

“Censorship in Russia is a state-sponsored process of control and punishment. The Kremlin and its local proxies use this system to repress the media, ensure the delivery of state propaganda, and promote views favorable to the government. Journalists who dare to question the official line are subject to brutal forms of censorship, including criminal prosecution, physical harassment, torture, and even death.

Nowhere is the heavy hand of the Kremlin more visible than in the North Caucasus, where the Russian government seeks to stifle separatist conflicts and silence independent journalists in the name of its “war on terror.” In the absence of a conflict resolution policy, the region is left to the mercy of the *eskadrony smerti* (death squadrons) and secret police, at whose hands journalists and others face the ever-present threat of intimidation, abduction, and execution.



To address this situation, foreign governments must urge Russia to recognize press freedom as a fundamental policy priority and support the European Court of Human Rights’ call for changes in Russia’s political and legal arrangements. Nongovernmental organizations should provide resources to journalists at risk; demand free access for international media in the region; and call on Russia to uphold its international commitments. The world should not turn a blind eye as Russia wages its campaign of repression against the people of the North Caucasus. ”

— Fatima Tlisova, Tuesday, June 15, 2010



BRUTAL CENSORSHIP:

Targeting Journalists in the North Caucasus

Fatima Tlisova

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow

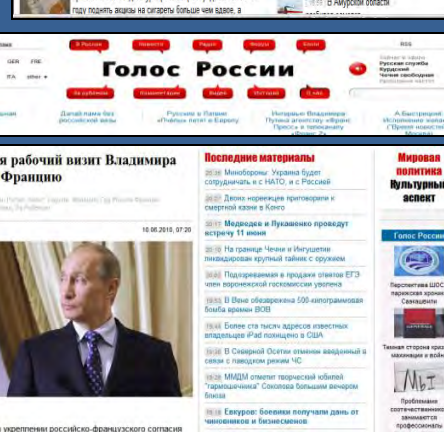
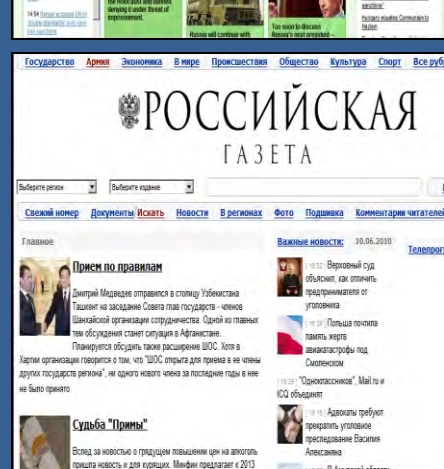
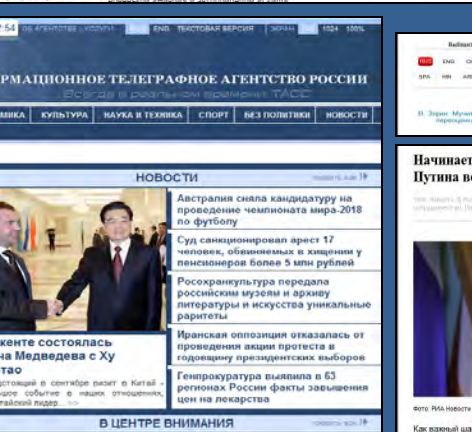
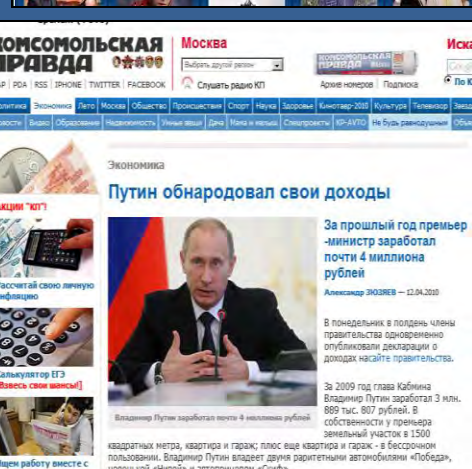
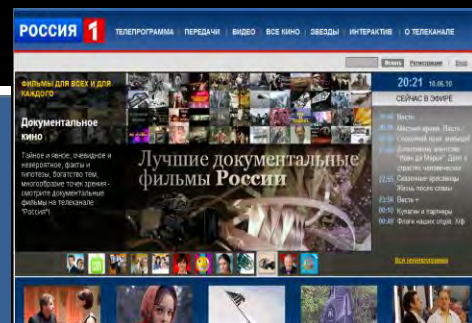
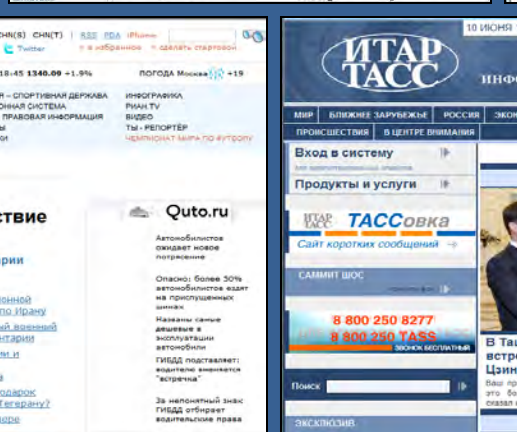
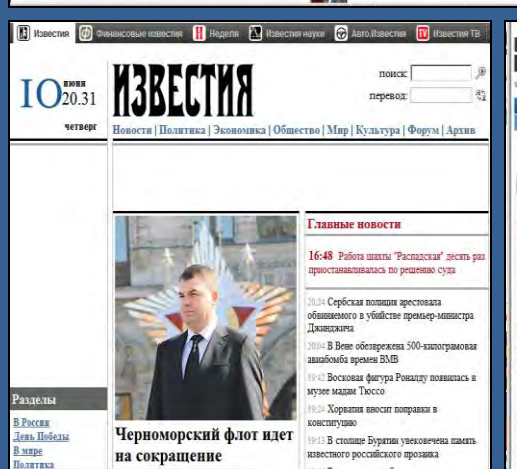
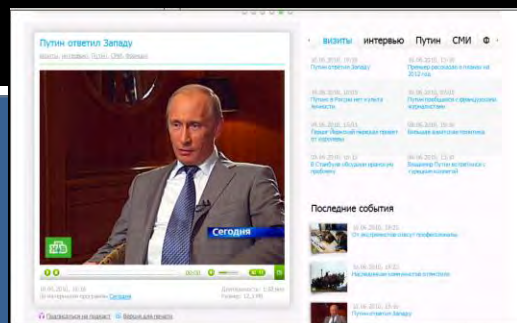
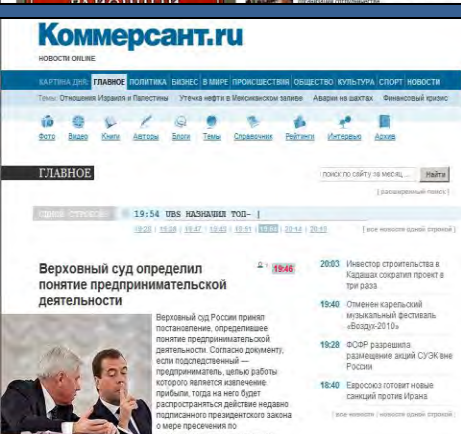
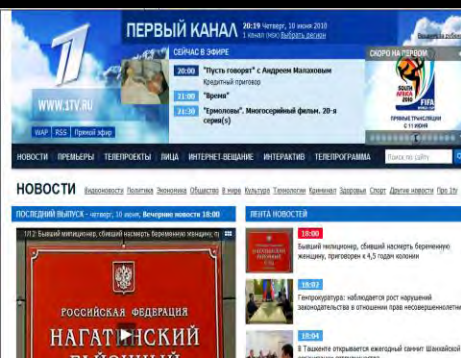
June 15, 2010

