, the effectiveness of restrictive measures by Russian law enforcement is paltry in comparison to the levels of hard drugs consumption.

Taking into account the problems caused geography and other factors, there are no serious grounds to believe that the effectiveness of the current restrictive approach will increase. Within the national anti-narcotic policy the main stress should be on social measures, including demand reduction and harm reduction programs.

4 Conclusions

7 myths

Myth 1. Narcomania is an epidemic spreading throughout Russia and the country is verging on catastrophe. In order to stop this, extreme measures, such as granting extraordinary powers to the police and militarized structures, are required.

By the estimations of the UNO experts, in recent years the level of hard drugs consumption has stabilized (2005 World Drug Report: 59). The damage caused by narcomania is great for Russia but it is commensurable with the similar detriment of alcoholism or tobacco smoking. This suggests that these problems should not have such different priorities at the national level. Additionally, the exaggerated estimations of the scale of narcomania in Russia call into question whether the law enforcement and security agencies have or will have in the future any real efficiency in combating narco-trafficking. If we agree that the number of drug addicts in Russia can be up to 6 million (the maximal figure provided by high-ranking officials) the majority of which (2/3 or even more) are addicted to heroin, this means that only approximately 0,2% of total

Russian market is seized at the national borders and if all the law enforcement structures taken together, then the figure rises to just 0,6%.

Myth 2. The level of drug consumption is the highest in those regions and cities situated near problem borders or at trafficking routes.

Actually, consumption is highest in the regions and major cities where purchasing capacity is high and social mobility is low. The latter feeds the sense of hopelessness among broad groups of population (e.g.miners). It seems that approximately there are 20 major cities where about 50% or more of drug-related activities can be found.

Myth 3. To defeat drug-trafficking, Russia should close its borders with the Asian countries of the CIS.

As mentioned, if border officials seize only 0,5-1% per year of the demand of Russian illegal market, an increase in the number of heroin addicts' makes this share even less favorable. A decrease in numbers of addicts diminishes the importance of transboundary drug-trafficking issue for Russian national security. It should be taken into account that, even according to official estimations, the largest share of drugs are brought into Russia through existing checkpoints. The majority of these are controlled not much better than the space between them. To achieve effective control of other post-Soviet boundaries would mean not only barrierization of this space but also the re-equipment of checkpoints and higher salaries for the enlarged staff of border guards and customs officials. Taking into account the huge length of Russian borders, these measures could become an excessive burden for the Russian budget. Any softer decision will not allow any significant increase in the share of seized hard drugs.

Myth 4. Some ethnic minorities, especially Tajiks, specialize in drug-trafficking.

Only a minority of Central Asian migrants, including Tajiks, are involved in the supply of illicit drugs to Russian market. Their numbers are insufficient to satisfy the demand of this market which would require every migrant to carry 0,15 kg (the fewer the numbers involved the more the drugs will have to be re-distributed among the rest). Such a high concentration of heroin in such migratory flows, which are already considered as higher risk groups, would be highly unlikely to remain undiscovered.

Besides, even several successful smuggling of large quantities (attempts at 250-360 kg are already known) can easily outweigh the total annual volume of confiscations from Central Asian migrants. It is known that the traffic of such quantities is organized by representatives of different nationalities and ethnic groups. As for cannabis drugs,

the statistical information on seizures cogently shows that ethnic minorities do not have a crucial importance in trafficking.

Myth 5. A typical drug addict is a natural ally of drug mafia.

Well-considered social policy, including harm reduction programs can noticeably reduce the dependence of addicts on illegal supplies as well as reduce incentives to earn money by criminal ways.

Myth 6. Russia should use, at first, the experience of countries (USA, Iran, China etc.) that rely on rigid restriction measures.

Most of these countries have far less lengthy problem borders. It's no wonder that the restrictive policies of such countries are far more effective than Russia, although no country has been able to stop the increase of supply and consumption of drugs by restriction measures alone.

Myth 7. Police and militarized structures should be at the head of the struggle against narcomania in the Russian Federation.

According to moderate experts, the combined law enforcement agencies are able to seize slightly more of 2% heroin demanded by Russian illicit market. An increase in the number of heroin addicts will reduce this share for law enforcement agencies while a decrease in numbers raises doubts whether extraordinary measures are required to counteract heroin traffic from Afghanistan through Central Asia. Taking this into account means that the mentioned structures have no sufficient ground to claim leadership in national anti-narcotic policy. In addition, it should be noted that a rigid restriction policy divorced from well-considered social measures (migration, youth policy, medical etc.) can worsen inter-ethnic relations, lead to periodical jumps in the rate of street crime, increase the spread of AIDS and infectious hepatitis even beyond the environment of addicts, increase death rates from overdoses, and rally drug addicts and some other socially marginal groups (e.g. ethnic migrants) to the criminal communities.

