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THE SUPREME SOVIET'S APPOINTMENT OF COLONEL-GENERAL ACHALOV AS DEFENCE MINISTER.

5. THE MILITARY GENERAL STAFF BUILDING IN CENTRAL MOSCOW HAS BEEN WITHOUT ELECTRICITY AND TELEPHONE LINKS FOR MOST OF THE DAY. THE ASSUMPTION HERE AMONG RUSSIAN JOURNALISTS IS THAT THIS IS THE WORK OF SOME FIFTH COLUMNIST ADHERENT TO THE OFFICERS' UNION AFFILIATED TO THE RED BROWN NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT.

COMMENT

6. THE POLITICAL DEFEAT OF THE SUPREME SOVIET NOW LOOKS ASSURED, BUT EXTREME 'RED/BROWN' GROUPINGS MAY WELL STAGE VIOLENT PROVOCATIONS (AS THEY DID AFTER THEIR LAST POLITICAL DEFEAT IN THE APRIL REFERENDUM). IT WILL NOW BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR RUTSKOI IN PARTICULAR TO EMERGE FROM THE WHITE HOUSE WITH MUCH POLITICAL DIGNITY.

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FM ST PETERSBURG  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 33  
OF 231400Z SEPTEMBER 93  
INFO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW, UKMIS NEW YORK, UKREP BRUSSELS  
INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO, ALL CSCE POSTS,  
INFO IMMEDIATE TOKYO, CABINET OFFICE, HM TREASURY, MODUK

SIC A3A  
CABINET OFFICE - FOR ASSESSMENTS STAFF

MY TELNO 32: RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: SITUATION IN  
ST PETERSBURG AREA

SUMMARY

1. ST PETERSBURG REMAINS CALM. A LOT OF APATHY. SOME PRO-COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATIONS. LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS, FEDERAL AGENCIES AND, SO FAR, THE ARMED FORCES SEEM TO BE TAKING ORDERS FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. A PRO-RUTSKOI RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY LENINGRAD REGIONAL COUNCIL. PRO-YELTSIN SUPPORTERS HAVING A TOUGH TIME IN ON-GOING DEBATE IN THE MORE IMPORTANT ST PETERSBURG CITY COUNCIL. THE POSITION IN OTHER PARTS OF NORTH WEST RUSSIA LOOKS REASONABLY GOOD FOR YELTSIN.

DETAIL

2. LIFE CONTINUES NORMALLY IN ST PETERSBURG. A FEW HUNDRED PRO-COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATORS, MOSTLY ELDERLY PEOPLE, GATHERED ON PALACE SQUARE (THE TRADITIONAL VENUE FOR DEMONSTRATIONS) YESTERDAY EVENING, AND THE SAME GROUPS HAVE BEEN PICKETING THE CITY COUNCIL SESSION.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] SOME FOREIGN GROUPS HAVE CALLED OFF VISITS HERE AND SOBCHAK CANCELLED HIS LONG-PLANNED APPEARANCE AT A REGULAR MEETING OF THE FOREIGN BUSINESS COMMUNITY TODAY. BUT OTHERWISE RUSSIANS, OFFICIALS AND BUSINESSMEN, SEEM TO BE WORKING NORMALLY.

3. A MEETING OF THE CITY'S MAIN INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION YESTERDAY CALLED FOR NORMAL WORKING. THEY REFRAINED FROM POLITICAL COMMENT,

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WHILE REPEATING ITS CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC POLICIES. [REDACTED]

4. MOST RUSSIANS WE HAVE TALKED TO REMAIN APATHETIC ABOUT QUOTE MOSCOW POLITICS UNQUOTE. THE PERCEIVED PUBLIC DESIRE TO PUT AN END TO POLITICAL SQUABBLES AND GET ON WITH SOLVING THE CITY'S PRACTICAL PROBLEMS HAS BEEN ECHOED IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY EVEN THOSE POLITICIANS WITH CLEARER ALLEGIANCES, INCLUDING MAYOR SOBCHAK. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CITY COUNCIL, BELYAEV, CAUGHT THE MOOD IN HIS OPENING REMARKS IN YESTERDAY'S COUNCIL DEBATE: HE CALLED FOR POLITICAL CONFRONTATION TO BE CONFINED WITHIN MOSCOW'S GARDEN RING (THE INNER RING ROAD) AND NOT BE ALLOWED TO INFECT ST PETERSBURG.

5. A FEW POLITICIANS AND OTHER LEADING LOCAL FIGURES HAVE PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ESCALATION OF CONFRONTATION, EVEN CIVIL WAR. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MEANWHILE THERE ARE REPORTS THAT THE VICE MAYOR, SHCHERBAKOV, A VICE ADMIRAL, HAS BEEN ACTIVELY PUSHING THE RUTSKOI LINE.

6. THE SITUATION IN THE OBLAST (REGION) AND CITY COUNCILS DOES NOT AT PRESENT LOOK FAVOURABLE FOR YELTSIN. THE MUCH LESS IMPORTANT REGIONAL COUNCIL (REPRESENTING A POPULATION OF ONE AND A HALF MILLION) YESTERDAY OVERWHELMINGLY ADOPTED A RESOLUTION APPROVING BOTH THE SUPREME SOVIET'S ANNULMENT OF YELTSIN'S DECREE AND THEIR APPOINTMENT OF RUTSKOI AS ACTING PRESIDENT. THE REGION ADMINISTRATION IS STILL BACKING THE PRESIDENT. THE UNAIUUL ALSO PROPOSED A MEETING OF THE REGIONS IN ST PETERSBURG TO SET UP A CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCIL [REDACTED]

7. THE POSITION ADOPTED BY THE TRADITIONAFORM CITY COUNCIL (REPRESENTING 5 MILLION) WILL HAVE MUCH MORE IMPACT. IN ONE VOTE YESTERDAY OVER HALF OF THE THOSE PRESENT

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INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO RECOGNISE RUTSKOI'S AUTHORITY. SOBCHAK INTERVENED TO TRY TO PREVENT ADOPTION OF AN ANTI-YELTSIN RESOLUTION, AND SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS WERE MADE TO POSTPONE CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE UNTIL TOMORROW. WHILE THERE IS WIDESPREAD RECOGNITION OF THE NEED FOR ELECTIONS DEPUTIES HAVE APPARENTLY BEEN INFLUENCED BY CONCERNS ABOUT THE LEGALITY OF YELTSIN'S ACTIONS TO THE BACKGROUND OF GROWING DISILLUSIONMENT WITH THE PRESIDENT AND DISINTEGRATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC GROUP. PRO-REFORM DEPUTIES HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY HAVE NOT GIVEN UP HOPE THAT A MAJORITY WILL VOTE FOR COMMON SENSE TOMORROW (IE A FUDGE).

8. WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO GET SOME REACTIONS FROM OTHER PARTS OF PARTS OF NORTH WEST RUSSIA. NEITHER WE NOR COLLEAGUES HAVE HAD ANY REPORTS OF DISTURBANCES, OR OF MUCH ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR RUTSKOI. ALL REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS ARE SAID TO BE FOLLOWING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS.

9. YELTSIN IS, AS EXPECTED, GETTING GOOD SUPPORT IN ARCHANGEL FROM BOTH THE REGIONAL AND CITY ADMINISTRATIONS. THE CITY COUNCIL IS EXPECTED TO FOLLOW SUIT BUT THE REGIONAL COUNCIL, HEADED BY THE FORMER LOCAL COMMUNIST PARTY HEAD, MAY NOT. THE CITY ADMINISTRATION IN PSKOV HAS REPORTEDLY COME OUT FOR THE PRESIDENT WHEREAS THE COUNCIL HAS DECLARED AGAINST HIS DECREE BUT NOT IN AS CLEAR CUT TERMS AS MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED. WE HAVE OBTAINED THE TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS BY THE REGIONAL COUNCIL IN VOLOGDA AND THE CITY COUNCIL IN NOVGOROD. BOTH SIT ON THE FENCE AND CALL FOR CALM. VOLOGDA'S CALLS FOR SIMULTANEOUS PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER AND MEANWHILE FOR ALL NATIONAL AGENCIES IN THE REGION TO BE PLACED UNDER THE REGIONAL COUNCIL'S JURISDICTION. THE NOVGOROD RESOLUTION CONDEMN'S YELTSIN'S DECREE BUT EXPLICITLY REFUSES TO SUPPORT EITHER SIDE.

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TO DESKBY 231300Z FC0  
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OF 231110Z SEPTEMBER 93  
INFO DESKBY 231110Z CABINET OFFICE  
INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO, PEKING  
INFO IMMEDIATE TOKYO, MODUK, HM TREASURY, UKDEL IMF/IBRD  
INFO IMMEDIATE CSCE POSTS, ACTOR, ST PETERSBURG

SIC A3A

MOSCOW TELNO 1623: RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

SUMMARY

1. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS SET FOR JUNE 1994. SIGNS OF DISARRAY IN SUPREME SOVIET. PRESIDENT'S TEAM LAUNCH RIVAL 'OFFICIAL RUMP' PARLIAMENT.

DETAIL

2. YELTSIN ISSUED A DECREE THIS MORNING SETTING EARLY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS FOR 12 JUNE 1994 AND INVITING THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY (THE NEW PARLIAMENT WHICH YELTSIN WANTS ELECTED IN DECEMBER) TO PASS THE NECESSARY LAW BY 1 FEBRUARY 1994. (YELTSIN'S TERM OF OFFICE IS NOT DUE TO EXPIRE UNTIL JUNE 1996.)