The views expressed in this presentation represent the analysis and opinions of the speaker and do not necessarily reflect those of the National Endowment for Democracy or its staff.

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- VI. Policy Recommendations

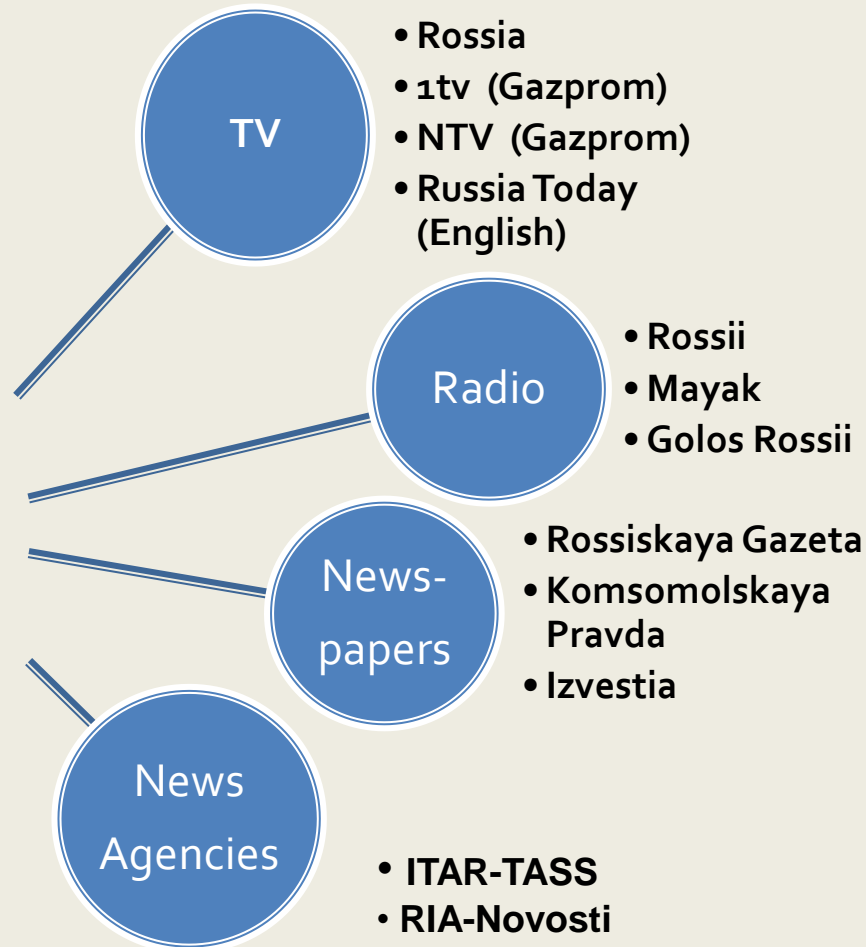
I. Media in Russia



Media Ownership in Russia

State-owned Media Coverage:

98.5% of Russia, former USSR,
over 200 countries worldwide



ОБЩЕСТВЕННО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЙ СЖИГЕЛЬЩИК

П
Черновик

Человек. 10.06.2010. 21:43:15

НОВОСТИ РУБРИКИ

04.06.2010
«Свободный Рубрикает»
Прогрессисты республике
привели программу исполнения
заказа «О Билетике 18 на 2010 и
на плановый период 2011 и
2012».

