# Democratic Protest Movement in Russia

#### Oleg Kozlovsky George Washington University 2013-03-26

## Before 2011 : Baby Steps

 Russian protest movement appeared around 2004 in reaction to Vladimir Putin's anti-democratic policies and inspired by Ukraine's Orange Revolution

HYRO, MACT: I 3A POCCESS BLO NYTHAN



#### Before 2011: Baby Steps

- Russian protest movement appeared around 2004 in reaction to Vladimir Putin's anti-democratic policies and inspired by Ukraine's Orange Revolution
- Movement was marginalized by official media, harassed by regime's agents, & became "non-system opposition" (as opposed to controllable "system opposition")

TECTHVIQ MIACT: I 38 POCCE 5LO DYTHIAL



## Before 2011 : Baby Steps

- Russian protest movement appeared around 2004 in reaction to Vladimir Putin's anti-democratic policies and inspired by Ukraine's Orange Revolution
- Movement was marginalized by official media, harassed by regime's agents, & became "non-system opposition" (as opposed to controllable "system opposition")
- Despite widespread disappointment in Putin's rule, few would protest openly



## Before 2011 : Baby Steps

- Russian protest movement appeared around 2004 in reaction to Vladimir Putin's anti-democratic policies and inspired by Ukraine's Orange Revolution
- Movement was marginalized by official media, harassed by regime's agents, & became "non-system opposition" (as opposed to controllable "system opposition")
- Despite widespread disappointment in Putin's rule, few would protest openly
- Meanwhile, society was maturing, public attitude toward political activism was quietly changing



#### 2011: Growing Tensions



Единая Россия – партия воров и жуликов.  "United Russia, the Party of Crooks and Thieves"

### 2011: Growing Tensions



- "United Russia, the Party of Crooks and Thieves"
- September 24: Putin comes back; illusions shattered

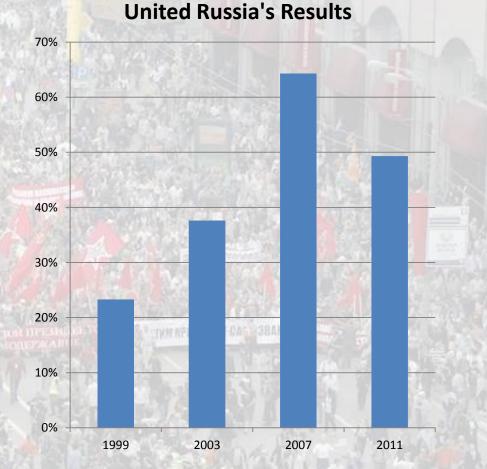
#### 2011: Growing Tensions



- "United Russia, the Party of Crooks and Thieves"
- September 24: Putin comes back; illusions shattered
- Knocked down at a wrestling match

 Official Dec. 4 election results: United Russia gets 49% votes, down from 64%

HECTHYIO MACT: 138 POCCE BLS NYTHAN



- Official Dec. 4 election results: United Russia gets 49% votes, down from 64%
- Numerous reports of fraud available online

Pacetron



- Official Dec. 4 election results: United Russia gets 49% votes, down from 64%
- Numerous reports of fraud available online
- December 5-6: Protests in Moscow; 1100+ arrested in 4 days

HECTHYIO, MACT: I 38 PGCCP BLS BYT



- Official Dec. 4 election results: United Russia gets 49% votes, down from 64%
- Numerous reports of fraud available online
- December 5-6: Protests in Moscow; 1100+ arrested in 4 days
- December through February: Ever larger protests



- Official Dec. 4 election results: United Russia gets 49% votes, down from 64%
- Numerous reports of fraud available online
- December 5-6: Protests in Moscow; 1100+ arrested in 4 days
- December through February: Ever larger protests, 50,000 → 120,000
- Election observers drive

