

DECEMBER  
2016

**ENEMIES OF  
THE STATE:**  
Silencing Dissent  
in Russia

Hosted by MICHAEL SERAPIO

  
**NEWS  
IN  
REVIEW**

## IN THIS ISSUE

### Enemies of the State: Silencing Dissent in Russia (Duration 12:58)

Russia is in the throes of an old-fashioned crackdown on suspected enemies of the state. The secret police are spying on their own and accusing them of being traitors. Many ordinary Russians are being swept up in this manhunt and jailed on bogus charges of high treason. The CBC's Susan Ormiston met with one family in the midst of a legal battle to get their father and husband back. And she talked with a renegade team of lawyers who are risking everything as they fight for justice.

#### News in Review Study Modules

Russia: In the Shadow of the Games (Mar 2014)  
The Crisis in Ukraine (Mar 2014)  
Repression and Fear in Russia (Mar 2007)  
Crisis in Russia: Civil Unrest (Nov 1999)  
Russia in Crisis: Yeltsin's Last Stand (Oct 1998)  
Democracy in Russia: The Guns of October (Nov 1993)  
The Life and Death of the Soviet Union (Feb 1992)

#### Related CBC Programs

*Defying Putin*  
*Putin's Long Shadow*

## Credits

News in Review is produced by CBC News  
Resource Guide Writer: Jennifer Watt  
Resource Guide Editor: Sean Dolan  
Host: Michael Serapio  
Packaging Producer: Marie-Hélène Savard  
Associate Producer: Agathe Carrier  
Supervising Manager: Laraine Bone

Visit us at our website at [curio.ca/newsinreview](http://curio.ca/newsinreview), where you will find an electronic version of this resource guide and an archive of all previous *News in Review* seasons. As a companion resource, we recommend that students and teachers access CBC News Online, a multimedia current news source that is found on the CBC's home page at [cbc.ca/news/](http://cbc.ca/news/).

## Closed Captioning

*News in Review* programs are closed captioned for the hearing impaired, for English as a Second Language students, or for situations in which the additional on-screen print component will enhance learning.

CBC Learning authorizes the reproduction of material contained in this resource guide for educational purposes. Please identify the source.

*News in Review* is distributed by:

**CBC Learning | Curio.ca**, P.O. Box 500, Stn A, Toronto, ON, Canada M5W 1E6 | [www.curio.ca](http://www.curio.ca)

# ENEMIES OF THE STATE: Silencing Dissent in Russia

## VIDEO REVIEW

### Before Viewing

1. Define “treason.”

---

---

2. Why do you think treason is considered one of the most serious crimes in most nations?

---

---

3. Treason charges are very rare in the United States and Canada but they are more common in other nations. Why do you think this may be?

---

---

### What is the FSB?

The FSB is the Federal Security Service, Russia’s internal security and counterintelligence service. It was founded in 1994 as one of the successor agencies of the Soviet Union’s KGB.

### Viewing

1. Why was Gennady Kravtsov sent to prison?

---

---

2. What is the purpose of the FSB?

---

---

3. Convictions for high treason have tripled recently in Russia.  True  False

4. What was Gennady Kravtsov’s sentence?

---

---

5. The FSB frequently lose cases in the Russian Supreme Court.  True  False

6. What is Team 29?

---

---

7. What challenges do the lawyers and staff of Team 29 face?

---

---

8. Why does lawyer Ivan Pavlov consider his team to be patriots (as opposed to traitors)?

---

---

9. Gennady Kravtsov’s sentence was reduced by 2 years.

- True     False

Article 15.3 of the Russian Constitution states, “**Laws must be officially published.** Unpublished laws shall not apply. Any normative legal acts concerning the rights, freedoms and duties of man and citizen may not be applied if they are not officially published for general information.”  
What do you think this means and why is it part of the Russian Constitution?”

### After Viewing

Only two people have ever been charged with high treason in Canada. Find out who they were and gather information on their treasonous acts.

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---



### Try This!

Conduct further research on modern Russian history and answer the big question:

“How does Russia deal with internal and external threats to its sovereignty?”

Focus on one of the following topics:

- The Russian Revolution
- The rule of Stalin
- The Second World War
- The Cold War
- The fall of the Soviet Union
- Russian military intervention in the Ukraine

Work in a collaborative group to create a Google Slide presentation for the class.

## THE STORY

### Before reading

Consider these statements from the former leader of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin. From 1929 until his death in 1953, he was the premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Also known as the Soviet Union, the USSR was the original communist state and was once the world's largest country.

// It is enough that the people know there was an election. The people who cast the votes decide nothing. The people who count the votes decide everything. //

// A single death is a tragedy; a million deaths is a statistic. //

// Education is a weapon whose effect depends on who holds it in his hands and at whom it is aimed. //

// Ideas are more powerful than guns. We would not let our enemies have guns, why should we let them have ideas. //

1. Based on your reading of these quotes, what beliefs do you infer Stalin held regarding democracy, the value of human life, education and the power of ideas?
2. What type of leader do you think Joseph Stalin was during his time in power?
3. What impact do you think his leadership has on the citizens of the USSR?