04.06.2010
«Билетик» на контроле
Здание неказенного построения в г.
Наказанная публикация новая
закрепление после публикации в
«Наша страна» обнародован...

04.06.2010
«Билетик» на контроле
Здание неказенного построения в г.
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Наказанная публикация новая
закрепление после публикации в
«Наша страна» обнародован...

Газета- первый черновик истории [Филипп Грам]

Республика | ЧК | Monothero | Доска объя | Средний класс |
Nota bene | Литература | **Новости** | PRO-Sport | Уильям СМ1 | Политика
| Форум

АРХИВ №1 от 04.06.2010

Ссылка
на
газетовики

«Что может газета Мачишвили от указанного направления статьи:
«Мачишвили» «Мачишвили»
(Прогнозирование 400 лет)»


Новости

[Обстрел «Аташки» и «Хадиката »]

в рубрике

Прессинг на людей в республике усилился вследствие события
криминального характера. Среди них убийство двух милиционеров, новое
соединение ФСС и МВД в несколько обстрелов двух магазинов и одного кафе.

В ночь на 19 июня сотрудники ФСС Дагестана совместно с коллегами из МВД
попытались остановить надвигающуюся в разрабате «Кавказ». В этот момент люди,



АЛАНЯ

ГОСУДАРСТВЕННАЯ
ТЕЛЕРАДИОКОМПАНИЯ

- Видеофильм
- После в эфире

[Главная](#)
[Новости](#)
[Лайфстайл](#)
[ТВ](#)
[Радио](#)
[Программа передач](#)
[ГТРК](#)
[Реклама](#)
[Теле новости](#)
[Форум](#)

Главные новости

Три поврежденных моста в селении Кларского района, пострадавшего от разлива реки, отремонтированы. Пресс-служба Центральноевропейского телевидения-Азербайджан.

Подробнее...

- Азербайджанский район восстановительных работ разругал слепых
- МЧС Соединенных Штатов объявляет конкурс на разработку беспилотных летательных аппаратов
- Политический Синод

