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MOSCOW TELNO 1743:

RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: YELTSIN TV ADDRESS ON EVENTS OF 3-4 OCTOBER

1. FOLLOWING IS A FULL VERSION OF YELTSIN'S TV ADDRESS YESTERDAY EVENING (PREVIEWED IN TUR) ABOUT THE ATTEMPTED COUP OF 3-4 OCTOBER.

- ON 3-4 OCTOBER RUSSIA SUFFERED A VERY GREAT TRAGEDY. BANDS OF MURDERERS AND BREAKERS ERUPTED ONTO THE STREETS OF OUR CAPITAL. THEY BROKE INTO STATE INSTITUTIONS, HUMILIATED PEOPLE BY TAKING THEM HOSTAGE, HIJACKED BUSES AND LORRIES: THESE FIGHTERS HAD A LARGE QUANTITY OF WEAPONS, AMMUNITION AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT. THE LIVES OF PEACEFUL TOWNSFOLK WERE PUT IN MORTAL DANGER.
- WHAT HAPPENED IN MOSCOW LAST SUNDAY WAS NO SPONTANEOUS HAPPENING. IT WAS AN ARMED INSURRECTION, PLANNED AND PREPARED BY THE LEADERS OF THE FORMER SUPREME SOVIET, THE FORMER VICE PRESIDENT, AND THE LEADERS OF VARIOUS PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. THESE INCLUDED THE NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT AND ITS COMPONENT PARTS: 'WORKING RUSSIA', A RANGE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND GROUPINGS, THE FASCIST 'RUSSIAN NATIONAL UNITY', AND OTHERS. IN THIS FOUL BUSINESS WERE LOCKED TOGETHER FASCISTS AND COMMUNISTS, THE SWASTIKA WITH THE HAMMER AND SICKLE.
- AMONG THE ORGANISERS AND ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN THE INSURRECTION WERE SOME FORMER PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES WHO HAD IN EFFECT LONG BEEN CARRYING OUT CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES UNDER COVER OF THEIR DEPUTY'S IMMUNITY. THEY USED THAT IMMUNITY TO INCITE VIOLENCE, ORGANISE MASSIVE BLOODY DISORDERS, AND UNLEASH CIVIL WAR. THEIR GOAL WAS TO ESTABLISH IN RUSSIA A BLOODY COMMUNIST-FASCIST DICTATORSHIP.

- TODAY IT IS CLEAR THAT ALL THIS HAD BEEN PREPARED OVER MANY MONTHS. THERE IS MUCH TALK AT THE MOMENT OF THE SLOW REACTIONS, HESITATION AND CONFUSION OF THE AUTHORITIES. I MUST TELL YOU STRAIGHT: NOT EVERYONE HAD THE SELF-POSSESSION, STRENGTH AND NERVE TO RESIST THAT VAST TENSION AT THE MOST CRITICAL MOMENT. THE BLOODY EVENTS OF THAT NIGHT MADE IT NECESSARY TO BRING INTO MOSCOW UNITS OF THE REGULAR ARMY.
- THE DIFFICULT DECISION WAS TAKEN TO STORM THE BUILDING OF THE FORMER SUPREME SOVIET, WHICH HAD BEEN TURNED INTO A CITADEL OF TERRORISM WITH A VAST QUANTITY OF WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION. IT HAD BECOME THE MOST DANGEROUS FACTOR IN THE UNLEASHING OF CIVIL WAR IN RUSSIA. IN THIS BUILDING THE ACTIONS OF THE ARMED MILITANTS WERE COORDINATED, AND ILLEGAL ARMED DETACHMENTS WERE FORMED: AND FROM THIS BUILDING CAME THE ORDERS FOR THE ATTACK ON THE TOWN HALL, OSTANKINO TV CENTRE, AND THE KREMLIN. THE WHITE HOUSE HAD BECOME A SYMBOL OF TREACHERY.
- ALL THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE INSURRECTION WERE MADE UNDER THE COVER OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE NOBLE INTENTIONS OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH TO ASSIST A SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS WERE TRAMPLED.
- THE VICTIMS WOULD HAVE BEEN FAR FEWER IF THE FIGHTERS AND SNIPERS HOLED UP IN THE WHITE HOUSE HAD NOT FIRED ON INNOCENT CITIZENS, AND IF THEY HAD BEEN ORDERED TO GIVE UP THEIR ARMS WHEN FURTHER RESISTANCE HAD BECOME SENSELESS.
- THE FIRES OF CIVIL WAR IN RUSSIA HAVE BEEN PUT OUT: BUT MY HEART IS HEAVY AS AN ENORMOUS PRICE HAS HAD TO BE PAID. IT MAKES ME BITTER TO SEE HOW SOME ARE ALREADY RAKING OVER THE COLD ASHES IN SEARCH OF TRIFLING POLITICAL ADVANTAGE AND THE SALVAGING OF THE PERSONAL REPUTATIONS OF THOSE WHO THAT NIGHT COVERED THEMSELVES IN SHAME. LET GOD BE THEIR JUDGE.
- WE MUST LEARN SOME SERIOUS LESSONS. WHY DID WE TOLERATE THE ACTIVITIES OF ORGANISATIONS NOT ONLY INCITING TO VIOLENCE BUT ACTIVELY PREPARING VIOLENCE, WITHOUT ANY RESISTANCE FROM THE STATE PROSECUTION SERVICE OR THE SECURITY FORCES? SOCIETY BECAME RESIGNED TO THE FACT THAT THE SUPREME SOVIET AND CONGRESS HAD BECOME THEIR CHIEF PATRONS. AS A RESULT, EVERY FRESH MOVE BY THEM BECAME MORE INSOLENT AND MENACING. THE