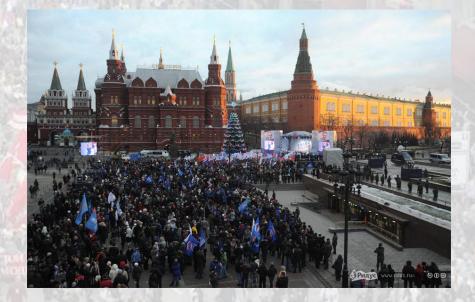


### The Five Demands

- 1. Immediate release of political prisoners and the illegally detained
- 2. Invalidation of results of the falsified elections
- Sacking of [CEC Chief Vladimir] Churov; investigation of all reports of fraud; punishment for those responsible
- 4. Liberalization of electoral laws; free registration of opposition parties
- 5. New free and fair elections

 First reaction in December 2011: confusion, denial, small concessions

3A POCCUSS BLO NYTHAN



- First reaction in December 2011: confusion, denial, small concessions
- February: Regime regains selfconfidence

HYRO, MACT: I 38 POCCESS BLS NYTHEAD



- First reaction in December 2011: confusion, denial, small concessions
- February: Regime regains selfconfidence
- March 4: Putin wins in 1<sup>st</sup> round

HECTHYRO, MIACT: I 3A POCCUM BLS NYTHAN



- First reaction in December 2011: confusion, denial, small concessions
- February: Regime regains selfconfidence
- March 4: Putin wins in 1<sup>st</sup> round
- May 6, inauguration eve: Rally ends in clashes with riot police, mass arrests

HECTHYIO, MACT: I 38 POCCE BLS HYT.



- First reaction in December 2011: confusion, denial, small concessions
- February: Regime regains selfconfidence
- March 4: Putin wins in 1<sup>st</sup> round
- May 6, inauguration eve: Rally ends in clashes with riot police, mass arrests
- "Bolotnaya Case": Fear as a weapon



- First reaction in December 2011: confusion, denial, small concessions
- February: Regime regains selfconfidence
- March 4: Putin wins in 1<sup>st</sup> round
- May 6, inauguration eve: Rally ends in clashes with riot police, mass arrests
- "Bolotnaya Case": Fear as a weapon
- New prisoners and refugees



- First reaction in December 2011: confusion, denial, small concessions
- February: Regime regains selfconfidence
- March 4: Putin wins in 1<sup>st</sup> round
- May 6, inauguration eve: Rally ends in clashes with riot police, mass arrests
- "Bolotnaya Case": Fear as a weapon
- New prisoners and refugees
- New laws against protests, NGOs, media, and the Internet



#### After May 6: Uniting the Movement

- Opposition
  Coordinating Council
- Alternative popular elections: October 2012
- Online and offline
- Quota-based elections
- 45 seats, 209 candidates, 81,325 voters



## **New Challenges and Opportunities**

 Coordinating Council: developing & following a strategy, preventing infighting, balancing centralization vs. spontaneity

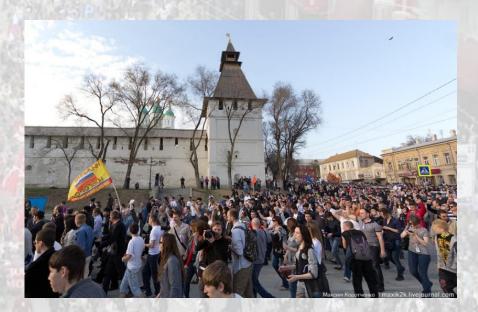
VIO MACT: I 3E POCKESS BLO NYTHIA



## **New Challenges and Opportunities**

- Coordinating Council: developing & following a strategy, preventing infighting, balancing centralization vs. spontaneity
- Beyond the capital: experiences in Astrakhan, Gagarin, Khimki

PGCCTO



## **New Challenges and Opportunities**

- Coordinating Council: developing & following a strategy, preventing infighting, balancing centralization vs. spontaneity
- Beyond the capital: experiences in Astrakhan, Gagarin, Khimki
- New tactics: White Circle, auto rallies, White Square, #OccupyAbai, Writers' Stroll, etc.



## Oleg Kozlovsky facebook.com/kozlovsky twitter.com/kozlovsky\_en oleg@kozlovsky.ru