SUPREME SOVIET

3. AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING OF THE SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM STEPASHIN [REDACTED] ANNOUNCED HIS RESIGNATION AS CHAIRMAN OF THE DEFENCE AND SECURITY COMMITTEE OF 'THE DISSOLVED PARLIAMENT'. HE SAID HIS DECISION WAS DUE TO SERIOUS SPLITS IN THE LEADERSHIP WHICH HAD DEVELOPED WHILE THE PARLIAMENT HAD BEEN IN ITS DEATH THROES. THE FINAL STRAW FOR HIM HAD BEEN THE SUPREME SOVIET'S DECISION TO AGITATE FOR SUPPORT IN MILITARY ACADEMIES.

4. IN THE SUPREME SOVIET THIS MORNING, KHASBULATOV FOR THE FIRST TIME MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF DEFEAT:

'LET US ASSUME THAT THE SUPREME SOVIET AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT

ARE DEFEATED AND THE EX-PRESIDENT YELTSIN TRIUMPHS. NOTHING WILL CHANGE. IT IS ALREADY IMPOSSIBLE TO REVERSE WHAT HAS BEEN DONE BY THE EX-PRESIDENT. THE COUNTRY IS COVERED IN SHAME. ITS PRESTIGE IS ZERO. WHETHER THE PARLIAMENT STAYS OR GOES, THE THE COUP MUST BE PUT DOWN.' (COMMENT: A HINT AT MORE DESPERATE MEASURES?)

RUMP CONGRESS

5. WHITE HOUSE CONTACTS ARE SAYING THAT THEY EXPECT THE CONGRESS TO OPEN THIS AFTERNOON, CLAIMING THAT THE NUMBER OF DEPUTIES REGISTERED FOR THE EMERGENCY CONGRESS IS APPROACHING THE QUORUM OF 689: BUT THERE IS NO INDEPENDENT CONFIRMATION OF THERE BEING MORE THAN 500 DEPUTIES NOW PRESENT.

ANTI-RUMP CONGRESS

6. YESTERDAY'S MEETING OF DEMOCRATIC DEPUTIES IN THE KREMLIN (MOSCOW TELNO 1616) WILL BE REPEATED THIS AFTERNOON, AND PERSONAL INVITATIONS HAVE GONE OUT TO MANY MORE CENTRISTS AND WAVERERS TO DRAW THEM AWAY FROM THE 'DISSOLVED' CONGRESS. SATAROV (PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY COUNCIL) HAS SAID THAT THE DEPUTIES ATTENDING WILL BE ASKED TO ASSIST WITH THE PREPARATION OF THE ELECTIONS BY JOINING A NEW STATE LEGISLATION COMMISSION. THIS MEETING WOULD ALSO SEE THE UNVEILING OF THE WELFARE PACKAGE FOR FORMER DEPUTIES (FORESHADOWED YESTERDAY BY BURBULIS - TUR).

MILITARY AND SECURITY

7. YELTSIN'S SPOKESMAN KOSTIKOV HAS CONDEMNED THE MAKASHOV RAID ON THE CIVIL PROTECTION MINISTRY (TUR) AS PROVING THAT THE SELF-STYLED DEFENDERS OF LEGALITY WOULD RESORT TO ILLEGAL AND BANDIT ACTIONS. KOSTIKOV SAID THAT THE SUPREME SOVIET'S ATTEMPT TO WIN SUPPORT IN THE MILITARY ACADEMIES HAD FAILED: ALL THE ACADEMIES SUPPORTED THE PRESIDENT AND HAD REFUSED TO DEAL WITH THE SUPRMEE SOVIET'S EMISSARIES.

COMMENT

8. SETTING THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION DATE IS A STRONG TACTICAL

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MOVE WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN PROMPTED BY REGIONAL LEADERS DURING THEIR EXCHANGES YESTERDAY WITH THE GOVERNMENT. THE DATE CHOSEN IS AUSPICIOUS FOR YELTSIN: THE RUSSIAN NATIONAL DAY (ANNIVERSARY OF BOTH THE DECLARATION OF SOVEREIGNTY IN 1990 AND THE 1991 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WON BY YELTSIN).

9. A GOOD INDICATION OF THE WAY THINGS ARE MOVING WILL THE NUMBER OF DEPUTIES ATTRACTED BY THE OFFER OF A JOB IN THE TEMPORARY 'OFFICIAL RUMP' LEGISLATURE.

10. KHASBULATOV OF COURSE WILL OPEN THE CONGRESS REGARDLESS OF THE QUORUM RULE, BUT FAILURE TO REACH THE OFFICIAL 689 MARK WILL UNDERMINE THE RUTSKOI/KHASBULATOV CAMP'S CREDIBILITY AS DEFENDERS OF THE CONSTITUTION, AND DEPRIVE THE EVENT OF MUCH OF ITS POLITICAL IMPACT.

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OF 231130Z SEPTEMBER 93  
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INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO, TOKYO  
INFO IMMEDIATE ALL CSCE POSTS, PEKING, ACTOR, MODUK, ST PETERSBURG  
INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL IMF/IBRD, HM TREASURY

RUSSIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: FURTHER REACTION FROM THE REGIONS  
SUMMARY

1. YELTSIN RETAINS HIS SUPPORT IN THE REGIONS, WHERE THE SITUATION REMAINS CALM. LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS START TO DISCUSS PREPARATIONS FOR THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS. MAJORITY OF LOCAL SOVIETS OPPOSED TO YELTSIN BUT KEEP SILENT.

DETAIL

2. REGIONAL SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT SEEMS TO BE HOLDING, WITH THE MAJORITY OF REGIONAL EXECUTIVES NOW FIRMLY BEHIND THE PRESIDENT. THE REGIONAL EXPERT ON THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL, SMIRNYAGIN, HAS ANNOUNCED THAT 64 OF THE 89 REGIONAL EXECUTIVES DEFINITELY SUPPORTED YELTSIN'S DECREE, WITH ONLY 5 AGAINST.

3. [REDACTED]

4. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

5. A VISITING KHF DELEGATION IN KEMEREVO HAVE REPORTED THAT THE LOCAL PRO-YELTSIN ADMINISTRATION HAVE SO FAR REMAINED NEUTRAL IN PUBLIC. THE LOCAL PRESS HAVE REPORTED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE REFUSED TO RECOGNISE THE DECREES SIGNED BY RIVAL PRESIDENT RUTSKOI. THE LOCAL SOVIET CONDEMNED YELTSIN'S ACTIONS AS UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND A VERY SMALL CROWD (LESS THAN 100) OF ANTI-YELTSIN DEMONSTRATORS GATHERED PEACEFULLY ON THE MAIN SQUARE ON 22 SEPTEMBER.

6. IN CHELYABINSK THE LOCAL EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATURE HAVE BEEN AT LOGGERHEADS FOR SOME MONTHS. THE HEAD OF ADMINISTRATION, SOLOVYOV, HAS SAID THAT YELTSIN'S DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT WAS 'THE RIGHT MOVE' AND THAT MOST PEOPLE IN THE SOUTHERN URALS HAD RESENTED THE FRUITLESS AND DESTRUCTIVE POWER STRUGGLE IN MOSCOW. SOLOVYOV SUMMONED A MEETING WITH LOCAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLICE, SECURITY AGENCIES AND MASS MEDIA TO DISCUSS PREPARATIONS FOR HOLDING THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS. THE LOCAL SOVIET HAS DENOUNCED YELTSIN'S DECREE AS UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

7. REPORTS FROM KIROV, IRKUTSK AND ARCHANGEL CONFIRM THAT THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS THERE HAVE PUBLICLY BACKED YELTSIN'S STANCE, THE IRKUTSK ADMINISTRATION ADDING THAT THE CHERNOMYRDIN GOVERNMENT SHOULD REMAIN IN OFFICE UNTIL THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS.

8. AS FOR THE LOCAL SOVIETS, THE PARLIAMENT'S PRESS SERVICE IN MOSCOW HAVE CLAIMED THEY HAVE THE SUPPORT OF 31 SOVIETS SO FAR. THE SOVIETS IN SAKHALIN, LIPETSK, KHAKASSIA AND AMUR HAVE ALL BEEN QUOTED AS DENOUNCING YELTSIN'S DECREE. THE MAJORITY OF SOVIETS SEEM TO BE LYING LOW.

9. IN A ONE-OFF MOVE, THE REPUBLIC OF UDMURTIA (IN THE URALS) HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HENCEFORTH RUSSIAN FEDERATION LAWS WILL BE SUBORDINATE TO UDMURT REPUBLICAN LAWS. THE UDMURT PARLIAMENT AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (THERE IS NO PRESIDENCY) HAVE REPORTEDLY 'SEIZED POWER'.

COMMENTS

10. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

11. ALTHOUGH OPPOSED TO YELTSIN, THE LOCAL SOVIETS HAVE FOR THE MOST PART KEPT SILENT. THEY ARE PERHAPS WAITING TO SEE HOW SUCCESSFUL RUTSKOI AND KHASBULATOV WILL BE IN CONVENING A CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES IN MOSCOW AND WHAT EFFECT, IF ANY, THAT CONGRESS'S RESOLUTIONS WILL HAVE. IF THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS CAN RETAIN CONTROL OF THE LOCAL POLICE AND SECURITY AGENCIES (AS THEY APPEAR TO BE DOING) THEN, WITH THE LOCAL POPULACE APATHETIC, THE REGIONAL SOVIETS HAVE LITTLE SCOPE FOR ORGANISING ACTIVE RESISTANCE TO YELTSIN.

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OF 231230Z SEPTEMBER 93  
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INFO PRIORITY DTI, UKDEL IMF/IBRD, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO  
INFO PRIORITY PARIS, BONN, ROME, TOKYO, OTTAWA, MODUK  
INFO PRIORITY KIEV, MINSK, ACTOR, ST PETERSBURG, PEKING  
INFO PRIORITY OTHER CSCE POSTS  
INFO SAVING UKDEL OECD

DTI FOR GEORGE AND OWEN XEA2  
SIC A3A

RUSSIA CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: MORE GOVERNMENT CHANGES

SUMMARY

1. NEW MINISTER FOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS. GAIDAR MADE ACTING MINISTER FOR ECONOMICS.

DETAIL

2. OLEG DAVYDOV HAD BEEN APPOINTED MINISTER FOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS, IN SUCCESSION TO SERGEI GLAZEV, WHO RESIGNED IN PROTEST AT YELTSIN'S DECISION TO DISSOLVE PARLIAMENT. DAVYDOV IS 54 YEARS OLD, HAS WORKED ON FOREIGN ECONOMIC ISSUES FOR SEVERAL YEARS AND WAS ONE OF GLAZEV'S FIRST DEPUTIES.