SLIGHTEST FIRMNESS AGAINST THEM WAS CRITICISED BY MANY JOURNALISTS CALLING THEMSELVES DEMOCRATS. EVEN WHEN FOR THE SAFETY OF MOSCOVITES A CORDON WAS PLACED AROUND THE WHITE HOUSE, STOCKED FULL OF LETHAL WEAPONS, WE WERE SHOWERED WITH REBUKES FOR 'HEARTLESS CRUELTY' AND REVIVING AUTHORITARIANISM.

- THE MAIN LESSON IS THAT DEMOCRACY MUST BE WELL DEFENDED: THE STATE MUST USE FORCE IF THERE IS A THREAT TO THE LIFE AND SECURITY OF CITIZENS. OTHERWISE THERE CAN BE NO DEMOCRACY.
- THOSE WHO TOOK UP ARMS AND TOOK PART IN THESE DISORDERS WILL FACE THE FULL SEVERITY OF THE LAW. AND ALL THE PROPONENTS OF FASCIST AND COMMUNIST IDEAS WHO INSTIGATED THE INSURRECTION WILL ALSO ANSWER BEFORE THE LAW. THERE CAN BE NO MORE CARTE BLANCHE GIVEN TO FASCISM AND COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA.
- ANOTHER CAUSE OF THE TRAGEDY WAS THAT TOO MANY OF US WERE CONTENT TO GO ALONG WITH THE PERNICIOUS DUAL-POWER WHICH WAS BEEN SO DESTRUCTIVE FOR RUSSIA. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE NEW PARLIAMENT, A TOTAL BRAIN-WASHING OF THE REGIONS BEGAN. A NEW ENEMY OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH WAS CREATED IN THE SO-CALLED 'COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATION OF PARTS'. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY IF THIS MOVE WAS THE RESULT OF POLITICAL ILLITERACY OR CALCULATION: BUT EVERY SUCH STEP STRUCK AT RUSSIA'S UNITY AND INTEGRITY AND EXCITED THE AGGRESSION OF THOSE WHO HAD CHOSEN THE PATH OF VIOLENCE AND TYRANNY.
- NO SMALL SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE TRAGIC EVENTS IN MOSCOW MUST BE BORNE BY THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT. THIS BODY VIOLATED THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE. THE COURT, OR AT LEAST SOME OF ITS MEMBERS, HAD LONG SINCE BECOME THE PROSECUTOR OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND THE DEFENCE COUNSEL OF THE LEGISLATURE. THE COURT, AND ESPECIALLY ITS CHAIRMAN, ACQUIESCED IN CONTINUAL AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION, AND FAILED TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE CONTRADICTIONS WHICH THE CONGRESS KNOWINGLY INTRODUCED INTO THE CONSTITUTION.
- THE SOVIETS: IN EVERY SOVIET THERE ARE DEPUTIES WHO SUPPORT REFORM. BUT DESPITE THIS THE MAJORITY OF SOVIETS AFTER 21 SEPTEMBER DELIBERATELY SUPPORTED EVERY ACTION OF THE FORMER SUPREME SOVIET. EVERY HINT OF SUPPORT FROM THE SOVIETS WAS A

