

FOR HIS ANTI-YELTSIN TRACTS. THESE REPORTS CLEARLY REVEAL ABUSE (AN ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANISATIONS HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED TO COLLABORATE AND INVESTIGATE SUCH ALLEGATIONS): BUT THE PICTURE BEING RETAILED BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL MAY BE EXAGGERATED. WE HAVE NOT SEEN ANY PHOTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE OF PHYSICAL INJURIES WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED IF THE WORST ACCOUNTS OF BEATINGS WERE ACCURATE. FOR EXAMPLE, RUMOURS THAT THE WELL-KNOWN FORMER DEPUTY RUMYANTSEV WAS BEATEN UP AND STUBBED WITH BURNING CIGARETTE ENDS HAVE SINCE PROVED GROUNDLESS: AND KAGARLITSKY'S HEALTHY APPEARANCE DID NOT SQUARE WITH HIS ACCOUNT OF THE ROUGH TREATMENT HE HAD RECEIVED.

4. KOVALYOV WAS CRITICAL OF THE EXPULSION FROM MOSCOW OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WHO LACKED A RESIDENCE PERMIT (PROPISKA). THERE WAS NO AUTHORITY FOR THIS UNDER THE STATE OF EMERGENCY POWERS, AND IT WAS IN ANY CASE A VIOLATION OF THE LAW (ONE OF THE EX-SUPREME SOVIET'S MOST ENLIGHTENED ACHIEVEMENTS) ABOLISHING THE SOVIET (AND BY DESCENT TSARIST) PROPISKA SYSTEM. HE DEPLORED LUZHKOVA'S (MAYOR OF MOSCOW) REFUSAL TO APPLY THIS LAW IN THE CAPITAL. UNFORTUNATELY LUZHKOVA'S STANCE WAS VERY POPULAR WITH MUSCOVITES, AND THE SPECIOUS USE OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY TO CRACK DOWN ON CAUCASIAN TRADERS AND 'MAFIA' WAS OBVIOUSLY GEARED TO THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN (THE NEW MOSCOW CITY DUMA IS TO BE ELECTED ON THE SAME DAY AS THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS).

LOBBYING FOR EXTENDED POLICE POWERS

5. KOVALYOV WAS LESS CONCERNED WITH ABUSES OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY REGIME THAN WITH AN ATTEMPT BY LUZHKOVA AND THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR TO SECURE INCREASED POLICE POWERS AFTER THE STATE OF EMERGENCY HAD ENDED (NOTE: PROBABLY ON 18 OCTOBER). THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM WAS THAT THE INABILITY OF THE POLICE TO GET RESULTS USING NORMAL METHODS: NOW THEY HAD BEEN GIVEN A TASTE OF EMERGENCY POWERS THEY WANTED THESE MADE PERMANENT. A DRAFT DECREE HAD BEEN PREPARED FOR SUBMISSION TO YELTSIN WHICH FOR THE PERIOD OF 'GRADUAL CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM' UNDER THE 21 SEPTEMBER DECREE WOULD ESTABLISH:

- NATIONWIDE INTERNAL MOVEMENT CONTROLS:
- POWERS OF SEARCH:
- AND LONG-TERM DETENTION OF SUSPECTS WITHOUT CHARGES.

THE TEXT OF THIS DRAFT HAS BEEN LEAKED BY YELTSIN'S LEGAL AFFAIRS ADVISER BATURIN TO 'IZVESTIYA', WHICH TOGETHER WITH OTHER LIBERAL NEWSPAPERS HAS LAUNCHED A COUNTER-LOBBYING CAMPAIGN AGAINST THIS DECREE. KOVALYOV WAS CONFIDENT THAT YELTSIN WOULD NOT SIGN SUCH A DECREE (AND THE DRAFT HAD NOT YET REACHED THE PRESIDENTIAL APPARAT): BUT THE FACT THAT POWERFUL FORCES WERE LOBBYING FOR SUCH MEASURES WAS WORRYING ENOUGH IN ITSELF. KOVALYOV SAID THAT THE UK AND OTHER LEADING WESTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD COMBINE THEIR OPEN SUPPORT FOR YELTSIN (WHICH HE APPLAUDED) WITH DISCREET DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES SUCH AS THIS DRAFT DECREE.

PRESS AND TELEVISION

6. KOVALYOV NOTED THAT THE AUTHORITIES HAD ACTED LAWFULLY UNDER THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IN INTRODUCING CENSORSHIP (IN ANY CASE LIFTED AFTER 48 HOURS) AND IN SUSPENDING EXTREMIST PUBLICATIONS. ONCE AGAIN, HE WAS MORE CONCERNED WITH THE PERIOD AFTER THE STATE OF EMERGENCY HAD BEEN LIFTED. THE ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE BANNING OF FOURTEEN HARDLINE PUBLICATIONS AND THE '600 SECONDS' TELEVISION PROGRAMME WAS NOT ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY. THE GOVERNMENT HAD RIGHTLY INSTITUTED CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THESE PUBLICATIONS FOR VIOLATIONS OF THE MASS MEDIA LAW CARRYING PENALTIES UP TO AND INCLUDING CLOSURE/BANNING. BUT THE GOVERNMENT HAD JUMPED THE GUN BY ANNOUNCING THIS BAN BEFORE OBTAINING A VERDICT FROM THE COURTS.

7. THE PRESS MINISTRY HAS SINCE ANNOUNCED THAT THE TWO NATIONAL DAILIES ON THE BLACK LIST, 'PRAVDA' AND SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA', WILL BE ALLOWED TO REOPEN WITH NEW EDITORS AND DIFFERENT NAMES. 'PRAVDA' ('TRUTH') MAY BE RENAMED 'PUT' PRAVDY' ('PATH OF TRUTH').