5 Recommendations

5.1 For Executive Power (Government, President Administration etc.):

1) Taking into account the low effectiveness of restriction measures, Russian anti-narcotic policy should take into account the experience of EU and other countries and be re-orientated to stress demand and harm reduction and. It should be carried out by competent people and coordinated by the Ministry of Health and Social Development. It is necessary to re-distribute the proportion of funding from power unit of anti-narcotic policy (in which now the overwhelming share of resources is concentrated) to the social one. It will also be necessary to establish transparent independent monitoring to enable better estimations of the real state of affairs concerning narcomania.

2) The role of restrictive policy, including border security, should be an auxiliary one, based on real objectives such as the creation of maximal obstacles to functioning of large-scale trafficking.

3) The functions of the State Agency for the Control over Drugs and Psychotropic Substances should not be “everything related to the issue of illicit drugs” but towards strategic planning, better coordination of governmental bodies' activities and supervision over these activities in order to increase effectiveness and fight drug-related corruption.

4) Instead of creating a security belt in the Russia-Kazakhstan borderland it would be better to focus on pilot projects for roughly 10 regions and/or the 20 major cities most affected by narco-mania. Within such a project the main stress should be demand reduction (especially as regards youth policy), harm reduction (in order to decrease the dependence of drug addicts on organized crime), undermining the economic mechanisms of drug-related crime, experiments on structural reforms of law enforcement bodies and on law application practice.

5) Within the supply reduction unit of the national anti-narcotic policy the highest priority should be on supporting customs bodies.

6) The key condition for effective law enforcement measures lies in close cooperation between corresponding agencies of Russia and Kazakhstan. Within these co-financed programs, those that would complicate the functioning of the main trafficking routes and the illegal wholesale markets in Kazakhstan, should have the

highest priority. A unification of standards and priorities within national anti-narcotic policies can contribute essentially to the effectiveness of joint measures.

5.1 For Customs and Border Guard Services

1) The highest priority should be technical and organizational improvement of control at multilateral checkpoints at the Russia-Kazakhstan border and a struggle against corruption in Customs service. As a first step, these checkpoints should get modern equipment for scanning cargo and for thorough inspection of people (especially citizens of third countries) crossing this border.

2) Transboundary passenger trains from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan are badly inspected. Three or four railway stations could be constructed at the Russia-Kazakh border or on Kazakhstan's southern boundaries, where all passengers would be obliged to pass through strict controls including a change of trains. This could create serious obstacles for small and middle-scale trafficking groups and reduce the criminal constituent of Central Asian migration.

3) Wage increases together with a toughening of personnel selection and service requirements would be the main directions in the struggle against corruption.

5.3 For Law Enforcement Structures

Taking into account the Dutch experience, the idea of differentiating criminal responsibility for dissemination of hard and soft drugs deserves serious consideration. Perhaps, this idea can be tested within law application practice at the local level. Such measures and other indirect means of regulation can stimulate criminal groups to redirect themselves from traffic of heroin and other hard drugs to other lower risk or less socially harmful activities.

5.4 For Federal Migration Agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs

In order to diminish the role of the ethnic factor in drug-related transboundary organized crime, there should be strict border control in combination with benevolent attitude to law abiding migrants. This would be aimed at preventing their marginalization and involve easing of the registration process and help in job placement. These actions would be coupled with the creation of an all-national database on “undesirable migrants”.