SPUR TO VIOLENCE. IF THE PUTSCHISTS HAD WON, THEY WOULD HAVE AGAIN BEEN SUPPORTED BY THE SOVIETS. THE MAJORITY OF SOVIETS BEAR DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EXTREME AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION IN MOSCOW. THE NETWORK OF SOVIETS DISPLAYED COMPLETE DISDAIN FOR THE SECURITY OF THE STATE AND ITS CITIZENS AND IN DOING SO DETERMINED THEIR OWN FATE. THE SOVIETS WHICH TOOK HARD-LINE POSITIONS CANNOT NOW ADAPT THEMSELVES TO THE NEW SITUATION, BUT SHOULD TAKE THE DECENT AND COURAGEOUS DECISION TO DISSOLVE THEMSELVES AND DEPART THE SCENE PEACEFULLY WITHOUT UPHEAVALS AND SCANDALS. REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO MAKE SOCIAL SECURITY PROVISIONS FOR THE FORMER DEPUTIES.

- IN THE NEAREST FUTURE A NEW FORM OF REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE POWER MUST BE CREATED. THIS WILL BE A TASK FOR THE 'SOCIAL CHAMBER' BASED ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AND ITS LEGISLATIVE AND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS. THESE NEW REGIONAL BODIES MUST BE ELECTED IN DECEMBER.
- AFTER LIVING THROUGH THOSE TERRIBLE DAYS AND NIGHTS WE CAN BE CERTAIN THAT CIVIL WAR WILL NOT BREAK OUT IN RUSSIA. THE PUTSCHISTS FAILED TO SPLIT THE ARMY AND BREAK UP THE COUNTRY.
- BUT THE INSURRECTION REVEALED VERY SERIOUS PROBLEMS. WE DESPERATELY NEED A NEW, NORMAL DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION. WE NEED A UNITED RUSSIA: REGIONAL SEPARATIST GAMES CONTRADICT THE INTERESTS AND WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF OUR CITIZENS. WE NEED A THOROUGHGOING REFORM OF THE ARMY AND SECURITY SERVICES. WE MUST SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO CONTINUE ECONOMIC REFORM.
- TO RESTORE ORDER IN THE CAPITAL AND PURGE IT OF ARMED MILITANTS A ONE-WEEK STATE OF EMERGENCY HAS BEEN IMPOSED: THIS MIGHT BE SHORTENED OR LENGTHENED A LITTLE DEPENDING ON CIRCUMSTANCES. MOST PEOPLE HAVE SHOWN UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT FOR THIS SEVERE MEASURE. BUT SOME MEASURES HAVE BEEN EXCESSIVE: I HAVE ORDERED A HALT TO PRESS CENSORSHIP. IT WOULD A MISTAKE HOWEVER TO SUPPOSE THAT THE SITUATION IS ENTIRELY NORMALISED. CARELESS WORDS COULD AGAIN STIR UP PASSIONS AND VIOLENCE. JOURNALISTS BEAR A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY AT THIS TIME.
- WARM TRIBUTES TO MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES, MEDICAL SERVICES, JOURNALISTS AT OSTANKINO, AND PRO-DEMOCRACY

DEMONSTRATORS AT THE MOSSOVIET, WHO LOST OR RISKED THEIR LIVES.