Актрисы

СОБЫТИЯ НЕДЕЛИ

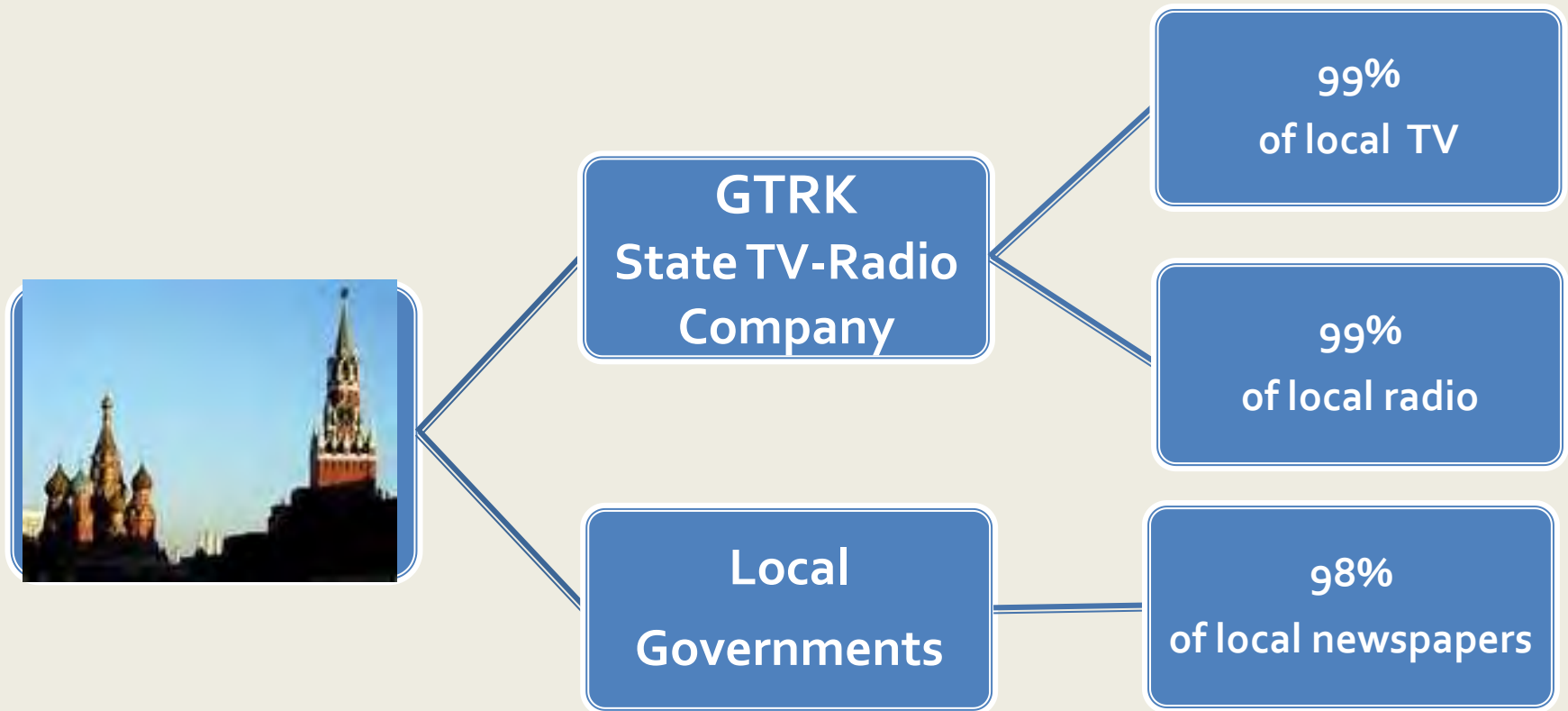
ВЕСТИ

АЛАНЯ

с Тимуром Курбановым

[illegible]

Media Ownership in the North Caucasus



Independent Media Covering the North Caucasus

Новая газета СБОР ПОДПИСЕЙ В ЗАЩИТУ ПРЕСЛЕДУЕМЫХ УЧЕНЫХ

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЯ / КИОСКИ / ПОДПИСКА / РЕДАКЦИЯ / ФОРУМ / ГОЛОСОВАНИЯ / БЛОГ / ОБРАТНАЯ СВЯЗЬ / ОН-ЛАЙН КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ / РЕКЛАМА

№ 53 от 24 мая 2010 г. The New York Times | Лучшее в «Новой» | EN EN | ВИДЕО | АРХИВ | Custom Search Поиск

ВСЕ НОМЕР | **ПОЛИТИКА** | ЭКОНОМИКА | ОБЩЕСТВО | КУЛЬТУРА | СПОРТ | РАССЛЕДОВАНИЯ | КРИЗИС | ТОЛЬКО НА САЙТЕ

Политика

Мы дадим вам 199% годовых!

Бонусы топ-менеджеров госкомпаний в кризис растут лучше, чем в «тучные годы». Какое щедрое у нас государство...

Не пришлось бы каяться за арифметические погрешности

Вместо того чтобы рассчитывать среднюю арифметическую зарплату по стране, учитывая доходы тысяч топ-менеджеров, — не мешало бы хоть раз рассчитать среднюю медианную зарплату...

Российско-кавказская аномалия

В «теплой Сибири» есть гражданское общество. И поверьте, оно неплохо выглядит

Кавказ всегда был сложным регионом России. Здесь в небольшом пространстве смешались религии, народы и этнотерритории. Здесь социальный протест легко переходит в межэтническое противостояние, а земельный вопрос всегда увязан с национальным. Здесь незатухающее этническое брожение имеет политический привкус. Наконец, здесь религия больше чем вера в Бога. Здесь лежат мины, которые федеральный центр никак не может разминировать. Мины, которые будут взрываться в нужный час. Как ни странно, не от накормленных животных изменится Кавказ, а от идеи, которую ему сможет предложить Россия. Еще никогда она не была так бездарно-беспомощна в кавказской политике, как сегодня.

Жестокий приговор 56-летнему москвичу следует расценивать как предупреждение всем, кто ходит на Триумфальную

В Концертном зале Чайковского состоится благотворительная Акция для детей-инвалидов и сирот «Счастливая звезда»

Кто такие «друзья народа» и как они воюют с современным искусством

Internet Explorer can't display this page. What you can try: Diagnose Connection Problems. More information

Кавказский Узел english Четверг, 10 Июня, 2010 14:48 Войти

РУБРИКИ

- + [Новости](#)
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- + [Аналитика](#)
- + [Энциклопедия](#)
- + [Спецпроекты](#)
- Форум
- Блоги
- + [Адресная книга](#)

ТЕМЫ → [Полка человека](#) / [Политика](#) / [Конфликты](#) / [Общество](#) / [Международные отношения](#) / [Экономика](#) / [Культура](#) / [Преступность](#) / [Терроризм в Москве и на Кавказе](#) / [Природа и экология](#) / [Промышленность](#) / [Туризм](#) / [Полпред Хлопонин](#) / **[Выборы в Грузию](#)**

РЕГИОНЫ → [Абхазия](#) / [Дачария](#) / [Адыгея](#) / [Азербайджан](#) / [Армения](#) / [Астраханская область](#) / [Волгоградская область](#) / [Грузия](#) / [Дагестан](#) / [Ингушетия](#) / [Кабардино-Балкария](#) / [Калмыкия](#) / [Карачаево-Черкесия](#) / [Краснодарский край](#) / [Натолный Кавказ](#) / [Российская Федерация](#) / [Ростовская область](#) / [СКФО](#) / [Северная Осетия](#) / [Алания](#) / [Северный Кавказ](#) / [Ставропольский край](#) / [Чечня](#) / [ЮФО](#) / [Южная Осетия](#)