3. FIRST DEPUTY PREMIER GAIDAR HAS BEEN MADE ACTING MINISTER FOR ECONOMICS. HE HAS REITERATED HIS VIEW THAT THE MINISTRY CONSTITUTES A 'SERIOUS PROBLEM' AND THAT IT MUST BE OVERHAULED TO SERVE THE INTERESTS OF REFORM.

COMMENT

4. GLAZEV'S DEPARTURE WILL STRENGTHEN THE REFORMERS: HE WAS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MORE CONSERVATIVE WING OF CABINET (OUR TELNO 1452) AND YESTERDAY PUBLISHED A LENGTHY ARTICLE ATTACKING THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC RECORD. GAIDAR'S APPOINTMENT AS ACTING ECONOMICS MINISTER INDICATES THAT A SUITABLE LONG-TERM SUCCESSOR TO LOBOV HAS NOT YET BEEN FOUND (GAIDAR HAD LET IT BE KNOWN THAT HE DID NOT WANT THE JOB). HIS OFFICE HAVE TOLD US THAT IT IS UNCLEAR HOW LONG HE WILL HOLD THE ECONOMICS PORTFOLIO. BUT EVEN IF HE IS NOT THERE FOR LONG, HE CAN HELP THE LONG-TERM PROSPECTS OF REFORM

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HERE BY STARTING THE REORGANISATION OF THIS HIDEBOUND MINISTRY  
ALONG MODERN LINES.

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INFO IMMEDIATE ALL CSCE POSTS, TOKYO, CABINET OFFICE,  
INFO IMMEDIATE HM TREASURY, MODUK

SIC A3A  
CABINET OFFICE - FOR ASSESSMENTS STAFF

MY TELNO 33: RUSSIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: SITUATION IN  
ST PETERSBURG AREA

SUMMARY

1. ST PETERSBURG POLITICIANS TALK OF COMPROMISE WITH THE FOCUS ON  
ELECTIONS FOR BOTH PRESIDENT AND PARLIAMENT. BUT THE CITY  
COUNCIL'S STANDING BODY ADOPTS A RESOLUTION CRITICAL OF YELTSIN'S  
ACTIONS. AN INVITATION FOR REPRESENTATIVES OF RUSSIA'S REGIONS  
TO MEET IN ST PETERSBURG ON 26 SEPTEMBER. LIFE GOES ON NORMALLY.

DETAIL

2. IN ADVANCE OF TODAY'S RESUMPTION OF DISCUSSION OF THE  
POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE FULL CITY COUNCIL, ITS STANDING BODY,  
THE SMALL COUNCIL, MET YESTERDAY. PRO-COMMUNIST AND CENTRIST  
GROUPS JOINED TO PASS A RESOLUTION WHICH

(A) DESCRIBED YELTSIN'S ACTIONS AS A QUOTE COUP UNQUOTE.  
HIS DECREES AND DECISIONS WERE CONSIDERED TO HAVE NO (NO)  
LEGAL FORCE AND SHOULD NOT BE IMPLEMENTED IN ST PETERSBURG.  
THE CONSTITUTION REMAINED IN FORCE:

(B) DECREED THAT THE ACTIONS OF FEDERAL AGENCIES IN THE CITY  
SHOULD BE GUIDED BY THE CITY COUNCIL:

(C) PROPOSED THAT LOCAL COUNCILS AND HEADS OF ADMINISTRATION  
ALL OVER RUSSIA MEET IN ST PETERSBURG ON 26 SEPTEMBER TO  
WORK OUT MEASURES TO OVERCOME THE CRISIS:

(D) APPROVED A DECLARATION.

## 3. THE DECLARATION ADDED THREE POINTS:

(E) RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CRISIS LAY WITH BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND PARLIAMENT:

(F) THERE SHOULD BE SIMULTANEOUS ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER 1993 FOR BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND A NEW LEGISLATIVE BODY WITH THE AIM OF CONTINUING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, ECONOMIC REFORMS, NATIONAL CONSENSUS AND THE STRENGTHENING OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT:

(G) A CALL FOR CALM.

4. THE STANDING OF THIS RESOLUTION IS BEING QUESTIONED AS NOT MANY COUNCIL MEMBERS WERE PRESENT. A LEADING CENTRIST DEPUTY TOLD ME THAT IT SHOULD BE REGARDED AS A TACTICAL MOVE BY THE ESSENTIALLY PRO-REFORM CENTRIST GROUPS ON THE COUNCIL. THE DECLARATION WITH ITS TALK OF REFORMS AND NEW ELECTIONS WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE RESOLUTION. HE EXPECTED A MORE BALANCED RESOLUTION FROM TODAY'S HIS WOULD STILL PROBABLY QUESTION THE LEGALIS OF YELTSIN'S ACTIONS. A MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE REGIONS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY TAKE PLACE, SOMEWHERE ELSE (EG NIZHNY NOVGOROD) IF NOT IN ST PETERSBURG.

5. THESE EXPECTATIONS WERE SHARED BY OTHERS TO WH WHEN I SAT IN ON SOME OF THE COUNCIL SESSION THIS MORNING. THERE WERE CROWD BARRIERS OUTSIDE THE COUNCIL BUILDING AND A HEAVY PRESENCE OF RIOT TROOPS IN THE CORRIDORS. BUT BY MID MORNING THERE WAS NOT A SINGLE DEMONSTRATOR OUTSIDE. COUNCIL STAFF TOLD ME THAT THERE BEEN NO VIOLENCE. THE DEBATE WAS AT TIMES HEATED BUT N T OUT OF CONTROL. THERE SEEMED TO BE EFFORTS BY MOST FACTIONS TO PRODUCE A COMPROMISE TEXT AND TO ENSURE THAT THE CITY CONTINUED TO FUNCTION NORMALLY. ONLY A SMALL, PREDICTABLE GROUP SEEM TO SUPPORT RUTSKOI AND KHASBULATOV. A BREAK WAS TAKEN IN THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION TO ALLOW CONSIDERATION OF A CITY BUDGET ITEM. THERE SEEMED TO BE LESS CONCERN ABOUT AN ESCALATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY THAN YESTERDAY.

6. THE CITY REMAINS CALM. UNLESS YOU WENT TO THE COUNCIL

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BUILDING YOU WOULD NOT REALISE THAT THERE WAS THE SLIGHTEST  
POSSIBILITY OF TROUBLE.

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TO DESKBY 241000Z FCO  
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OF 240755Z SEPTEMBER 93  
INFO DESKBY 241000Z CABINET OFFICE  
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INFO IMMEDIATE TOKYO, ST PETERSBURG, ALL CSCE POSTS, PEKING, MODUK  
INFO IMMEDIATE HMT, UKDEL IMF/IBRD, ACTOR

RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: ROUND-UP

SUMMARY

1. [REDACTED] RED/BROWN  
OPPOSITION HOPE TO ORGANISE MAJOR RALLY IN MOSCOW ON SUNDAY 26  
SEPTEMBER. RUTSKOI CALLS FOR SIMULTANEOUS PRESIDENTIAL/  
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

THE CONGRESS

3. THE CONGRESS OPENED IN THE WHITE HOUSE ON THE EVENING OF 23  
SEPTEMBER: WITH OSTENSIBLY 638 DEPUTIES PRESENT (QUORUM 689).  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE CONGRESS THEN ADOPTED A RESOLUTION RATIFYING THE  
SUPREME SOVIET'S EARLIER DECISION TO IMPEACH YELTSIN AND MAKE  
RUTSKOI PRESIDENT AND APPOINTING A NEW GOVERNMENT: BUT ALSO CALLED  
CONTRADICTORILY ON 'THE FORMER PRESIDENT' VOLUNTARILY TO STOP HIS  
ANTI-CONSTITUTIONAL ACTIONS. YELTSIN'S SPOKESMAN HAS CONDEMNED THE  
MANIPULATION OF THE QUORUM, ARGUING THAT IT FRAUDULENTLY ALLOWS THE  
CONGRESS TO MEET WITH ANY NUMBER OF DEPUTIES, HOWEVER SMALL: 'SUCH  
MEETINGS WILL HAVE NO POLITICAL AND MORAL SIGNIFICANCE IN THE EYES  
OF THE ELECTORATE'. THE CONGRESS IS STILL IN SESSION: DEPUTY  
SPEAKER VORONIN SAID THAT IT SHOULD CONTINUE IN THE WHITE HOUSE  
UNTIL THE NEW 'CONGRESS' GOVERNMENT COULD BE FORMED.

WHITE HOUSE

4. LAST NIGHT THERE WERE AT MOST DURING THE EARLY EVENING SOME  
4,000 ANTI-YELTSIN DEMONSTRATORS AROUND THE WHITE HOUSE, WITH A  
VISIBLE PRESENCE OF SOME ARMED EXTREMIST VIGILANTS. AT 0800 HOURS

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LOCAL THIS MORNING THERE WERE AT MOST SEVERAL HUNDRED, FOLLOWING HEAVY RAIN OVERNIGHT. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SHAKHRAI HAS SAID THAT SECURITY FORCES HAVE BEEN GIVEN ORDERS NOT TO STORM THE WHITE HOUSE AND WARNED THE PARLIAMENTARY LEADERSHIP AGAINST DISTRIBUTING FIREARMS TO DEMONSTRATORS OUTSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE. SHUMEIKO CONFIRMED TO ME THAT THE WHITE HOUSE WOULD BE ISOLATED, BUT NOT (NOT) ATTACKED.