- THE WORST IS BEHIND US: BUT TO CONSOLIDATE PEACE WE MUST STRENGTHEN THE STATE. ELECTIONS TO THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY AND, I BELIEVE, TO THE NEW REGIONAL BODIES OF REPRESENTATIVE POWER WILL TAKE PLACE ON 12 DECEMBER. EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES ARE GUARANTEED TO ALL INDIVIDUALS, PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS NOT STAINED WITH DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN THE INSURRECTION. THE LAST FEW DAYS WILL HAVE PERSUADED US OF THE GREAT PRICE TO BE PAID FOR POLITICAL APATHY. APATHY CANNOT PROTECT US. WE CANNOT SLEEP QUIETLY WHEN OUR HOUSE IS BURNING. I APPEAL TO EVERYONE TO TAKE PART IN THE ELECTIONS AND ELECT WORTHY, COMPETENT, INTELLIGENT AND CIVILISED PEOPLE.
 - TALK OF 'VICTORY' OR 'DEFEAT' AT THIS TIME WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE AND BLASPHEMOUS. ALL THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE DIED ARE OUR COMPATRIOTS. GRIEF AND SUFFERING HAVE ENTERED MANY HOMES. THIS IS OUR COMMON TRAGEDY, OUR PROFOUND GRIEF. LET US REMEMBER THIS MADNESS, THAT IT MAY NEVER HAPPEN AGAIN.
2. SEE MIFT FOR COMMENT.

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MIPT:

RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: YELTSIN'S TV ADDRESS ON EVENTS OF 3-4 OCTOBER: COMMENT

1. MIPT TRIES TO GIVE A DETAILED IMPRESSION OF A POWERFUL, WELL-JUDGED AND WELL-BALANCED SPEECH WHICH YELTSIN DELIVERED WITH AUTHORITY AND CONTROLLED EMOTION. THIS WAS ONE OF HIS BEST TELEVISION PERFORMANCES. THE ADDRESS WAS WELL-TIMED: COMING ON THE EVE OF THE DAY OF NATIONAL MOURNING, IT CAUGHT THE MOOD OF TRAGEDY BUT WAS UNCOMPROMISING IN ITS DESCRIPTION AND CONDEMNATION OF THE EVIL WHICH HAS BEEN DEFEATED. THE ADDRESS SUCCESSFULLY STRUCK THE TONE OF 'FATHER OF THE NATION' RATHER THAN PARTISAN POLITICIAN. ALLOWING FOR THE RHETORICAL ENFORCEMENT, EVEN THE MOST HARD-HITTING PASSAGES ON THE RED-BROWNS, AND THE WITHERING ATTACKS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT AND THE SOVIETS, COULD HARDLY BE FAULTED FOR EXAGGERATION.

2. WHAT YELTSIN SAID ABOUT THE FUTURE WAS MORE A POLITICAL MANIFESTO THAN AN OPERATIONAL DECREE. APART FROM THE CRUCIAL REAFFIRMATION OF THE 12 DECEMBER POLLING DATE, THIS WAS NO REPEAT OF 21 SEPTEMBER. INSTEAD, THERE WERE CLEAR INDICATIONS OF YELTSIN'S AGENDA, AND BOTTOM LINE, IN THE COMING WEEKS AND MONTHS:

- THE REGIONAL SOVIETS ARE NOT DISSOLVED BY DECREE (THIS COULD NOT BE PHYSICALLY ENFORCED EVEN NOW, ESPECIALLY IN THE NATIONAL REPUBLICS): BUT YELTSIN HAS MADE PRETTY CLEAR THAT WHETHER OR NOT THE SOVIETS AGREE TO DISSOLVE THEMSELVES, NEW REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE BODIES WILL BE ELECTED IN DECEMBER. THIS WILL INVOLVE INTRODUCING MORE OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION BY DECREE BEFORE IT CAN BE FORMALLY ADOPTED BY THE NEW FEDERAL PARLIAMENT.

- IN REAFFIRMING THE ELECTION DATE, YELTSIN REFERRED TO THE 'FEDERAL ASSEMBLY' RATHER THAN SPECIFICALLY TO THE DUMA. THIS MAY

FORESHADOW A DRIVE TO GET THE FEDERATION COUNCIL (UPPER HOUSE OF THE NEW FEDERAL PARLIAMENT) ELECTED AT THE SAME TIME AS THE DUMA. THE PREVIOUS INTENTION WAS TO ALLOW THE FEDERATION COUNCIL TO EXIST FOR A TIME IN ITS TRANSITIONAL FORM, AS AN ASSEMBLY OF THE HEADS OF THE EXECUTIVE AND SOVIET (LEGISLATURE) OF EACH SUBJECT OF THE FEDERATION. BUT THIS SCHEME IS NOW UNDERMINED BY THE DISSOLUTION OR MARGINALISATION OF THE REGIONAL SOVIETS.