Северный Кавказ глазами блогеров

В Северной Осетии специалисты уточняют ущерб, причиненный стихийным бедствием

Гаджеты-приложения для удобной работы с «КАВКАЗСКИМ УЗЛОМ»

«КАВКАЗСКИЙ УЗЕЛ» ОБЪЯВИЛ ЧЕТВЕРТЫЙ КОНКУРС ФОТОРАБОТ НА ТЕМУ КАВКАЗА

Новости по регионам

Евросуд обязал Россию выплатить Сапаталиеву

Media in the North Caucasus: A Repressive Environment

- **Accreditation**
 - Local governments use licensing authority to regulate access to information and institutions
- **Self-censorship**
 - Journalists, media outlets self-censor the subjects and extent of reporting
- **Security services use informal authority to regulate journalism**
 - “Official Papers” summons may soon no longer be required
- **Internet Censorship**
 - Many bloggers have mandatory reporting obligations

Media in the North Caucasus: Challenges for Journalists

- **Personal Engagement**

- Ties to family and community make detachment difficult; increased likelihood of traumatization/ PTSD

- **Lack of Opportunities for Professional Growth**

- Low level of professionalism and journalist training
- Opportunities to work in mainstream media very limited
- Those who utilize pseudonyms cannot develop their professional reputation

- **No Life Insurance**

- Parent journalists unable to financially protect family in case of death

Media in the North Caucasus: Challenges for Journalists

■ Insecurity

- Police, courts, and other officials unwilling to protect journalists
- Agents of the “Escadrony Smerti” enjoy almost complete impunity

■ Salary

- Average salary for journalist from the Caucasus = \$200 / mo
- Average salary for journalist from Moscow = \$ 4,000-7,000 / mo

■ Lack of Psychiatric Health Care

- Treatment is stigmatized by community
- 97% of medicines are “fake” according to former Minister of Health Affairs

III. Types of Censorship and Profiles of Journalists

- **Marginalization and Alienation:** Oleg Panfilov
- **Internet Censorship:** Remote Control Over the RU-Net
- **Judicial Harassment:** Elena Maglevannaya
- **Criminal Prosecution:** Valery Dzutsev
- **Enlistment:** Zurab Markhiev
- **Execution:** Natalia Estemirova and Magomed Evloev

Brutal Censorship: My Story

- 1998:** Attacked, along with TV crew, by unidentified assailants
- 1998-2002:** Won 3 civil cases against officials accusing me of libel
- 2004:** Faced allegations of illegal possession of pension. After I investigated & published article about my case, it was dismissed.
- 2005:** Abducted by the FSB, beaten, cigarettes burned on fingers
- 2004-2007:** Detained five times with no legal explanations
- 2006:** Diagnosed with kidney failure as a result of intoxication
- 2007:** Emigrated to the USA

Marginalization and Alienation

“At the beginning, they forbid one from talking; then they forbid them from demonstrating; then they put pressure on one’s relatives; then they take away one’s business; then in the end they kill them.”