5. MEANWHILE YELTSIN HAS SIGNED A DECREE SWEEPING AWAY THE PARLIAMENT'S POWERS TO CONTROL FUNDS AND CAPITAL ASSETS: ALL THE PROPERTY FORMERLY CONTROLLED BY THE PARLIAMENT IS NOW TEMPORARILY OWNED BY THE GOVERNMENT. THE SUPREME SOVIET'S NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS HAVE BEEN TAKEN OVER. SHUMEIKO SAID THEY WOULD BE USED TO INFORM THE ELECTORATE OF THE ELECTORAL AND TEMPORARY CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS BEFORE BEING HANDED BACK TO THE NEW PARLIAMENT WHEN IT MEETS.

#### RUTSKOI CALLS FOR SIMULTANEOUS ELECTIONS

6. RUTSKOI HAS DECLARED THAT THE ONLY WAY TO SOLVE THE CRISIS IS BY 'RE-ELECTING ALL STRUCTURES OF AUTHORITY BY FREE DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS' - A DECISION HAD TO BE MADE WITHIN DAYS TO HAVE PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS SIMULTANEOUSLY. RUTSKOI HAS CALLED ON LEADERS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION'S CONSTITUENT PARTS TO ENSURE A PEACEFUL END TO THE CRISIS, WITH THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE BRANCHES MAKING A JOINT DECISION ON SIMULTANEOUS ELECTIONS BEFORE THE END OF THE MONTH. RUTSKOI SUGGESTED THAT ELECTIONS BE HELD ON FEBRUARY 23, BUT SAID 'TO CALM THE HYSTERIA IN THE PRESIDENTIAL HEADQUARTERS' HE WOULD NOT RUN FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

#### DECREE FOR 'SOCIAL GUARANTEES FOR PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

7. YELTSIN HAS SIGNED A DECREE ARRANGING FOR GENEROUS PROVISION FOR ALL PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES INCLUDING FULL PAY UNTIL JUNE 1995 AND THE RIGHT TO CONTINUE OCCUPYING FLATS THAT WERE MADE AVAILABLE TO THEM IN MOSCOW (MY TELNO 1625). THE FINANCE MINISTRY AND CENTRAL BANK HAVE BEEN ORDERED TO DISCONTINUE FINANCING THE SUPREME SOVIET.

#### SECURITY SITUATION

8. THE HARDLINE 'OFFICERS UNION' ATTACKED THE CIS JOINT COMMAND HEADQUARTERS IN THE NIGHT OF 23/24 SEPTEMBER. IN WHAT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A SEPARATE INCIDENT NOT FAR AWAY, AN INTERIOR MINISTRY SOLDIER WAS SHOT AND KILLED. THERE WAS SHOOTING LATER IN THE NIGHT

AROUND THE TRAFFIC POLICE HEADQUARTERS: THERE ARE DIFFERING REPORTS OF 1-3 INTERIOR MINISTRY PERSONNEL BEING WOUNDED IN THIS INCIDENT.

9. THE 'RED/BROWN' OPPOSITION HOPE TO ORGANISE A MAJOR DEMONSTRATION IN MOSCOW ON SUNDAY. IF THIS TAKES PLACE IT IS ALMOST INEVITABLE THAT ATTEMPTS WILL BE MADE TO PROVOKE SERIOUS VIOLENCE.

YELTSIN TO MEET REGIONAL LEADERS?

10. YELTSIN MAY TRY TO HOLD A CONFERENCE OF REGIONAL LEADERS IN MOSCOW TOMORROW (IT IS NOT CLEAR IF THOSE CONCERNED WILL BE ABLE TO GET HERE IN TIME). A PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMAN HAS SAID THAT OF 89 REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS 80 HAVE MADE THEIR POSITION CLEAR AND OF THOSE 66% HAVE BACKED THE PRESIDENT WITHOUT RESERVATION. THE PRESIDENT HAD 'PROVED UNPOPULAR' WITH AUTHORITIES IN AMUR, BRYANSK, NOVOSIBIRSK AND BASHKORTOSTAN WHILE TATARSTAN, SAKHA, INGUSHETIA AND TUVA HAVE NOT DECLARED THEMSELVES.

ELECTORAL PREPARATIONS

11. FORMER DEPUTY PARLIAMENT SPEAKER RYABOV HAS ACCEPTED YELTSIN'S INVITATION TO HEAD THE CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION, AND STARTED WORK TODAY ON DRAWING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE 270 NEW CONSTITUENCIES (AVERAGE ELECTORATE 400,000).

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Q DIST ?** *pa R. Hubbard*

FM MOSCOW  
TO DESKBY 241500Z FCO  
TELNO 1642  
OF 241320Z SEPTEMBER 93  
INFO DESKBY 241320Z CABINET OFFICE  
INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO, PEKING  
INFO IMMEDIATE ALL CSCE POSTS, TOKYO, ST PETERSBURG, ACTOR, MODUK  
INFO IMMEDIATE HMT, UKDEL IMF/IBRD, ASSESSMENTS STAFF

**RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: THREE DAYS IN REVIEW**

**SUMMARY**

1. YELTSIN CROSSES THE RUBICON. CLEAR FIRST ROUND VICTORY, BUT AT SOME COST. REGIONAL AND OTHER STRUCTURES WAITING AND SEEING HOW MOSCOW BATTLE CONCLUDES. HOPE IS THAT MODERATE OPPOSITION WILL MOVE TOWARDS FIGHTING, RATHER THAN OPPOSING, ELECTIONS. RUSSIA WOULD THEN FIND ITSELF IN A MAJOR ELECTION CAMPAIGN WITH OBVIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT'S POLICY.

**DETAIL**

2. HAVING FAILED TO INTRODUCE A NEW CONSTITUTION AND A NEW LEGISLATURE AFTER THE EVENTS OF AUGUST 1991, YELTSIN FOUND HIMSELF INCREASINGLY BESET BY THE OLD INSTITUTIONS. THE REFERENDUM IN APRIL THIS YEAR WAS INTENDED TO OPEN A WAY OUT OF THE IMPASSE. BUT ONCE AGAIN, YELTSIN HESITATED, AND THE OPPONENTS OF REFORM IN THE SUPREME SOVIET MANAGED TO REASSERT THEIR INFLUENCE. THE PROSPECT WAS ONE OF CONTINUING LEGISLATIVE OPPOSITION TO REFORM, REINFORCED BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS TO WEAKEN THE PRESIDENCY. YELTSIN FINALLY DECIDED ON THE COURSE MANY OF HIS ADVISERS HAD LONG BEEN ADVOCATING: HE HAS NOW CROSSED THE RUBICON. HAVING CLEARED HIS LINES WITH KEY REGIONAL LEADERS AND CONCLUDED THAT THE 'POWER MINISTRIES' WOULD REMAIN LOYAL TO HIM (OR AT LEAST LOYAL ENOUGH), HE HAS MOVED OUT OF ONE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAME AND HEADED FOR ANOTHER, TO BE FORMALLY ESTABLISHED AFTER EARLY DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS FOR A NEW TYPE OF PARLIAMENT, WHICH WILL OWE MORE TO WESTERN FEDERAL MODELS THAN TO THE SOVIET PAST.

3. AS THE CRISIS HAS DEVELOPED THIS WEEK, THE GOVERNMENT HAS LOOKED INCREASINGLY CONFIDENT AND ASSERTIVE. BUT THIS IS ONLY THE FIRST ROUND IN A NEW BATTLE, AND YELTSIN'S VICTORY SO FAR HAS NOT

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BEEN WITHOUT ITS COSTS. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IT HAS ALSO LED TO A POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS UPWARD SPIRAL IN THE DUALITY OF POWER, WITH FORMALLY DECLARED RIVALS TO THE OFFICES OF PRESIDENT, MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND MINISTER OF SECURITY. THE EXTREMIST OPPOSITION ARE NOW TRYING TO PROVOKE CIVIL CONFLICT, IN THE HOPE THAT THE CAUSE OF THIS EVIL IN THE POPULAR MIND WILL BE TRACED TO YELTSIN'S IMPETUOUS ACTION. THAT IS NOW A FAR GREATER RISK TO YELTSIN'S CAMPAIGN FOR EARLY ELECTIONS THAN CONSTITUTIONAL SCRUPLE.

4. MY HOPE IS THAT ORDER WILL BE MAINTAINED, AND THAT WE SHALL SEE YELTSIN'S MODERATE OPPONENTS DEMONSTRATING THEIR READINESS TO WORK TO WIN THE ELECTIONS RATHER THAN PREVENT THEM. BUT RUTSKOI AND KHASBULATOV, AND THE DARKER FORCES BEHIND THEM, MAY FEEL THAT THEY HAVE NOTHING TO GAIN BY ABANDONING THE PATH OF CONFRONTATION.

5. AT PRESENT, THE DRAMA IS BEING PLAYED OUT ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY IN MOSCOW. ALTHOUGH YELTSIN DECIDED TO ACT ONLY WHEN HE WAS SURE THAT ENOUGH SENIOR REGIONAL FIGURES WOULD SUPPORT HIM, AND THEIR SUPPORT WILL BE REQUIRED DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND BEYOND, THE KEY TO THEIR CONTINUING LOYALTY AND EFFECTIVENESS WILL BE THE OUTCOME OF THE POWER-STRUGGLE IN MOSCOW.

6. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SPECULATE USEFULLY ABOUT THE COMPOSITION OF A NEW PARLIAMENT, THOUGH WE COULD REASONABLY HOPE TO SEE A SUBSTANTIAL WEAKENING OF THE EXTREMIST TENDENCIES WHICH HAVE COME TO DOMINATE THE SUPREME SOVIET. BEYOND THAT, IT REMAINS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE THAT THE NEW LOWER HOUSE WILL IMPROVE ON THE PRESENT VERSION MORE IN LEGITIMACY THAN IN ANY WHOLEHEARTED COMMITMENT TO REFORM. THE NEW UPPER HOUSE (TO BE APPOINTED, AT LEAST IN THE FIRST INSTANCE) WILL CONFIRM THE TREND TOWARDS A GREATER VOICE FOR THE REGIONAL LEADERS. AND THE SEPARATE BRANCHES OF POWER WILL BE LEFT TO FIGHT FOR INFLUENCE ON A MORE LEVEL PLAYING FIELD, OUT OF THE BLACK SHADOW OF 'ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS'.

7. UNLESS THE PROCESS IS QUICKLY DERAILED BY THE HARDLINERS, WE SHALL BE IN AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN, WITH OBVIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES. THIS WILL INFLUENCE THE ZEAL WITH WHICH EVEN GAIDAR IS ABLE TO PURSUE PAINFUL ECONOMIC MEASURES. LIKEWISE, KOZYREV CAN BE EXPECTED TO TAKE A STRONG LINE ON 'RUSSIAN' INTERESTS IN THE NEAR ABROAD. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HE WILL CONTINUE TO  
DESERVE OUR SUPPORT, AND THAT SUPPORT WILL CONTINUE TO BE WELCOME  
(AS HAVE BEEN - VERY NOTICEABLY - THE EARLY AND WARM EXPRESSIONS OF  
SUPPORT RECEIVED FROM THE PRIME MINISTER, FROM YOU AND FROM MR  
RIFKIND).

8. I HOPE THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT AT  
THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL. I ASSUME THAT YOU WILL HAVE MANY OCCASIONS  
TO SEE KOZYREV IN NEW YORK IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, BUT I THINK IT  
WOULD BE HELPFUL ALSO IF THE PRIME MINISTER COULD FIND AN  
OPPORTUNITY TO 'PHONE YELTSIN IN ORDER TO TAKE THE TEMPERATURE AT  
FIRST HAND.

9. PLEASE PASS ADVANCE COPIES TO PS, PS/NO 10 AND PS/MR RIFKIND.

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FM MOSCOW  
TO DESKBY 241600Z FCO  
TELNO 1646  
OF 241525Z SEPTEMBER 93  
INFO DESKBY CABINET OFFICE

INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL VATO, PEKING  
INFO IMMEDIATE ALL CSCE POSTS, TOKYO, ST PETERSBURG, ACTOR, MODUK  
INFO IMMEDIATE HM TREASURY, UKDEL IMF/IBRD

pa R/Int

RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: SECURITY SITREP

SUMMARY

1. WHITE HOUSE SIEGE IN PLACE. EXTREME OPPOSITION ELEMENTS PROBABLY BENT ON VIOLENCE. SHUMEIKO CONFIDENT. AMBARTSUMOV RESIGNS HIS DEPUTY'S MANDATE.

DETAIL

WHITE HOUSE

2. THE MOSCOW MAYOR (LUZHKOV) AND POLICE CHIEF (PANKRATOV) ANNOUNCED THIS AFTERNOON THAT THE WHITE HOUSE AND SURROUNDS HAD BEEN DENOMINATED AN 'AREA OF HEIGHTENED DANGER'. LUZHKOV SAID THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH YELTSIN'S DECREE TODAY INSTRUCTING THE INTERIOR MINISTRY (MVD) TO DISARM THE 'DEFENDERS' OF THE WHITE HOUSE THE SUPREME SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAD BEEN GIVEN AN ULTIMATUM TO SURRENDER WITHIN AN HOUR ALL FIREARMS AND AMMUNITION ILLEGALLY DISTRIBUTED AROUND THE WHITE HOUSE. IF THEY REFUSED TO COMPLY, THE AUTHORITIES WOULD NOT USE FORCE, BUT WOULD CUT OFF THE WHITE HOUSE, AND PREVENT ANY OF THE WEAPONS BEING TAKEN OUT OF THE AREA. VICE-PREMIER SHAKHRAI HAS SAID THAT THIS TASK WOULD BE CARRIED OUT BY THE 'ARMED CORDON' AROUND THE WHITE HOUSE.

3. THIS CORDON OF ARMED POLICE DEPLOYED IN LATE MORNING TO THE WEST AND NORTH WEST OF THE WHITE HOUSE. NUMBERS AT THE DEMONSTRATION HAVE DECLINED FROM A PEAK OF ABOUT 3,000 AT NOON, THOUGH ABOUT 15-20% OF THESE WERE JOURNALISTS OR FOREIGNERS. THE POLICE HAVE NOW EXTENDED THE PERIMETER AND ARE BLOCKING PEDESTRIAN ACCESS. AN MVD COMMAND POST HAS BEEN SET UP IN FRONT OF THE FORMER

COMECON BUILDING NEXT TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

REST OF MOSCOW

4. THE ABORTIVE RAID ON THE CIS HEADQUARTERS (REPORTED IN TUR) WAS MOUNTED BY THE 'OFFICERS' UNION' (MILITARY WING OF THE RED-BROWN NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT), WHOSE LEADER (TEREKHOV) HAS SINCE BEEN ARRESTED. GRACHEV HAS ANNOUNCED THAT MOTOR RIFLE TROOPS ARE BEING BROUGHT INTO MOSCOW TO HELP PROTECT MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN THE CITY.

5. THE MVD HAS ANNOUNCED INTENSIVE DEPLOYMENTS AT MARKETS, RAILWAY AND BUS STATIONS, AND OTHER POINTS IN AND AROUND THE CITY VULNERABLE TO 'CRIMINAL BANDITS'. THERE ARE MANY MORE ARMY TRUCKS THAN USUAL ON MOSCOW STREETS.

[REDACTED]

7. THE RUMP CONGRESS HAS CONTINUED TODAY. KHASBULATOV REPORTED THAT HE HAD CONSULTED WITH HEADS OF REGIONAL SOVIETS WHO HAD RECOMMENDED FIXING ELECTIONS FOR BOTH BRANCHES OF POWER IN A PERIOD FROM 11-12 DECEMBER (YELTSIN'S DATES) TO 27 MARCH. THE CONGRESS COULD AGREE TO THIS, BUT ONLY AFTER THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER HAD BEEN RESTORED.

COMMENT

8. THE CONGRESS COULD SAVE FACE BY SETTING ELECTIONS AND DISBANDING QUIETLY. ONLY A FEW OF THE DEPUTIES IN THE WHITE HOUSE WILL HAVE THE STOMACH FOR A LONG SIEGE. BUT THERE WILL BE SOME, INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE AND ELSEWHERE IN MOSCOW, WHO ARE DETERMINED ON VIOLENCE. IT WILL BE A PLEASANT SURPRISE IF THE MVD PERSONNEL SURROUNDING THE WHITE HOUSE ARE NOT FIRED ON DURING THE NEXT 24 HOURS.

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FM ST PETERSBURG  
TO DESKBY 270730Z FCO  
TELNO 35  
OF 270615Z SEPTEMBER 93  
AND TO DESKBY 270730Z MOSCOW, CABINET OFFICE  
INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO  
INFO IMMEDIATE TOKYO, HM TREASURY, MODUK  
INFO IMMEDIATE ALL CSCE POSTS

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CABINET OFFICE - FOR ASSESSMENTS STAFF

RUSSIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: MEETING OF REGIONS IN  
ST PETERSBURG

1. SOME 40 REPRESENTATIVES OF RUSSIA'S REGIONS MET IN ST PETERSBURG YESTERDAY (26 SEPTEMBER) TO DISCUSS THE POLITICAL SITUATION.
2. ACCORDING TO MEDIA REPORTS THEY ADOPTED A DECLARATION WHICH CALLED FOR
  - (A) SIMULTANEOUS PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS BY THE END OF THE YEAR, AND MEANWHILE
  - (B) SUSPENSION OF ANY DECISION TAKEN BY THE PRESIDENT OR PARLIAMENT FROM THE EVENING OF 21 SEPTEMBER (THE TIME OF YELTSIN'S DECREE), AND
  - (C) TRANSFER TO THE REGIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR ORGANISING THE ELECTIONS.
3. VICE PREMIER SHAKHRAI WAS PRESENT, BUT DID NOT SIGN THE DECLARATION.
4. WE HOPE TO GET FURTHER DETAILS AND COMMENT IN THE COURSE OF TODAY.

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FM MOSCOW  
 TO DESKBY 270500Z ASSESSMENTS STAFF  
 AND TO DESKBY 270500Z FCO  
 TELNO 1649  
 OF 261910Z SEPTEMBER 93  
 INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON  
 INFO IMMEDIATE H M TREASURY, BANK OF ENGLAND, MODUK  
 INFO IMMEDIATE DTI, UKDEL IMF/IBRD, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO  
 INFO IMMEDIATE CSCE POSTS, TOKYO, OTTAWA  
 INFO IMMEDIATE ACTOR, ST PETERSBURG, PEKING  
 INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL OECD

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 RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: POLITICAL ROUND-UP

SUMMARY

1. YELTSIN CONFIDENT. CONCERTED GOVERNMENT EFFORT TO IMPLEMENT YELTSIN'S DISSOLUTION OF SUPREME SOVIET. MOSCOW REMAINS PEACEFUL, BUT CONFRONTATION AT WHITE HOUSE UNRESOLVED. SUPPORT APPARENTLY GROWING FOR 'ZERO OPTION' COMPROMISE, IE EARLY SIMULTANEOUS PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. YELTSIN MIGHT CONCEDE THIS, BUT WOULD NOT WANT ANY COMPROMISE WHICH BROUGHT THE OLD PARLIAMENT/CONGRESS BACK INTO BUSINESS.