- YELTSIN'S REFERENCE TO REFORM OF THE ARMY AND SECURITY SERVICES WILL CAUSE A STIR. THERE HAS ALREADY BEEN MUCH PRESS COMMENT SINCE THE WEEKEND ABOUT THE EQUIVOCATION OF THE UNREFORMED MBR (EX-KGB) SINCE 21 SEPTEMBER, AND ITS SCANDALOUS FAILURE TO USE ITS ENORMOUS ASSETS TO PREDICT AND HELP PREVENT THE INSURRECTION. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN SPECULATOIN ABOUT THE HESITATIONS IN THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP WHEN THE MOMENT OF TRUTH CAME ON SUNDAY. BUT YELTSIN'S IMPLIED CRITICISM OF THE ARMY AT THIS TIME STILL COMES AS A SURPRISE, AND MAY BE A HOSTAGE TO FORTUNE.

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RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: ROUND-UP 7 OCTOBER

SUMMARY

1. MORE MOPPING-UP: ANPILOV ARRESTED. PRESS CENSORSHIP LIFTED. ZORKIN RESIGNS. REPORTS THAT SHAKHRAI OFFERED RESIGNATION. YELTSIN STRENGTHENS CONTROL OVER REGIONAL GOVERNORS. ELECTION CAMPAIGN NOW WELL UNDERWAY.

DETAIL

MOSCOW SECURITY

2. MOSCOW POLICE REPORTED FIVE WOUNDED AND SEVERAL MORE WEAPONS SEIZED IN CONTINUING OPERATIONS TO MOP UP HARDLINE 'BANDITS' DURING THE NIGHT OF 6-7 OCTOBER. THE MOSCOW STATE OF EMERGENCY KOMMANDANT HAS SAID THAT OVERALL THE CITY IS RETURNING TO NORMAL, BUT SIGNALLED A LONG-TERM INTENSIFICATION OF THE POLICING EFFORT (COMMENT: THE MAYOR OF MOSCOW LUZHKOVA HAS NOT DISGUISED HIS SATISFACTION THAT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY HAS PROVIDED THE PERFECT OPPORTUNITY OF ROUNDING UP CAUCASIAN MAFIOSI AND THE LIKE).

3. THE NOTORIOUS RED-BROWN RABBLE-ROUSER ANPILOV HAS BEEN FINALLY BEEN CAUGHT TODAY. ANPILOV, TOGETHER WITH MAKASHOV, 'COMMANDED' SUNDAY'S ATTACKS.

PRESS CENSORSHIP

4. FOLLOWING YESTERDAY'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE LIFTING OF PRESS CENSORSHIP IMPOSED UNDER THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, THE FIRST DEPUTY PREMIER AND ACTING PRESS MINISTER SHUMEIKO HAS URGED JOURNALISTS TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT ('SELF-CENSORSHIP'), BUT SAID THAT MEASURES UP TO AND INCLUDING CLOSURE WILL ONLY BE BROUGHT AGAINST NEWSPAPERS

[REDACTED]

PUBLISHING DIRECT APPEALS TO VIOLENCE (AS OPPOSED TO 'UN SOUND'
REPORTS OR ANALYSIS).

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT

5. ZORKIN RESIGNED YESTERDAY AS THE COURT'S CHAIRMAN AND HAS BEEN AUTOMATICALLY SUCCEEDED BY HIS DEPUTY VITRUK. ZORKIN HAS 'RETIRED HURT' TO HOSPITAL. BUT THE OTHER JUDGES HAVE MADE IT KNOWN THAT WHEN HE REEMERGES, THERE WILL BE A MOVE TO SUSPEND HIM OUTRIGHT FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES VIOLATING THE LAW ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT.