### Learning from the past

If one is to truly understand the current state of fear and anxiety in Russia, a trip back into Soviet history is necessary. After the Russian Revolution, communist rule was imposed and a period of adjustment took place. This period of



adjustment was complicated by two world wars and the rise of Fascism in Europe. The paranoia of the time found a home in the person of Joseph Stalin, the Soviet premier who essentially established a pattern of ruthless oppression for any opponent who stood in his way. It is Stalin's paranoia that seems to continue to find its way into the consciousness of Russian authorities who, to this day, manage to find dissidence and treason around every corner.

### The Great Purge of Stalinist Russia

In the 1930s, Joseph Stalin was the leader of the Soviet Union. Anyone disloyal or threatening to Stalin's rule was "purged" from society. They were either killed, imprisoned or sent to a prison camp after public trials where they confessed to crimes they had not committed. Because the trials were a foregone conclusion, historians refer to them as "show trials" and the entire period when Stalin wiped out his opponents is known as The Great Purge (also The Great Terror).

To give you a sense of the extent of the Stalin's ruthless purge of his political enemies, look at these numbers. Stalin killed:

- 93 of 139 of the leaders of the Communist Central Committee.
- 81 of the 103 Soviet generals and admirals.
- Over three million members of the Communist party.

While Soviet photographs and history books were censored to eliminate any record of these people's lives, Russian historians managed to keep a secret record of what went on during Stalin's rule.

### The “cult of Stalin”

After his attack on his perceived political rivals, Stalin set his sights on ordinary Soviet citizens. The secret police entered homes and took away anyone for suspected disloyalty to the Soviet Union or Stalin. During the period of The Great Purge, over a million people were executed and as many as eight million people were arrested. A “cult of Stalin” was created and everyone was expected to praise Stalin's efforts to make the Soviet Union great. Religions like Christianity and Islam were outlawed. Ethnic groups were persecuted. Anyone who was considered “different” in any way was subject to Stalin's punishment. Close to 20 million people were sent to the gulags, a system of prison labour camps mostly located in Siberia, where an estimated half of them died.

Why did he do this? Stalin intended to modernize the Soviet Union so it could rapidly become a world power. He wanted a rural nation of peasants to be transformed into an industrial powerhouse and time was of the essence. He needed absolute agreement and a strong commitment to his laws and reforms. He was the epitome of a totalitarian leader. He was also a ruthless, paranoid murderer.

### A tradition of suppressing dissent

Even though these brutal events took place a long time ago, it is important to realize that the Russian people remember this ruthless suppression of any kind of dissent by government forces. The Stalinist Soviet Union showed a blatant disregard for peoples legal and human rights. Nonetheless, the government need to participate in mass surveillance of people and organizations, both at home and abroad, crept

into the modern Russian consciousness. Just a few years after Stalin's death, the KGB (the Soviet secret police) was born. The KGB used its broad mandate to reinforce the political ideals of the Soviet leadership.

It wasn't until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 that the Russian people gained more political rights. The incoming Russian regime promoted the right to a fair trial and, with the dissolution of the KGB, people were able to experience less fear of being accused, arrested, interrogated and punished at the hands of a secret government-controlled police force.

### New era of fear and suppression

However, the death of the KGB eventually gave way to a return of government fear of dissention. Now the FSB (formed four years after the KGB was dismantled) does the bidding of those in power. In the fall of 2012, the law dealing with high treason in Russia was broadened so much so that human-rights experts say that it could now be used to prosecute anyone who had ever had any contact with foreigners. The new wording is similar to Stalin era regulations that saw people routinely arrested and charged for innocuous things like writing a letter to someone abroad or, in many cases, for nothing at all. Many are worried that a new era of fear and repression is coming to Russia, pointing to the fact that high-treason prosecutions (that have been rare in post-Soviet Russia) have increased dramatically with close to 40 convictions since 2013.

#### Sources

Litvinova, Daria. (Dec 31, 2015). Russian's big 2015 court cases. The Moscow Times. Retrieved from [themoscowtimes.com](http://themoscowtimes.com).

Litvinova, Daria. (Jan 15, 2016). Russian legal activists offer advice for when they come for you. The Moscow Times. Retrieved from [themoscowtimes.com](http://themoscowtimes.com).

Joseph Stalin: National Hero or Cold-Blooded Murderer? BBC. Retrieved from [bbc.co.uk/timelines/z8nbcdm](http://bbc.co.uk/timelines/z8nbcdm).

## After Reading

1. Return to your answers in the Before Reading questions. Add additional information based on what you learned while reading the article.
2. Conduct further research on the experience of being a prisoner in a Russian gulag at this site [gulaghistory.org/exhibits/days-and-lives/arrest/1/](http://gulaghistory.org/exhibits/days-and-lives/arrest/1/)
3. The Canadian government is considering a new memorial in Ottawa called the Memorial to the Victims of Communism (more information on the memorial project can be found at [tributetoliberty.ca/](http://tributetoliberty.ca/)). Create a t-chart that shows arguments that support the creation of this memorial and arguments that challenge the creation of this memorial. Which side do you agree with and why?