YELTSIN TV INTERVIEW

2. IN A TV INTERVIEW FROM HIS KREMLIN OFFICE ON 25 SEPTEMBER YELTSIN GAVE A STRIKING DISPLAY OF DETERMINATION, DECISIVENESS AND CONFIDENCE. MAIN POINTS:

- THE COUNTRY REMAINED CALM: THERE HAD BEEN A FALL IN CRIME AND CIVIL DISTURBANCE IN THE LAST FEW DAYS: PEOPLE FELT THAT DECISIVE POWER HAD BEEN RESTORED IN RUSSIA:
- HE HAD THE SUPPORT OF REGIONAL EXECUTIVES: THE VERY FEW (ABOUT 4) OPPOSING THE 21 SEPTEMBER DECREE WOULD BE SACKED: HE HAD THAT MORNING REPLACED THE HEAD OF ADMINISTRATION IN BRYANSK:
- THE REGIONAL SOVIETS (LEGISLATIVES) WERE EQUALLY DIVIDED FOR AND AGAINST THE DECREE, BUT SO FAR ONLY SMALL STANDING SOVIETS HAD MET, AND THESE BODIES OF ABOUT 20 PEOPLE DID NOT REFLECT THE OPINION EVEN OF THE FULL SOVIETS, LET ALONE LOCAL POPULATIONS. REGIONAL SOVIETS BLOCKING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECREE

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WOULD BE BROUGHT TO BOOK:

- THE SITUATION IN THE WHITE HOUSE HAD BECOME A FARCE: BEFORE LONG, RUTSKOI AND KHASBULATOV MIGHT BE THE ONLY ONES LEFT IN THERE.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 21 SEPTEMBER DECREE

3. 25 SEPTEMBER SAW THE LAUNCH OF AN ADMINISTRATIVE DRIVE TO IMPLEMENT KEY ASPECTS OF THE DECREE, IN MANY CASES ENTRUSTED TO LEADING MODERATE MEMBERS OF THE DISSOLVED SUPREME SOVIET.

4. RYABOV (FORMER DEPUTY SPEAKER, NEW HEAD OF THE CENTRAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION) HAS SAID THAT THE TIMESCALE FOR ORGANISING THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS IS TIGHT BUT REALISTIC. ALTHOUGH SOME SOVIETS WHICH HAD DECLARED THE DECREE UNCONSTITUTIONAL (COMMENT: AS MOST OF THE REGIONAL 'SMALL SOVIETS' HAVE DONE), ALL HAD SUPPORTED EARLY ELECTIONS: THIS GUARANTEED THAT ELECTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE. LEGALLY REGISTERED CANDIDATES WOULD RECEIVE STATE FUNDING FOR THEIR CAMPAIGNS (WITH STRICT CONTROLS ON PRIVATE DONATIONS), AND BE GUARANTEED EQUAL TELEVISION AIRTIME. RYABOV EXPECTED CENTRIST FORCES TO DO WELL IN THE ELECTIONS.

5. FORMER CHAIRMEN OF KEY SUPREME SOVIET COMMITTEES (PODOPRIGORA AND POCHINOK) HAVE BEEN PUT IN CHARGE OF TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW PARLIAMENTS. A YELTSIN DECREE PUBLISHED ON 25 SEPTEMBER OFFERED WHITE HOUSE STAFFERS PAID LEAVE UNTIL 14 DECEMBER OR NEW JOBS WITH NO LOSS OF PAY IN THE PRESIDENTIAL/GOVERNMENT APPARATS OR IN PODOPRIGORA'S TRANSITIONAL PARLIAMENTARY ADMINISTRATION TODAY. POCHINOK APPEALED FOR ALL STAFFERS TO LEAVE THE WHITE HOUSE AND PUT THEIR TALENTS AT THE SERVICE OF RUSSIA'S TRANSITION TO A NEW PARLIAMENT. HE SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE NO REPETITION OF THE MISTAKES MADE WHEN THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET DISBANDED: ALL PARLIAMENTARY PROPERTY AND ASSETS WOULD BE KEPT SAFE FOR HANDING BACK TO THE NEW PARLIAMENT IN DECEMBER.

6. VARIOUS YELTSIN DECREES APPEARED ON 25 SEPTEMBER DESIGNED TO ENFORCE THE 21 SEPTEMBER DECREE. THE MAIN PROVISIONS ARE:

- ANY OFFICIAL OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH RESISTING THE DECREE WILL BE SACKED;
- ANY MILITARY OFFICER MAKING POLITICAL STATEMENTS WILL BE

CASHIERED. UNIT COMMANDERS TO BE PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR STORAGE OF WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION. FORMER DEPUTIES AND CITIZENS DEMONSTRATING OPPOSITION TO THE 21 SEPTEMBER DECREE AND RELATED MEASURES WILL NOT (NOT) FACE ANY CHARGES UNLESS THEY COMMIT CRIMES.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE

7. THE HEAD OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATION CONVENED A JOINT SESSION OF THREE WORKING GROUPS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE ON 25 SEPTEMBER (THIS WAS THE FIRST MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE SINCE THE 10 JULY PLENARY WHICH APPROVED THE DRAFT NEW CONSTITUTION). FILATOV SAID THAT THE CONFERENCE SHOULD CONTINUE REFINING THE DRAFT READY FOR SUBMISSION TO THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY (NEW PARLIAMENT) IN DECEMBER. THE CONSTITUTION SHOULD BE LEGALLY ADOPTED BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN JUNE 1994.

8. FILATOV ALSO PROPOSED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A 'PUBLIC CHAMBER' WHICH WOULD COOPERATE WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: THE BODY WOULD MAINTAIN SCRUTINY OF THE EXECUTIVE UNTIL THE NEW PARLIAMENT WAS ELECTED. A WORKING GROUP WAS APPOINTED UNDER MITYUKHOV (FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE SUPREME SOVIET LEGISLATION COMMITTEE) TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR A VOTE ON THE 'PUBLIC CHAMBER' AT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE.

#### POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS AND SECURITY SITUATION IN MOSCOW

9. THE OPEN AIR ROSTROPOVICH CONCERT ON RED SQUARE THIS MORNING (26 SEPTEMBER), ATTENDED BY YELTSIN AND AN AUDIENCE OF ABOUT 20,000, TOOK ON THE ATMOSPHERE OF A PRO-YELTSIN CARNIVAL RALLY AS THE KREMLIN CANNONS FIRED FOR THE 1812 OVERTURE. A FORMAL POLITICAL DEMONSTRATION HELD LATER BY 'DEMOCRATIC ROSSIA' MUSTERED ABOUT 10,000.

IN AND AROUND THE WHITE HOUSE, THE HIGHLIGHTS HAVE BEEN:

- 'DEFENCE MINISTER' ACHALOV HAS ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF TWO MOTOR RIFLE REGIMENTS TO DEFEND THE PARLIAMENT: THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGN OF THEM.
- RUTSKOI WALK-ABOUT: HE CALLED ON POLICE UNITS TO DISAFFECT, SAYING THAT IF THEY DID SO BY 6 O'CLOCK THAT EVENING THEY WOULD BE GUARANTEED IMMUNITY.

- KHASBULATOV SAID THE SUPREME SOVIET WOULD STAY PUT, OR IF STARVED OUT, REPAIR TO ANOTHER CITY.
- RUTSKOI SAID THAT THE VOLGA, SIBERIA AND LENINGRAD MILITARY DISTRICTS HAD TURNED AGAINST YELTSIN. HE VOWED TO STAY PUT AND RESIST TO THE DEATH IF THE WHITE HOUSE WERE STORMED.
- POLICE TODAY ALLOWED ABOUT 1,000 RED-BROWN DEMONSTRATORS TO MARCH TO THE US EMBASSY (NEIGHBOURING THE WHITE HOUSE) IN THE EVENING. RUTSKOI HIMSELF TOOK THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR ANOTHER SORTIE. NO CLASHES REPORTED AS AT 261800Z.

SOME PRO-YELTSIN COMMENTATORS ARE UNEASY THAT THE WHITEHOUSE 'FARCE' IS BEING ALLOWED TO DRAG ON. BUT THE SECURITY FORCES' POLICY OF CONTAINMENT STILL SEEMS WISE IN PRINCIPLE, AND IS BEING PROFESSIONALLY CARRIED OUT.

ST PETERSBURG MEETING OF REGIONAL LEADERS: SIMULTANEOUS ELECTIONS

10. THE LEADER OF THE ST PETERSBURG CITY COUNCIL BELYAEV CONVENED A MEETING OF REGIONAL LEADERS IN THE CITY TODAY. THE MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY 37 CHAIRMEN OF REGIONAL SOVIETS AND 9 HEADS OF ADMINISTRATION INCLUDING THE MAYOR OF ST PETERSBURG (SOBCHAK). BOTH THE OPPOSING SIDES IN MOSCOW WERE REPRESENTED: FROM THE SUPREME SOVIET ABDULATIPOV (CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES), AND FOR THE GOVERNMENT VICE-PREMIER SHAKHRAI. TELEVISION NEWS REPORTS SO FAR INDICATE A CONSENSUS IN FAVOUR OF THE 'ZERO OPTION' ADVOCATED BY CONSTITUTIONAL COURT CHAIRMAN ZORKIN, IN WHICH BOTH SIDES WOULD REVERT TO THEIR POSITIONS BEFORE 21 SEPTEMBER, AND AGREE TO SIMULTANEOUS PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS ON 12 DECEMBER.