CRISIS-RELATED DECREES

6. NEW DECREES ARE POURING OUT OF THE KREMLIN. THE HIGHLIGHTS ARE:

- RETRACTION OF SOCIAL SECURITY GUARANTEES FOR FORMER DEPUTIES WHO STAYED IN THE WHITE HOUSE ON 3 OCTOBER:
- TRANSFER OF THE WHITE HOUSE, AFTER RESTORATION, TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT (THE NEW PARLIAMENT IS EXPECTED TO SIT IN THE GREAT KREMLIN PALACE):
- FORMAL DISSOLUTION OF THE MOSCOW CITY AND DISTRICT SOVIETS, TO BE REPLACED BY A CITY 'DUMA' ELECTED TOGETHER WITH THE NEW FEDERAL PARLIAMENT ON 12 DECEMBER:
- CONSOLIDATED FUND AND OTHER ASSISTANCE TO THE FAMILIES OF THOSE KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE FIGHTING:
- ALL HEADS OF REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION TO BE APPOINTED AND DISMISSED BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE BASIS OF RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE PRIME MINISTER (COMMENT: YELTSIN'S CONTROL OF REGIONAL EXECUTIVES WILL BE EVEN MORE CRUCIAL NOW THAT HE HAS MOVED AGAINST THE REGIONAL SOVIETS AND IS FORCING ELECTIONS TO THE FEDERATION COUNCIL/UPPER HOUSE OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT).

SHAKHRAI

7. THERE WERE RUMOURS YESTERDAY THAT VICE-PREMIER SHAKHRAI HAD OFFERED HIS RESIGNATION IN PROTEST AT YELTSIN'S UNCOMPROMISING ATTACK ON THE REGIONAL SOVIETS (SHAKHRAI ADVOCATES MORE GRADUAL REFORM). SHAKHRAI MAY HAVE BEEN RECONCILED BY THE SOFTER FORMULA IN YELTSIN'S TELEVISION ADDRESS, INVITING THE REGIONAL SOVIETS TO

DISSOLVE THEMSELVES AND SERVING NOTICE THAT ELECTIONS TO NEW REGIONAL AUTHORITIES WOULD BE HELD ON 12 DECEMBER IN ANY CASE. (COMMENT: THIS IS LOOKING AN INCREASINGLY NEAT SOLUTION TO THE SOVIET PROBLEM). MANY OBSERVERS HERE BELIEVE THAT SHAKHRAI IS LOOKING TO LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT SOON TO CONCENTRATE ON ELECTIONEERING: HE MAY WELL BE THE LEADING DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN THE FIRST POST-YELTSIN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (HE HAS SAID HE WOULD NOT RUN AGAINST YELTSIN).

ELECTION

8. THE CAMPAIGN IS UNDER WAY. YELTSIN HAS APPROVED FINAL CHANGES TO THE ELECTORAL DECREE-LAW, INCREASING THE NUMBER OF SEATS IN THE DUMA FROM 400 TO 450, AND THE PROPORTION OF SEATS TO BE ALLOCATED BY PARTY LISTS TO ONE HALF (NOTE: THE LATTER CHANGE SHOULD FAVOUR THE RADICAL DEMOCRAT CAMP). THE RESPECTABLE OPPOSITION HAVE FORMED A BLOC BASED ON THE OLD CIVIC ALLIANCE (VOLSKY, VLADISLAVLEV, LIPITSKY) AND HAVE CHOSEN YAVLINSKY AS THEIR LEADER. TRAVKIN HAS REFUSED TO JOIN.

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RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: ROUND-UP 8 OCTOBER

SUMMARY

1. CONSTITUTIONAL COURT SUSPENDED UNTIL NEW CONSTITUTION ADOPTED. SEVERAL REGIONAL SOVIETS ACCEPT DISSOLUTION/NEW ELECTIONS. SOME COMMUNIST AND NATIONAL-PATRIOT PARTIES ALLOWED TO TAKE PART IN ELECTIONS. 'COUP LEADERS' TO BE CHARGED WITHIN 10 DAYS.