## CANADIAN RIGHTS AND RUSSIAN RIGHTS

### Minds On

Answer the following questions based on your current understanding of the law and current events.

What rights do you think you have if the police want to search your home? Do you think these same rights would be honoured if you lived in Russia? Why or why not?

### Task

Compare the “rights” of Canadian citizens and Russian citizens with regard to a police search of a home.

Focus questions while reading:

- What are the similarities and differences between the two systems?
- Do you think the legal rights outlined in both systems are strict enough or do they need to be strengthened? Why or why not?

<p><b>Canadian Civil Liberties Association</b>  <b>What if the police come to my home?</b>  <i>Excerpt from A Citizen’s Guide to Rights when dealing with Police in Canada, Canadian Civil Liberties Association, 2010.</i></p>	<p><b>Russian Civil Rights Advocates: Team 29</b>  <b>If they’ve come for you</b>  <i>Paraphrased from the Google English translation of Team 29’s guide to citizen rights during a police search</i></p>
<p>The police are allowed to come to your home to talk to you, but you are not generally required to answer their questions or grant them access to your home.</p> <p><i>When can the police enter my home?</i></p> <p>There are a number of circumstances in which the police are allowed to enter your home. These include situations where:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The police have a warrant to enter your home to arrest someone</li> <li>• The police have a search warrant</li> <li>• The police have permission to enter from you or someone else in authority in your home</li> <li>• There are urgent circumstances that require the police to enter your home</li> <li>• The police may also enter your home if they suspect that a crime has been committed in relation to property in your home. In this case, the suspected criminal activity must have been committed against you, not by you.</li> </ul>	<p>Typically, the investigator — or operatives dispatched by the investigator — come with a court order. However, if the investigator believes that the search must be carried out urgently, they have the right to prepare a resolution and come to you without judicial authorization. In this circumstance, the investigator is obliged to go to court within 24 hours after the search has been conducted to verify the legality of the search.</p> <p>As a rule, law enforcement officers come with a search warrant in the early morning. Often, an investigator will attempt to mislead you, posing as a neighbor, a municipal officer or a postman.</p> <p><i>What you are entitled to?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to a lawyer;</li> <li>• Be present during the search;</li> <li>• Monitor the actions of participants of the search;</li> <li>• Not to incriminate yourself and your loved ones (it is a right given to you by article 51 of the Constitution);</li> </ul>

*What are my rights if the police have a warrant?*

A search warrant allows the police to search your home and take certain items that they find. Police are allowed to take items that you are not legally allowed to have, such as illegal drugs, or items that may be evidence of an offence. If the police take something that was legally in your possession, they are generally required to return it to you within 3 months. If it is not returned to you, contact the police.

If the police come to your home with a search warrant, they must identify themselves and ask permission to come in. If they have a valid search warrant, you must let them in. If you refuse, they may enter your home without permission. If you try to prevent them from coming into your home, you may be charged with obstructing the police.

In most cases, the police must also show you a copy of the warrant. If they do not offer to show you the warrant, you can ask them to see it. Make sure that the information on the warrant is correct. For example, check that the correct name and address are listed and see if there are any time limits about when the police can use the warrant.

The police are expected to act reasonably in their search. This means that they are not allowed to use excessive force or damage property for no reason.

*In what urgent circumstances can the police enter my home?*

The police can enter your home without your permission in the following urgent circumstances:

- A 911 call has been made from your home, and the police believe that entry is necessary to prevent death or serious injury.
- Where the police believe that someone in the home is in need of emergency services.
- To help someone who has reported a domestic assault to safely remove their belongings.
- To protect people from injury if the police suspect that there is a drug laboratory in the home.

*Reprinted with the permission of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. For the entire CCLA document on citizen rights, go to: [ccla.org/know-your-rights-booklet/](http://ccla.org/know-your-rights-booklet/)*

- Not to inform the investigator of passwords on computers and mobile devices (it is also a right given to you by Article 51 of the Constitution);
- Not to provide details of your private life, personal and family secrets;
- See the objects that the investigator wants to withdraw from your home;
- Enter comments in the minutes dealing with the search;
- Obtain a copy of the search record

If you do not want to give investigators quick access to data on your computer, encrypt the contents with a reliable and secure password.

Once again, you are not obliged to help the investigator: for example, you do not have to provide a password for your computer.

The investigator has the right to take almost anything from your home if they considers it relevant to the case under investigation. As a rule, they can seize any media: computers, tablets, phones, etc. You have the right to request to make a copy of data from these devices. Most often, security officials will deny this.

Write down everything that you think is wrong with the search. Examples might include: not allowing your lawyer to witness the search, rudeness on the part of security forces, a lack of respect for your property and, of course, unexpected “discovery” during a search. The more violations you provide, the more likely that the court will listen to your arguments.