8. TODAY'S 'IZVESTIYA' PUBLISHES A LETTER SIGNED BY PROMINENT INTELLECTUALS ARGUING AGAINST ANY REPRIEVE FOR '600 SECONDS'. THE AUTHORS RECALL THAT EVER SINCE SUPPORTING THE SOVIET COUP ATTEMPT IN THE BALTICS IN JANUARY 1991, THIS PROGRAMME HAS INCITED RACIAL HATRED, AND GIVEN ENCOURAGEMENT AND PRACTICAL HELP TO EXTREME NATIONALIST TERRORIST GROUPS. 'MOSKOVSKY KOMSOMOLET'S' HAS PUBLISHED A FACSIMILE OF A LICENCE SIGNED BY RUTSKOI'S 'DEFENCE MINISTER' ACHALOV PERMITTING THE AUTHOR OF '600 SECONDS' NEVZOROV TO CARRY WEAPONS 'FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE WHITE HOUSE'.

POLITICAL PARTIES

9. THE VARIOUS MOVEMENTS MAKING UP THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT WERE SUSPENDED IMMEDIATELY ON 4 OCTOBER FOR PARTICIPATION OR COMPLICITY IN THE INSURRECTION. ON 8 OCTOBER THE AUTHORITIES ALSO SUSPENDED THE MAIN COMMUNIST PARTY (LED BY ZYUGANOV) AND RUTSKOI'S PARTY 'PENDING CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS'. THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE HAS PUBLISHED A LIST OF 91 REGISTERED PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS ELIGIBLE TO TAKE PART IN THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS. THIS LIST INCLUDES TWO SMALL COMMUNIST PARTIES AND A FEW HARDLINE NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS. ZYUGANOV MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO RESPOND TO HIS PARTY'S SUSPENSION BY BOYCOTTING THESE 'ILLEGITIMATE ELECTIONS TO A PACKED PARLIAMENT' (AS SOME OTHER OPPOSITION LEADERS HAVE BEEN PUTTING IT) BUT ENCOURAGINGLY, ZYUGANOV HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE INTENDS TO TAKE PART, BY HOOK OR BY CROOK. THE NATIONAL-PATRIOT LEADER BABURIN HAS SIMILARLY URGED HIS FOLLOWERS TO PARTICIPATE.

10. SEE MIFT FOR COMMENT.

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FORMER SOVIET UNION

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INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, ROME, OTTAWA, TOKYO
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MIPT: RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL
LIBERTIES SINCE THE INSURRECTION: COMMENT

SUMMARY

1. COMMENTS ON CRITICISM OF THE HUMAN/CIVIL RIGHTS SITUATION IN
RUSSIA, AND RECOMMENDED LINE TO TAKE WITH RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES.

DETAIL

2. YELTSIN AND HIS GOVERNMENT ARE DETERMINED NOT - AS THEY SEE IT -
TO REPEAT THE MISTAKE OF 1991: THIS TIME THEY MEAN TO USE THEIR
VICTORY TO DRIVE A STAKE THROUGH THE HEART OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM,
AND TO DESTROY COMMUNISM AND FASCISM AS POLITICAL FORCES IN RUSSIA.
THE WAY IN WHICH THEY HAVE EXPLOITED THE STATE OF EMERGENCY SINCE
4 OCTOBER TO ACHIEVE THIS HAS CLEARLY AT VARIOUS POINTS GONE WELL
BEYOND THE LAW, THOUGH AS NOTED IN MIPT THE MOST BLATANTLY ILLEGAL
OF THESE MEASURES (THE ACTION AGAINST THE CAUCASIAN MINORITIES)
HAS ALSO BEEN THE MOST POPULAR.

3. ALL OF THIS HAS ATTRACTED CRITICISM, FROM THREE MAIN SOURCES:

- THE HARD-LINE OPPOSITION (OBVIOUSLY):
- RUSSIAN CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS:
- THE WESTERN PRESS.

WE NEED TO CONSIDER HOW TO REACT, NOT JUST IN RESPONDING TO SUCH
CRITICISM BUT IN OUR DEALINGS WITH THE RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES. IT IS
NOT IN OUR INTERESTS TO BE SEEN TO OFFER SUCH UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT
TO YELTSIN THAT WE ARE READY TO OVERLOOK WHATEVER EXCESSES MIGHT
BE COMMITTED IN HIS NAME TO ENSURE THAT HIS POLITICAL OPPONENTS
CANNOT MAKE A SERIOUS SHOWING IN DECEMBER'S ELECTIONS. IT MUST BE
PUBLICLY UNDERSTOOD HERE AND IN THE WEST THAT OUR AIM IS TO
SUPPORT A FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACY HERE, NOT TO MAKE TSAR BORIS SAFE
ON HIS THRONE.

4. THERE ARE VARIOUS POINTS WE NEED TO KEEP IN MIND:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

6. HMA WILL BE ASKING TO SEE KOZYREV NEXT WEEK IN ADVANCE OF HIS VISIT TO THE UK, AND WILL USE THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN OUR POSITION, MAKING IT CLEAR TO HIM THAT HE CAN EXPECT SOME SEARCHING QUESTIONING ON THIS BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY WHEN HE IS IN THE UK.

[REDACTED]

7. WE WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH EASTERN DEPARTMENT WITH FURTHER IDEAS ON PRACTICAL SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL REFORM IN RUSSIA IN THIS TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

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