DETAIL

2. YELTSIN HAS SUSPENDED THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT UNTIL THE NEW CONSTITUTION IS ADOPTED. THE DECREE REFERS TO THE RESIGNATION OF ZORKIN AND OTHER JUDGES AS LEAVING THE COURT UNDERSTAFFED. BUT THE DECISION IS MAINLY BASED ON THE COURT'S RECORD: THE DECREE STATES THAT TWICE THIS YEAR THE COURT'S HASTY ACTIONS PUSHED THE COUNTRY TO THE BRINK OF CIVIL WAR: AND THAT WHEN CIVIL WAR BECAME A REALITY I.E. ON 3 OCTOBER THE COURT WAS SILENT. THE DECREE STATES THAT THE NEW PARLIAMENT SHOULD GIVE URGENT ATTENTION TO THE ISSUE OF CONSTITUTIONAL JUSTICE AND ENFORCEMENT, AND APPOINTS ACTING CONSTITUTIONAL COURT CHAIRMAN VITRUK TO COORDINATE PROPOSALS FOR SUBMISSION TO THE NEW PARLIAMENT. VITRUK AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE TO BE GIVEN THE FACILITIES AND STAFF NECESSARY FOR THIS TASK. (COMMENT: THE COURT HAS THEREFORE BEEN TURNED INTO ANOTHER WORKING GROUP OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE). THE DECREE RECOMMENDS THAT THE DRAFT LEGISLATION PROVIDE FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL COLLEGIUM WITHIN THE SUPREME COURT (COMMENT: A SIMILAR FORMULA APPEARED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL DRAFT CONSTITUTION PREPARED FOR THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IN JUNE: BUT IT WAS STRONGLY RESISTED BY ZORKIN).

REGIONAL SOVIETS

3. INITIAL REGIONAL REACTIONS TO YELTSIN'S CALL ON THE SOVIETS TO DISSOLVE THEMSELVES (MOSCOW TELNO 1748) HAVE BEEN QUITE PROMISING.

VOLUNTARY DISSOLUTION HAS ALREADY OCCURRED OR SEEMS IMMINENT IN A FEW REGIONS (TYUMEN, VOLGOGRAD, VLADIMIR), WHILE THE MAJORITY OF REGIONAL SOVIETS TO HAVE REACTED SO FAR HAVE ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF NEW LOCAL ELECTIONS (THOUGH STOPPING SHORT OF IMMEDIATE SELF-DISSOLUTION) AND ABANDONED THEIR EARLIER OPPOSITION TO YELTSIN'S 21 SEPTEMBER DECREE. THERE HAS BEEN NO OPEN DEFIANCE OF YELTSIN'S CALL TO OVERHAUL LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE POWER STRUCTURES: THE MORE NOTORIOUSLY CONSERVATIVE SOVIETS HAVE REMAINED SILENT.

ELECTIONS

4. THE HEAD OF THE CENTRAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION RYABOV ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY VARIOUS RULE CHANGES FOR THE ELECTION TO THE DUMA (LOWER HOUSE OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT) AS REPORTED IN MOSCOW TELNO 1755, AND SAID THAT WORK ON DRAWING CONSTITUENCY BOUNDARIES WOULD BE COMPLETE BY 10 OCTOBER. RYABOV SAID THAT THE BANNED PARTIES DID NOT (NOT) INCLUDE THE MAINSTREAM COMMUNISTS LED BY ZYUGANOV AND THE 'PATRIOT' RUSSIAN NATIONAL UNION (LED BY THE RELATIVELY MODERATE NATIONAL-PATRIOT LEADER BABURIN, WHO BROKE AWAY FROM THE RED-BROWN NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT (NSF) IN AUGUST).

NEWSPAPERS

5. 'RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA' TODAY BECAME THE FIRST OF THE OPPOSITION PAPERS CLOSED ON 4 OCTOBER TO REAPPEAR.

KHASBULATOV/RUTSKOI

6. ALL THE FORMER DEPUTIES DETAINED AFTER THE FALL OF THE WHITE HOUSE HAVE NOW BEEN RELEASED WITH THE SOLE EXCEPTION OF KHASBULATOV HIMSELF, WHO ALONG WITH THE RUTSKOI AND THE OTHER 'COUP LEADERS' WAS PLACED YESTERDAY UNDER FORMAL ARREST (AS OPPOSED TO 'ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION'), WHICH MEANS THAT THE AUTHORITIES ARE NOW OBLIGED BY LAW TO BRING CHARGES WITHIN 10 DAYS.

MOSCOW SECURITY

7. THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IS BEING STRICTLY ENFORCED, WITH HEAVILY ARMED OMON APPEARING AT DUSK ON CENTRAL STREETS. NO SHOOTING INCIDENTS WERE REPORTED OVERNIGHT 7-8 OCTOBER.