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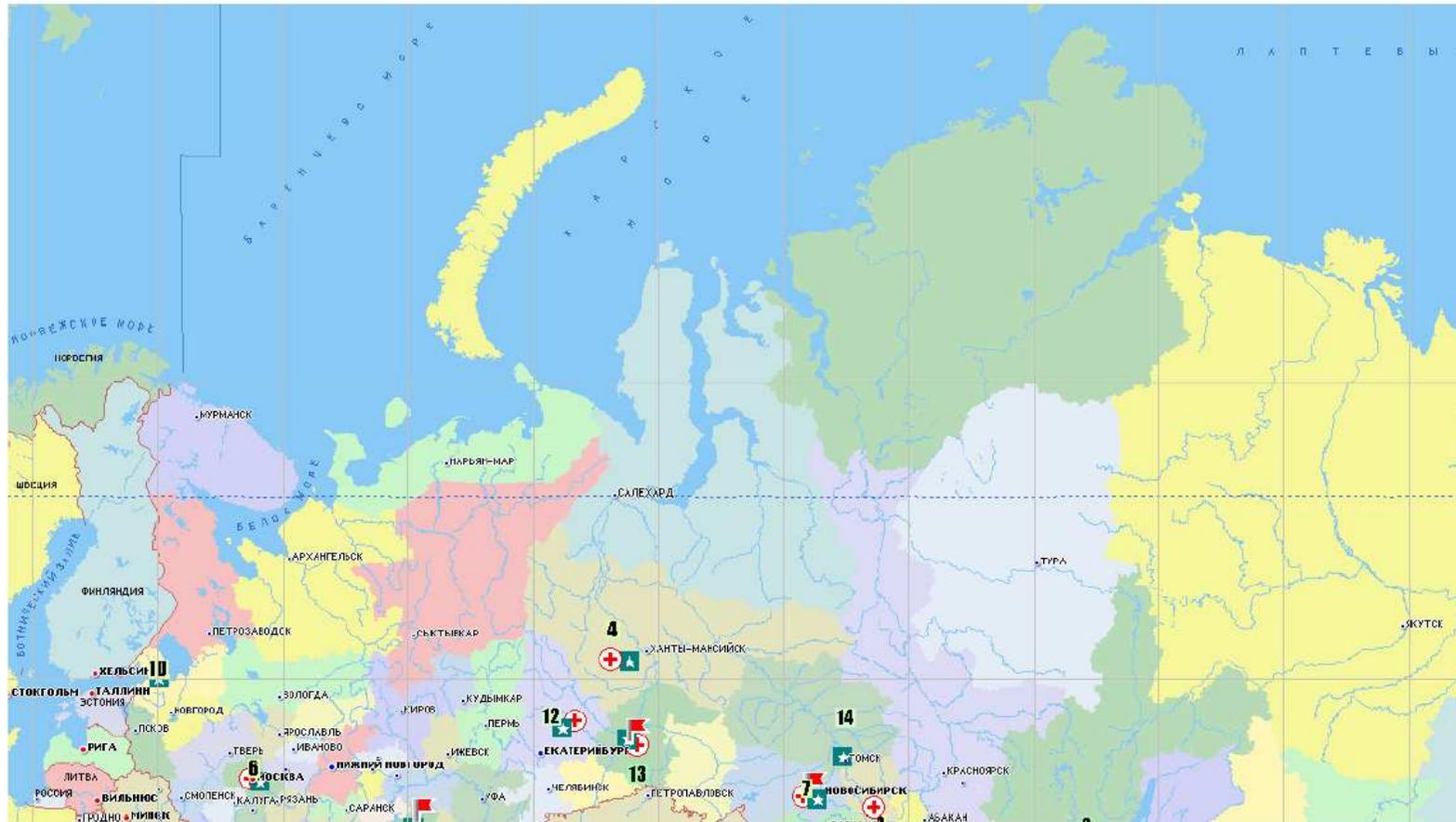
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Appendix 1

Geography of narcotics consumption and drug-related crimes in Russian regions (1999-2004)



Symbolic Notations



Regions distinguished by the greatest numbers of officially registered drug addicts



Regions distinguished by the greatest numbers of officially registered drug-related crimes



Regions distinguished by both absolute and relative indices of officially registered drug addicts and drug-related crimes

Regions marked by figures:

1 – Altai krai; 2 – Irkutsk province, 3 – Kemerovo province, 4 – Khanty-Mansiysky Autonomous District, 5 – Krasnodar krai, 6 – the city of Moscow, 7 – Novosibirsk province, 8 – Primorsky krai, 9 – Rostov province, 10 – the city of St. Petersburg, 11 – Samara province, 12 – Sverdlovsk province, 13 – Tiumen province, 14 – Tomsk province.

<i>Provinces</i>	<i>Rank in Russia by the number of officially registered drug-addicts in Russia/ Rank by the share of officially registered drug-addicts per 100 000 inhabitants</i>						<i>Rank in Russia by the number of officially registered drug-related crimes / Rank by the share of officially registered drug-related crimes per 100 000 inhabitants</i>					
	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
District												
Irkutsk province	9/7	-/6	6/5	6/7	6/6	7/6						10/-
Kemerovo province	5/3	5/4	5/3	5/4	5/4	5/6		10/-	10/-	10/-	8/-	
Novosibirsk* province	10/9	9/10	8/8	9/9	8/8	8/8	8/5	7/-	5/2	6/7	7/8	6/10
Omsk Province									-/9		-/9	
Tomsk province	-/1	-/3	-/2	-/3	-/3	-/3	-/6	-/7		-/10	-/5	
<i>Far East</i>												
Primorsky krai*	-/8	-/8	10/6	-/5	10/5	10/4	9/3	-/6	9/3	5/1	5/1	9/6
Khabarovsk krai							-/4	-/4	-/5	-/2	-/4	-/7
Amur province							-/10			-/5	-/6	-/5
Magadan province												-/8

*The information concerning regions especially distinguished by both absolute and relative indices in 1999-2004 is marked by the bold font.