11. MORE GENERALLY, APART FROM THE PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL DANGERS OF VIOLENCE IN MOSCOW, ATTENTION IS NOW FOCUSED ON THE RESPONSE OF THE REGIONS TO YELTSIN'S MEASURES, AND THE COMPLEX MIXTURE OF CONCESSIONS, THREATS, AND BLUFF ON BOTH SIDES. THE MOST CONSERVATIVE REGIONAL SOVIETS (EG SAKHALIN, CHITA, SOME NORTH CAUCASIANS) HAVE ALREADY DECLARED THAT THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS WILL NOT BE HELD ON THEIR TERRITORIES: SHAKHRAI SAID ON 25 SEPTEMBER THAT SUCH ACTION WOULD RESULT IN THE DISSOLUTION OF THE SOVIETS CONCERNED AND DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL RULE. THE THREAT OF DISSOLUTION MIGHT WELL PERSUADE MANY LOCAL SOVIETS TO OPT FOR THE QUIET LIFE

AND KEEP THEIR MANDATES AND PRIVILEGES UNTIL THE NORMAL EXPIRY OF THEIR TERMS IN 1995: BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD BE HARD PRESSED TO ORGANISE ELECTIONS IF OPPOSED BY AUTHORITIES SUCH REPUBLICS AS TATARSTAN OR BASHKORTOSTAN.

12. THE YELTSIN TEAM'S MESSAGE TO REGIONAL LEADERS IS CLEAR: THEY CAN TRY TO DICTATE TO YELTSIN ON THE TIMING OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, BUT THEY SHOULD NOT SUPPOSE THAT THEY WILL ENJOY INDEFINITE MEMBERSHIP OF AN UNELECTED UPPER HOUSE, IE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN JUNE COULD BE COMBINED WITH ELECTIONS TO THE NEW UPPER HOUSE (COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATION). MOSCOW DEMOCRATS HAVE ALWAYS RESISTED AN UNELECTED FEDERATION COUNCIL OF UNREPRESENTATIVE REGIONAL NOMENCLATURA: AND ELECTING THE UPPER HOUSE WILL ALSO MEET THE CRITICISM OF YELTSIN'S OPPONENTS THAT THE PRESENCE OF YELTSIN-APPOINTED HEADS OF ADMINISTRATION WILL MAKE IT A SEMI-PACKED ASSEMBLY.

COMMENT

13. THE ZORKIN 'ZERO OPTION' IS PROVOKING SPECULATION ABOUT A NEW COMPROMISE. YELTSIN WILL NEED NO REMINDING THAT THE LAST ZORKIN-BROKERED COMPROMISE IN DECEMBER WAS RENEGED ON BY THE VIII CONGRESS IN MARCH WITHOUT A MURMUR OF PROTEST FROM ZORKIN. AND HE IS BOUND TO SEE AS A MAJOR DEFEAT ANY 'COMPROMISE' WHICH WOULD BRING THE CONGRESS LEGALLY BACK INTO EXISTENCE, AND ENABLE IT TO RETURN TO ITS SELF APPOINTED TASK OF TILTING THE CONSTITUTIONAL PLAYING FIELD AGAINST THE PRESIDENT. BUT FACED BY STRONG PRESSURE FROM THE REGIONS AND FROM THE MORE RESPECTABLE END OF THE OPPOSITION SPECTRUM YELTSIN COULD YET CONCEDE SIMULTANEOUS PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS: IN ANY CASE A COURSE FOR WHICH HE IS KNOWN TO HAVE SOME SYMPATHY, AND WHICH SOME OF HIS POLITICAL ADVISERS HAVE BEEN URGING.

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FM MOSCOW  
TO DESKBY 270500Z ASSESSMENTS STAFF  
TELNO 1650  
OF 261920Z SEPTEMBER 93  
AND TO DESKBY 270500Z FCO  
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON  
INFO IMMEDIATE H M TREASURY, BANK OF ENGLAND, MODUK  
INFO IMMEDIATE DTI, UKDEL IMF/IBRD, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO  
INFO IMMEDIATE CSCE POSTS, TOKYO, OTTAWA  
INFO IMMEDIATE ACTOR, ST PETERSBURG, PEKING  
INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL OECD

MY TWO IPTS  
RUSSIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: CALL ON YEGOR GAIDAR

SUMMARY

1. GAIDAR SAYS GOVERNMENT'S PRIORITY IS TO WIN ELECTIONS. BUDGET DEFICIT TO BE CUT, BUT IN SLOWER TIME. DOUBT THAT RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC DECISIONS FOR NEXT FEW MONTHS WILL BE ABLE TO GIVE PRIORITY TO IMF'S CONCERNS.

DETAIL

2. ON SATURDAY AFTERNOON (25 SEPTEMBER) I SAW YEGOR GAIDAR (FIRST DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND ACTING FINANCE MINISTER).

3. GAIDAR MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ON THE GOVERNMENT'S AGENDA WAS WINNING THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS. THE POLITICAL SITUATION AT THE MOMENT WAS 'VERY DANGEROUS': IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO PREVENT A 'POPULIST OUTBREAK' AGAINST WORSENING SOCIAL CONDITIONS. THE DRASTIC MEASURES THAT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION MERITED COULD NOT BE IMPLEMENTED IMMEDIATELY:

- TO FINANCE THE BUDGETARY COMMITMENTS ENTERED INTO OVER THE LAST 6 MONTHS WOULD REQUIRE A 4-5% INCREASE IN GDP EVERY MONTH. THIS WAS NOT POSSIBLE. NOR WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE TO RAISE THE MONEY BY INCREASING TAXATION. THEREFORE SOME COMMITMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE CUT, BUT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DO THIS BEFORE 1994:

- THERE WOULD BE LITTLE PROGRESS IN GETTING THE IMF PROGRAMME BACK ON COURSE 'FOR AT LEAST THE NEXT FEW MONTHS': IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT ENOUGH PREVENTING IT FROM GOING FURTHER AWRY. THE GOVERNMENT WOULD

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TRY TO HALT FURTHER RATES OF INCREASE IN THE GROWTH OF THE MONEY SUPPLY AND BRING THE RATE OF INFLATION BELOW 25 % FOR THE NEXT 3 MONTHS. REACHING 20 % WOULD BE GOOD. THE SEPTEMBER INFLATION RATE WOULD BE HIGH - ALTHOUGH MAYBE LOWER THAN IN AUGUST:

- COOPERATION BETWEEN THE MINISTRIES OF FINANCE AND ECONOMICS HAD BEEN DRAMATICALLY IMPROVED, BUT THEY WOULD REMAIN SEPARATE. GAIDAR SAID HE WOULD 'KEEP' THE MINISTRY FOR ECONOMICS FOR HIMSELF FOR THE TIME BEING.

- DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SHOKHIN WOULD CONTINUE TO BE IN CHARGE OF DEBT RESCHEDULING. THERE WOULD BE NO OFFICIAL REQUEST FOR DEBT FORGIVENESS 'AT THIS STAGE', BUT SOLUTIONS WOULD NEED TO BE FOUND TO GET THROUGH THE NEXT 2 YEARS.

- THERE WOULD BE SUFFICIENT FOOD FOR WINTER 1993/94. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION HAD BEEN STABLE FROM SEPTEMBER 1992 - APRIL 1993 BUT HAD FALLEN 7% SINCE THEN. THIS WAS NOT A MAJOR GOVERNMENT WORRY AS MUCH OF THE INDUSTRY HAD BEEN INEFFICIENT AND THE PRODUCTION HAD BEEN 'USELESS'. RESTRUCTURING OF INDUSTRY WAS ONLY JUST BEGINNING, BUT IN THE AREAS UNDEVELOPED UNDER THE COMMUNISTS - SERVICE INDUSTRIES, THE PRIVATE SECTOR- PROGRESS WAS EVIDENT. THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX WAS OVER THE WORST, BUT UNEMPLOYMENT WAS STILL TO COME. NOW WAS THE TIME TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR THE FUTURE - DEVELOP BANKRUPTCY LAWS, SOCIAL STRUCTURES TO ACCOMMODATE UNEMPLOYMENT. THERE WOULD BE NO DRASTIC PROGRESS BEFORE THE ELECTIONS.

- FINALLY, GAIDAR THANKED HMG FOR ITS STRONG AND EARLY SUPPORT. THE WEST'S POSITION HAD BEEN VERY CLEAR AND VERY HELPFUL.

3. MEANWHILE YELTSIN HAS SIGNED A DECREE ON BREAD ALLOWANCES FOR LOW INCOME CITIZENS, TO TAKE EFFECT AS OF 25 SEPTEMBER: THE ALLOWANCE IS TO BE PAID FROM THE FEDERAL BUDGET.

4. KHANDRUYEV, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL BANK OF RUSSIA (CBR) HAS SAID THAT THE CBR SOLD 250 MILLION LAST WEEK AT THE MOSCOW INTER-BANK CURRENCY EXCHANGE TO CUSHION THE ROUBLE'S FALL (OUR TELNO 1629), WHICH WITHOUT THE CBR'S INTERVENTION WOULD HAVE BEEN 'CATASTROPHIC'.

COMMENT

5. GAIDAR WAS CHEERFUL AND CONFIDENT, BUT HE DID NOT UNDER-ESTIMATE THE MANY POLITICAL AND PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES THE



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GOVERNMENT NOW FACES IN REPAIRING THE ECONOMIC DAMAGE DONE BY THE  
PAST FEW MONTHS' CONSTITUTIONAL STALEMATE WHILE FIGHTING AN  
ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

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TELNO 1654

OF 271335Z SEPTEMBER 93

INFO PRIORITY UKMIS NEW YORK, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO,  
INFO PRIORITY ALL CSCE POSTS, PEKING, ACTOR, MODUK, HM TREASURY  
INFO PRIORITY UKDEL IMF/IBRD, ASSESSMENTS STAFF

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RUSSIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: PARLIAMENTARY PRESS

SUMMARY

1. RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT TAKES OVER PARLIAMENTARY PUBLICATIONS AND RELATED ASSETS UNTIL NEW PARLIAMENT MEETS. 'ROSSISKAYA GAZETA' WITHDRAWN FROM PUBLICATION. NO REASON TO TAKE UP THE MATTER AS AN ATTACK ON PRESS FREEDOM.

