

uniform will bring it back. After all, they are responsible for maintaining law and order, so tackling a crisis is their business.

**There is of course the possibility that someone might use the recent Moscow subway bombing to tighten security measures.** But it's actually too early to consider such a possibility. A terrorist attack is an awesome thing. But to say it has destabilized the country is to pay the terrorists too great a compliment. Although people have suffered immeasurable stress and trauma the situation is stable. The securocrats – the investigative authorities, emergency personnel and the police – should pull themselves together and simply do their job. And there is no evidence whatsoever that we need to draw any far-reaching conclusions along political lines.

Further liberalization of the political system notwithstanding, **the vertical security structure that emerged in past decade should stay. After all it's one of the most powerful resources the government can rely on.** There is no society, no country without a law enforcement agency – no matter what one calls it: police, *militsia* or whatever.

Intelligence and counterintelligence may vary in efficiency from country to country but no state can prosper without law enforcement. Likewise there should be a vertical power structure and smoothly working bureaucratic machine. But the problem in Russia is that the contemporary *militsia* still works along antiquated Soviet lines. They now hate business people the way they used to hate profiteers. *Militsiamen* are still not sure whether they should protect private property, and if yes then how should they go about it? Or maybe they shouldn't and rather 'stay alert' and perceive private interest as a nesting ground for criminal elements? The work of law enforcement agencies will be normalized no sooner than every law enforcement officer be given an intelligible job description and likewise unequivocally instructed as to how he should treat civilians. **Unfortunately we have a society in which everyone suspects the other of being a thief.** People – no matter how well-meaning – are being searched on routine shopping trips and forced to prove they *haven't* stolen anything. Society in turn does exactly what it's expected to do: people steal if they have a chance. So the problem runs much deeper than sheer inefficacy of the police service. It has to do with our political culture – or rather our culture in general.

**The Russian bureaucratic machine can by no means be expected to work reliably in a state of emergency.** Likewise, so long as corruption stays, this element of unreliability will not be eradicated either. So long as money determines the way an official acts there won't be true undivided authority. You can't do that! (Except of course if you know who to bribe). No security agency can function that way. It inevitably endangers security. ■

*Exclusively for RJ*

## BUREAUCRATIC CONTROL OVER SECURITY FORCES WILL GUARANTEE CHANGE IN RUSSIA



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**B**ureaucrats in Russia can probably be considered a separate social stratum. **Those bureaucrats who do all the leg work are the middle class, but the top, long-serving echelons of a bureaucracy are its 'upper class.'** We can also look at income and property as the factors that determine such 'placement.' Dmitry Medvedev is a rational bureaucrat. Whether or not he is an ideal bureaucrat I will leave to Russians to decide.

The 'bureaucratic mentality' is widespread. It is particularly popular in France, for example, where there has emerged a French ideal for the leading bureaucrat, championed by the likes of Giscard D'Estaing. He has been seen to epitomize the French version of a top-level bureaucrat, e.g., in his ability to speak authoritatively with statistics for hours.

The bureaucratic mentality may stem from the prevalence of rule and routine within a bureaucracy. It changes people inevitably. Also important in creating a bureaucratic mentality is the opinion of older bureaucrats, who are important to younger bureaucrats for issuing rewards in such forms as pay and promotion. There are, of course, personality types who also honor and

emulate bureaucratic manners and thinking. Thus, a bureaucracy's ideology grows out of its culture and, of course, its material and psychological demands. To be sure, a bureaucracy can often be a very 'comforting' place to be.

Russia definitely seems to have a 'veneration' of sorts for the State. This seems lacking in America. However, such a veneration supposedly exists in France as well, where people feel that state bureaucracy will protect them from each other.

**Any true reform in Russia requires the creation of a new sort of state bureaucracy, at least in certain key sectors, especially with the police and security forces.** The Russian military probably requires serious changes as well but at least it doesn't try to rule in its own right. But to what degree Russian reformers actually want to transform the bureaucracy I do not know.

And who is the main opponent of bureaucracy in Russia? Objectively, business will ultimately work to avoid and 'cut down' the bureaucratic system. ■