—January 2010

OLEG PANFILOV

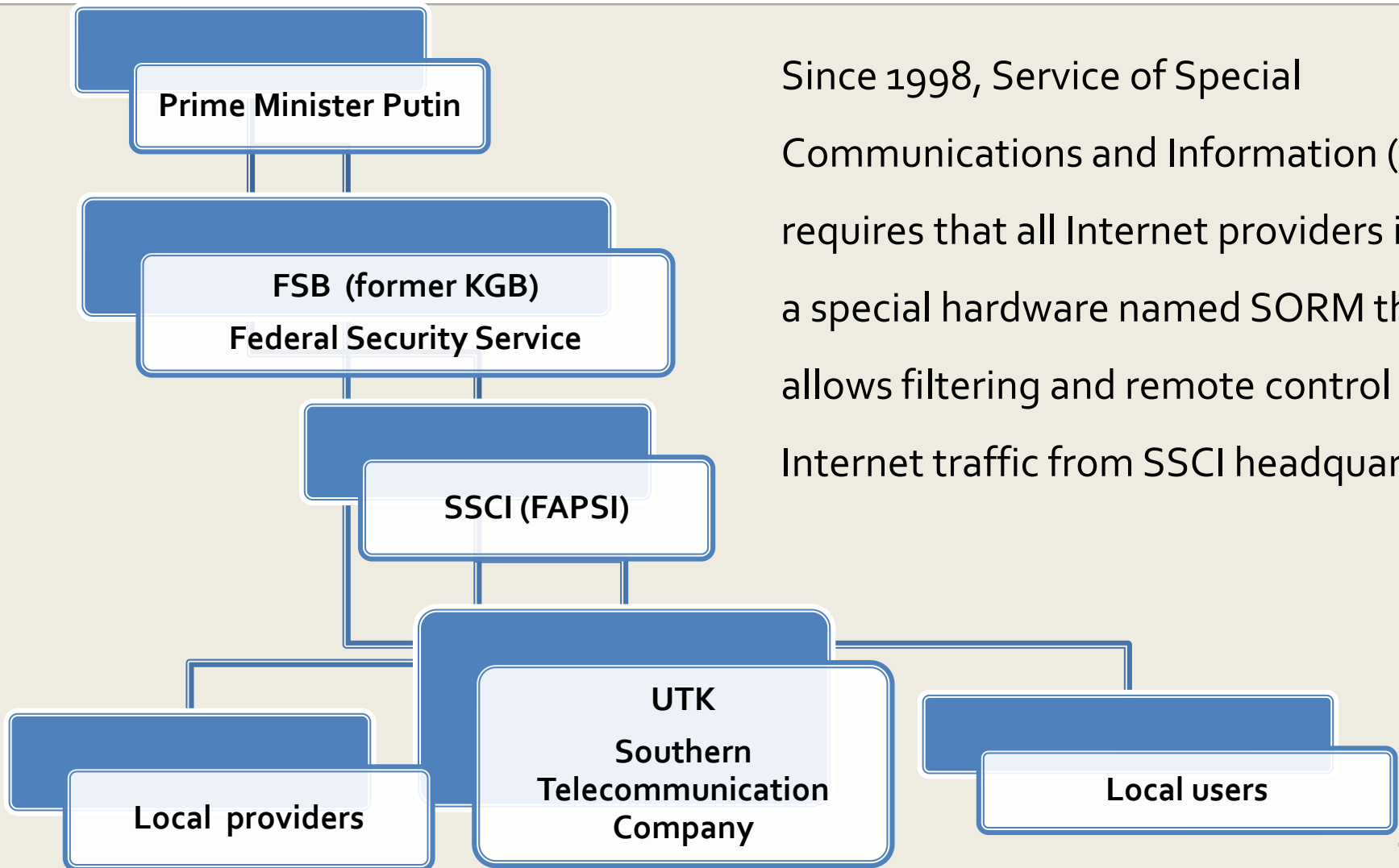


Oleg Panfilov



- 1974-2006:** Reported for Radio Yunost, Nezavisimaya Gazeta, Central Asia Journal, RFE/RL, AP
- 1993:** Directed CPJ office in Moscow
- 1993:** Attacked in Moscow by unidentified individuals
- 1994-2000:** Head of Glasnost Defence Foundation's monitoring service
- 1994-1997:** Human rights expert for UN peace initiative in Tajikistan
- 2002-2010:** Directed Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations in Moscow
- 2003-2010:** Banned from Russian mainstream media
- 2009:** Emigrated to Georgia
- Present:** Author of 23 books on journalism and media freedom

Internet Censorship



Since 1998, Service of Special Communications and Information (SSCI) requires that all Internet providers install a special hardware named SORM that allows filtering and remote control of Internet traffic from SSCI headquarters

Judicial Harassment

ELENA MAGLEVANNAYA

“They initiated a court hearing against me, which they won. I was sentenced to write a refutation stating that I intentionally misled public opinion, and there was no torture taking place in this prison.

They actually wrote it on my behalf; they only wanted my signature.”

—January 2010



Elena Maglevannaya



- 2006-2009:** Freelance reporter for newspaper *Svobodnoe Slovo* and internet-media www.civitas.ru
- 2008-2009:** Published reports on torture of Chechen prisoners
- 2008-2010:** Created 5 websites featuring news about situation in Russia and Chechnya
- 2009:** Volgograd administration filed libel suit against her
- 2009:** Volgograd Court sentenced her to publish a refutation and pay a \$7,000 fee
- 2009:** Emigrated to Finland

Case Reported by Elena Maglevannaya



Criminal Prosecution

“First they didn’t allow us to register our organization, with no explanation for rejection. Then the tax problems occurred.

I paid the taxes, but it wasn’t over. They confiscated all my computers and never returned them. The problem is you can’t prove anything in Russian court, it’s part of the prosecution system.”

—May 2010

VALERY DZUTSEV



Valery Dzutsev



- 1999:** Coordinator for British Center for Peacemaking and Community Development
- 2002:** Editor/Coordinator for the Institute for War and Peace Reporting
- 2006:** Russian tax authorities accuse IWPR and Valery of tax evasion
- 2007:** MVD starts criminal investigation into Valery's journalism activities
- 2007:** MVD confiscates Valery's computers and never returns them
- 2007-2008:** Moves to the US for a fellowship in Washington DC
- 2009:** Granted political asylum in the US

Enlistment

ZURAB MARKHIEV

“On November 26, 2006, I was arrested by the FSB, and taken to their office in Magas.

They offered me options: I cooperate with them, or I will be killed and reported as missing.

The conversation was absolutely clear; they did not pretend that they tried to observe the law, they spoke to me absolutely openly.”

—February 2010



Zurab Markhiev



- 1999:** Moved to Ingushetia after second war in Chechnya began
- 1999-2009:** Assisted foreign reporters as guide and local coordinator
- 2005-2009:** Reported for Regum, AP, BBC, gazeta.ru
- 2006:** Abducted by FSB and signed contract of collaboration
- 2009:** Warned by Memorial staff about his planned assassination by the FSB
- 2009:** Emigrated to Europe