DETAIL

2. THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT HAS DECLARED ITSELF PARLIAMENT'S LEGAL SUCCESSOR AS INTERIM PROPRIETOR OF THE OFFICIAL PARLIAMENTARY NEWSPAPER 'ROSSISKAYA GAZETA' AND OTHER PARLIAMENTARY PUBLICATIONS, INCLUDING THE IZVESTIYA PUBLISHING HOUSE (NOT (NOT) THE IZVESTIYA NEWSPAPER). THE MEASURE ALSO COVERS RUSSIAN TV AND RADIO (RTR) BROADCASTS OF PARLIAMENT'S ACTIVITIES. THE MINISTRY OF PRESS AND INFORMATION HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO RE-REGISTER THE MEDIA ORGANISATIONS CONCERNED, AND THEIR EDITORS HAVE BEEN GIVEN A MONTH IN WHICH TO SUBMIT NEW DRAFT RULES FOR GOVERNMENT APPROVAL. THE PUBLICATIONS MEANWHILE HAVE BEEN WITHDRAWN AND THEIR TELEPHONE LINES DISCONNECTED. RTR PARLIAMENTARY BROADCASTS HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED UNTIL AFTER THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS.

3. THE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE CLEAR THAT THESE MEASURES ARE INTENDED TO PUT ON A PROPER LEGAL FOOTING INTERIM OWNERSHIP OF PARLIAMENTARY PUBLISHING AND COMMUNICATIONS ASSETS, WHICH WILL BE RESTORED INTACT TO THE NEW PARLIAMENT WHEN IT CONVENES IN DECEMBER.

COMMENT

5. THE OPPOSITION OF COURSE HAVE CONDEMNED THE SUSPENSION OF 'ROSSISKAYA GAZETA' (WHICH HAD BECOME A KHASBULATOV MOUTHPIECE) AND PREDICTED THE SUPPRESSION OF OTHER OPPOSITION PAPERS ('PRAVDA', 'DEN', 'SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA'). THIS HAS NOT HAPPENED.

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6. IF ASKED WHETHER WE INTEND TO TAKE UP THIS MATTER WITH THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WE SHOULD SAY THAT WE SEE NO REASON TO DO SO: THIS APPEARS TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURE TAKEN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE VERY COMPLICATED CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE PRESIDENT'S DECREE DISSOLVING PARLIAMENT, AND LIMITED TO PARLIAMENTARY PUBLICATIONS - ALL OTHER OPPOSITION NEWSPAPERS (OF WHICH THERE ARE MANY) CONTINUE TO CIRCULATE FREELY.

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FM MOSCOW  
TO DESKBY 271630Z FCO  
TELNO 1658  
OF 271527Z SEPTEMBER 93  
INFO DESKBY CABINET OFFICE, UKMIS NEW YORK  
INFO IMMEDIATE UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO, PEKING  
INFO IMMEDIATE ALL CSCE POSTS, TOKYO, ST PETERSBURG, ACTOR, MODUK  
INFO IMMEDIATE HM TREASURY, UKDEL IMF/IBRD

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*Per R/L...*

UKMIS NEW YORK FOR PS/SECRETARY OF STATE  
RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: ROUND-UP

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SUMMARY

1. FOLLOWING ST PETERSBURG MEETING OF REGIONAL LEADERS, YELTSIN SPOKESMEN SIGNAL POSSIBLE CONCESSION ON SIMULTANEOUS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, BUT NO (NO) QUESTION OF RESCINDING THE DISSOLUTION DECREE. MEETING OF FULL FEDERATION COUNCIL LIKELY IN MIDWEEK.
2. WHITE HOUSE RESISTANCE ERODING: BUT SITUATION STILL TENSE.

DETAIL

ST PETERSBURG MEETING OF REGIONAL LEADERS

1. THIS MEETING PRODUCED A 'DECLARATION' AND AN 'AGREEMENT'. THE DECLARATION CALLS FOR:

- SIMULTANEOUS PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS BY THE END OF 1993:
- THE CONGRESS TO CEDE TO THE COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATION THE POWER TO ADOPT THE INTERIM CONSTITUTIONAL ACT AND THE ELECTORAL LAW:
- PRESIDENT AND PARLIAMENT TO RESCIND ALL DECISIONS TAKEN SINCE 21 SEPTEMBER.

THE AGREEMENT IS MORE MILITANT AND SIGNED BY ONLY THIRTY OF THE FORTY-SIX PARTICIPANTS. ALL THESE SIGNATORIES WERE HEADS OF REGIONAL SOVIETS (NO HEADS OF ADMINISTRATION). THE AGREEMENT STATES THAT THE SUBJECTS OF THE FEDERATION SHOULD ADOPT THE TRANSITIONAL LEGISLATION, CONTROL PREPARATIONS FOR THE

ELECTIONS (WITH THE END-1993 DEADLINE OMITTED), HAVE A VETO ON FISCAL TRANSFERS TO THE CENTRAL BUDGET, AND PREVENT ANY ATTEMPT BY THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES (I.E. YELTSIN) TO DISSOLVE REGIONAL SOVIETS.

3. ABDULATIPOV (CHAIRMAN OF SUPREME SOVIET COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES) WHO ATTENDED THE MEETING ANNOUNCED TODAY THAT THERE WOULD BE A FULL MEETING OF THE FEDERATION COUNCIL IN MOSCOW ON 29-30 SEPTEMBER (COMMENT: AS YET, NO CONFIRMATION OF THESE DATES FROM THE KREMLIN). ABDULATIPOV ADMITTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN DISAGREEMENTS AT THE ST PETERSBURG MEETING: SOME PARTICIPANTS HAD FAVOURED PROCEEDING IN LINE WITH YELTSIN'S DECREES. VICE-PREMIER SHAKHRAI REPRESENTED THE GOVERNMENT AT THE MEETING: HE SAID TODAY THAT THERE COULD BE NO COMPROMISE ENTAILING ANY RISK OF THE ELECTIONS SLIPPING.

4. OTHER SENIOR MEMBERS OF YELTSIN'S TEAM HAVE MADE CLEAR TODAY THAT THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION OF RESCINDING THE 21 SEPTEMBER DECREE AND RELATED MEASURES. BUT THERE HAVE BEEN SOME SIGNALS THAT YELTSIN MIGHT END UP ACCEPTING A SIMULTANEOUS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN DECEMBER. YELTSIN'S SPOKESMAN ALSO DENIED THAT THERE WAS ANY PLAN TO DISSOLVE REGIONAL SOVIETS.

WHITE HOUSE

5. THE DEPUTY HEAD OF THE PRESIDENTIAL APPARAT VOLKOV HAS ANNOUNCED THAT OF THE 384 DEPUTIES OF THE STANDING SUPREME SOVIET, 76 WERE ALREADY WORKING IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, AND DISCUSSIONS WERE UNDER WAY WITH ANOTHER 114. THERE WERE ONLY 170-180 DEPUTIES LEFT IN THE WHITE HOUSE, SO THE RUMP SUPREME SOVIET HAD NOW JOINED THE CONGRESS IN BECOMING INQUORATE. AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING OF THE RUMP CONGRESS DEPUTY SPEAKER VORONIN SAID THAT THERE WERE ONLY 170 DEPUTIES IN THE HALL BECAUSE THE OTHER 300 DEPUTIES WERE MANNING DEFENSIVE GUN PORTS IN THE WINDOWS OF THE BUILDING. HE ANNOUNCED THAT THE CONGRESS HAS SUMMONED REINFORCEMENTS FROM REGIONAL SOVIETS (A MOVE IMMEDIATELY DENOUNCED BY YELTSIN'S SPOKESMAN AS ILLEGAL).

6. THE SECURITY SITUATION REMAINS STABLE BUT TENSE. THE WHITE HOUSE HAS HANDED OVER TO THE MOSCOW PROCURACY 12 SUB-MACHINE GUNS USED IN THE ATTACK ON THE CIS HEAD QUARTERS: BUT MANY OTHER WEAPONS REMAIN. THE POLICE TODAY HAVE BEEN ENFORCING STRICTER CONTROLS ON PEOPLE ENTERING THE AREA, AND THIS APPEARS TO HAVE CAUSED SOME MINOR SCUFFLES. THIS EVENING SOME ARMY COLONELS ARRIVED AT 271500Z

TO CONFER WITH INTERIOR MINISTRY COMANDERS, AND THE POLICE CORDON WAS ISSUED WITH RIOT SHIELDS AND GAS MASKS.

7. RUTSKOI'S 'SECURITY MINISTER' BARANNIKOV HAS HAD MEETINGS WITH CHERNOMYRDIN AND OTHER MINISTERS, AND HAS INDICATED THAT HE MIGHT BE READY TO LEAVE THE WHITE HOUSE WITH HIS 'MINISTERIAL' COLLEAGUES.

8. THE WHITE HOUSE LEADERSHIP HAS CONTINUED TO PUT OUT IMPLAUSIBLE CLAIMS OF ARMY AND INTERIOR MINISTRY UNITS RALLYING TO THEIR CAUSE. ALL HAVE BEEN PROMPTLY DENIED BY THE AUTHORITIES.

COMMENT

9. THE TRICK NOW FOR YELTSIN WILL BE TO GET THE FEDERATION COUNCIL'S ENDORSEMENT OF THE DECEMBER PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND RELEVANT LEGAL MEASURES, WITHOUT ANY UNRAVELLING OF THE DISSOLUTION DECREES. THE PROSPECTS OF ACHIEVING THIS STILL SEEM GOOD. EVEN THE UNREPRESENTATIVE ST PETERSBURG MEETING ACCEPTED THE KEY PRINCIPLE OF ELECTIONS. THE SIGNS ARE THAT YELTSIN WOULD CONCEDE A SIMULTANEOUS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AT THE LAST MOMENT IF THIS WOULD CLINCH THE WHOLE PACKAGE.

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