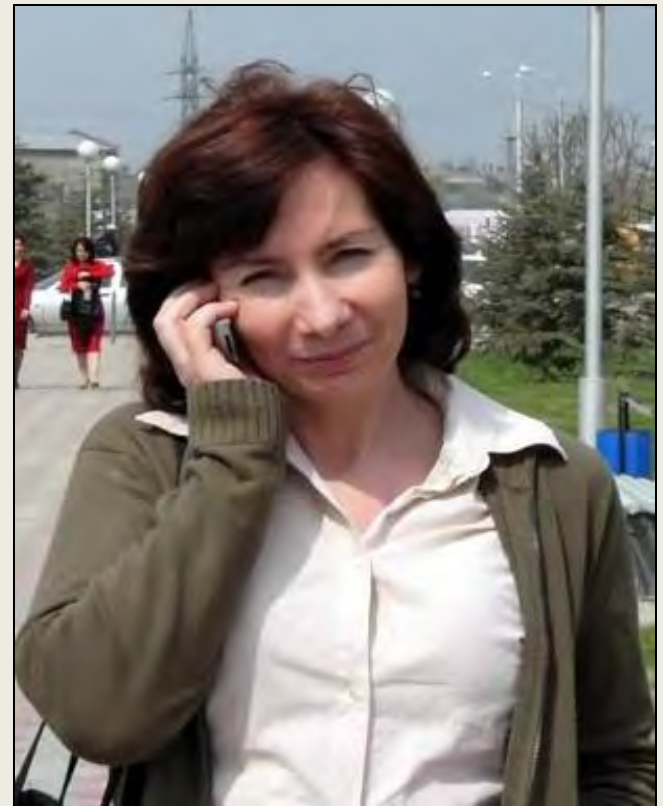
Execution

NATALIA ESTEMIROVA

“If you are a true human rights defender, you are constantly violating the unwritten laws created by the Russian government.

I believe our job is not only to talk about the fact that the crime is being committed, but to ensure that the crimes are stopped and the criminals are punished.”

—November 2008



Natalia Estemirova



- 1991-1998:** Reporter at *Groznenski Rabochi* and Grozny TV
- 1998-1999:** Press Secretary for the Organization of Filtration Camps
- 2000-2009:** Representative of the Memorial office in Grozny
- 2006-2009:** Reporter for *Novaya Gazeta* and *Kavkazki Uzel*
- 2007:** Worked in UK for Frontline program after receiving death threats
- 2009:** Returned to Chechnya, was abducted and murdered
- 2009:** Russia refused entry to UN staff to conduct an investigation of Estemirova's assassination.

Execution

“I created the site Ingushetia.ru because there was no other non-government media in my republic.

Our aim was to show reality. We became the most popular source in Ingushetia.

Only after creating the site did I understand that telling the truth is the most dangerous job in Russia.”

—March 2008

MAGOMED EVLOEV




Magomed Evloev



- 1991-1999:** Public Procurator of Republic of Ingushetia
- 2001:** Created the website www.ingushetia.ru
- 2007:** Public Procurator of Kuntsevo launches criminal case against Evloev and Ingushetia.ru
- 2008:** Organized "I Did Not Vote" campaign
- 2008:** Published list of members of "death squadrons"
- 2008:** Kuntsevo court describes site as "extremist" and demands its closure
- 2008:** Killed in police custody
- 2010:** Officer convicted of killing Evloev is released from jail

IV. Cyber “War on Terror”: Creating Space for Radical Media

WWW.KAVKAZCENTER.COM

**KAVKAZCENTER.COM**
NEWS FACTS ANALYSIS
Thu... 27.06.1431 Hjr / 10.06.2010, 21:59 Emirate time
[RU](#) [EN](#) [TR](#) [UA](#) [JP](#)

[main](#)


- Home
- Umma
- Caucasus
- World
- Russia
- All events
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- Opinion
- Photo
- Video
- Islam
- About us
- Donation
- Cooperation
- Feedback
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- kavkaz.tv
- kavkaznews.com
- kavkaz.org.uk
- kavkazcenter.com
- kavkazcenter.net
- kavkazcenter.info

[add. formats](#)

- wap.kavkaz.tv
- pda.kavkaz.tv



Attention! Kavkaz Center Agency needs a translator from Russian to English language from among of volunteers. Please send your proposals using our feedback form.


**Emir Magas 'cracked up', Russian invaders hastened to declare**
[13:26] The capture of one of the leaders of the Caucasian Mujahideen, Emir Magas, "has already achieved quite concrete operative results" ...
EVENTS


Russian invaders indirectly confirm that Emir Magas may have been poisoned
[16:20] The ringleaders of Russian invaders have indirectly confirmed the suspicion that Emir ...


Iran outraged by Moscow's betrayal. Slogan 'Death to Russia!' raised in Iran
[13:47] The adoption of new sanctions against Iran resulted in an increase of tension in relations ...

KATYN 2. Poland believes that bodies of Poles robbed by Russian killers from terrorist gang of FSB, which finished off the survived
[13:25] In connection with the looting by Russian assassins the Polish journalist asks to pay ...

ANALYSIS-TRIBUNE
Sheikh Awlaki: "The Battle of Hearts and Minds"
IMAM ABU AWLAKI
So there is the struggle of ideas going on, right now, in the Muslim world. ...

INTERVIEW
Caucasus Emirate's Emir Dokka Abu Usman: "We will liberate the Krasnodar Territory, Astrakhan and the Volga lands..."

The Krasnodar Territory, as infidels call it, is in fact the land of our brothers, the best brothers ...

Jews commit bloodbath on live


Chechen refugees living in limbo in Turkey


Sheikh ibn al-Uthaymeen: Ruling on Jihad. What's permitted and

Cyber “War on Terror”: Creating Space for Radical Media *(continued)*

- Suppression of independent media has created space for radical ideas to thrive
- The Kavkaz Center has emerged as the leading source of “information” in this media vacuum
- Adam Tumsoev and Mickael Storsjo operate the Kafkaz Center from Europe and claim a right to freedom of speech

Kavkaz Center: Main Source of Information After Russian State Suppressed Independent Media

- 1999-2002:** Site operated as kavkaz.org
- 2002:** Domain kavkaz.org is stolen
- 2002:** Kavkazcenter.com (KC) was established
- 2003-2010:** KC becomes main source of information from resistance movement with absence of independent media
- 2003-2010:** KC receives massive DDoS attacks.
- 2005:** Worm "Maslan.A" created in Russia to destroy the KC
- 2005:** KC's IP blocked in RU-Net by court order, access to site is forbidden
- 2005:** KC declares itself as an Islamic news agency
- 2009:** KC rejects Ramzan Kadyrov's attempt to buy the website
- 2010:** KC is frequently quoted in Western mainstream media regarding events in the North Caucasus

Cyber “War on Terror” *(continued)*

“A huge number of requests were coming from the same IP address, and I decided to find out who was doing this.

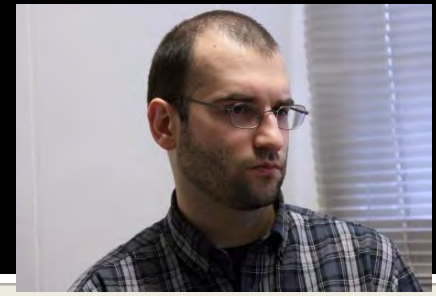
I went to the right database, entered the IP address, and found out it was Lubyanka, Moscow (FSB head-quarter). Even their exact mailing address was there.”

—January 2010

ADAM TUMSOEV



Adam Tumsoev



- 1998–1999:** IT specialist, Department of Communications, Government of Ichkeria (Chechya)
- 2000–2002:** IT specialist, Union of Caucasus Journalists, Baku
- 2009:** Granted political asylum in Europe
- 2009:** Member of Union of Journalists (in country of asylum)
- 1999–2010:** Web administrator of the www.kavkazcenter.com

Cyber “War on Terror” *(continued)*

“We try to keep the Internet free from censorship since it has its own safe values of delivering information to the broader audience...

All opinions have the right to be aired; that is the basic idea of freedom of speech. This is my main motivation in hosting Kavkazcenter.”

—January 2010

MICKAEL STORSJO



Mickael Storsjo



- 2000:** Member of Union of Journalists of Finland and Sweden
- 2005–2006:** Deputy Chairman of Electronic Frontier, Finland
- 2005–present:** Secretary of the Finnish-Russian Civic Forum
- 2005–present:** Member of Finnish-Chechen Association's Board
- 2008–2010:** Received death threats from suspected FSB agents
- 2009–present:** Claims to be under constant surveillance by unidentified individuals.

V. Political, Social, and Personal Consequences of Censorship



Political and Social Consequences

- Quality of reporting from the North Caucasus is in severe decline
 - The most effective journalists and human rights defenders are lost/eliminated
- Objective reporting is construed as one-sided and anti-government
- Independent media outlets in the North Caucasus are disappearing
- Human rights and freedoms displaced in favor of “power politics”

Political and Social Consequences

- Local populations have no voice in the media
- Lack of information and factual reporting decreases understanding between public officials and local population
- State policymaking suffers
- Radicalism (ethnic, religious, violent) becomes the main outlet for assertion of rights and rights discourse

Personal Consequences to Journalists

- Professional marginalization
- Strained or broken familial bonds
- Alienation from society
- Long-term psychological damage and PTSD
- Long-term physical damage
- Exile (displacement, loss of career, separation from family and community, loss of self-esteem)
- Premature death

VI. Policy Recommendations



Policy Recommendations: How to Assist Journalists from the North Caucasus

For Governments:

- Foreign embassies should create procedures that expedite rescue of human rights defenders and journalists
- Support independent investigations for assassinated journalists
- Evaluators of human rights should identify, track, and highlight specific rights violations and the basis for such acts in Russia
- Pay more attention to the North Caucasus and place more monitors there and in other parts of Russia
- Support U.S. international broadcasting efforts focusing on the North Caucasus and other neglected regions
- Follow the approach of the European Court of Human Rights, which calls for changes in legal and political arrangements

Policy Recommendations: How to Assist Journalists from the North Caucasus

For Nongovernmental Organizations and Media Advocates:

- Demand that international media reporters gain access to the region
- Provide trainings for local journalists on new media skills, professionalism, and safety
- Establish an emergency hotline for journalists at risk
- Develop website for journalists at risk
- Highlight inconsistencies between the Russian constitution, criminal codes and other international agreements to which Russia is a party



This project would not be possible without the support of the following individuals and organizations: Paul Goble, Nicholas and Ruth Daniloff, Robert Giles, Jon Sawyer, Melissa Ludtke, Persephone Miel, Marjorie Rouse, Judith Ingram, Timothy Richardson, Lisa Kierans, Alla Kovgan, Sally Blair, Judith Welling, Zerxes Spencer, Nawal Mustafa, the National Endowment for Democracy, the Nieman Foundation for Journalism, the Pulitzer Center for Crisis Reporting, the Rory Peck Trust, and the people of the North Caucasus devoted to freedom.