LENIN

8. SINCE THE ABOLITION ON 6 OCTOBER OF THE CEREMONIAL GUARD ('POST

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NO. 1') AT THE LENIN MAUSOLEUM ON RED SQUARE, THERE HAS BEEN A RUSH OF VISITORS TO SEE THE MUMMY BEFORE ITS EXPECTED IMMINENT REMOVAL. LENIN STATUES HAVE BEEN REMOVED THIS WEEK FROM THE CENTRES OF SOME PROVINCIAL TOWNS.

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RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: WEEKEND ROUND-UP 9-10 OCTOBER

SUMMARY

1. FURTHER MOVES TO DEMOLISH LOCAL 'SOVIET' POWER-STRUCTURES. MOSCOW STATE OF EMERGENCY EXTENDED BY A WEEK. PICTURE ON 'BANNING' OF HARDLINE PARTIES UNCLEAR. GOVERNMENT PRESSING AHEAD WITH ELECTION PLANNING.

DETAIL

REGIONAL SOVIETS

2. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE DECREE CONTRADICTS YELTSIN'S EARLIER CALL FOR THE SOVIETS TO DISSOLVE THEMSELVES TO THE EXTENT THAT IT DEFINES TRANSITIONAL FUNCTIONS FOR THOSE SOVIETS THAT REMAIN IN EXISTENCE. BUT THE KEY PROVISION IS THE IMMEDIATE TRANSFER (REGARDLESS OF DISSOLUTION DECISIONS) OF THE REGIONAL SOVIETS' (LEGISLATURES) EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS TO HEADS OF ADMINISTRATION. THIS ENDS ON A REGIONAL LEVEL THE REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLE OF 'ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS' UNDERLYING THE ENTIRE RUSSIAN POLITICAL CRISIS.

3. REGIONAL SOVIETS HAVE CONTINUED TO RESCIND EARLIER RESOLUTIONS ON THE UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF YELTSIN'S 21 SEPTEMBER DECREE. SOME SOVIETS HAVE BEEN RENDERED INQUORATE BY THE RESIGNATION OF DEMOCRATIC DEPUTIES. THE GOVERNOR OF THE FAR EASTERN REGION OF KHABAROVSK HAS DISSOLVED ALL THE LOCAL SOVIETS BY FIAT. EVEN SOME OF THE MOST INDEPENDENT-MINDED REPUBLICS HAVE REACTED POSITIVELY TO YELTSIN'S RECOMMENDATIONS. THE SPEAKER OF THE TATAR PARLIAMENT HAS

[REDACTED]

SPOKEN FAVOURABLY OF REELECTION OF THE REPUBLIC'S REPRESENTATIVE BODIES. PRESIDENT NIKOLAYEV OF SAKHA (YAKUTIA) SAID ON 8 OCTOBER THAT 'THE SOVIETS WERE LEAVING THE SCENE' AND THAT HINTED THAT HE WOULD NOT WAIT LONG FOR THE YAKUT SOVIETS TO DO THE DECENT THING BEFORE TAKING THE DECISION FOR THEM.

MOSCOW STATE OF EMERGENCY

4. THE STATE OF EMERGENCY HAS BEEN EXTENDED BY A FURTHER WEEK UNTIL 18 OCTOBER, THOUGH THE LENGTH OF THE NIGHTLY CURFEW HAS BEEN REDUCED BY ONE HOUR (IT NOW LASTS FROM MIDNIGHT TO 0500 HOURS LOCAL). THERE HAVE BEEN NO OFFICIAL REPORTS OF FURTHER SHOOTING INCIDENTS, BUT WE HAVE HEARD ANECDOTALLY OF GUNFIRE THIS WEEKEND IN THE NORTHERN SUBURBS.

OPPOSITION PARTIES

5. THE LIST OF EXTREME RED-BROWN MOVEMENTS SUSPENDED ON 4 OCTOBER HAS BEEN SWOLLEN BY THE ADDITION OF THE MOSCOW BRANCHES OF THE COUNTRY'S TWO LARGEST PARTIES: ZYUGANOV'S COMMUNISTS, AND THE 'FREE RUSSIA POPULAR PARTY' (RUTSKOI'S PARTY). HOWEVER, ZYUGANOV AND OTHER HARDLINE OPPOSITION LEADERS (BABURIN, ASTAFYEV) HAVE DECLARED THEIR INTENTION TO TAKE PART IN THE ELECTIONS WHATEVER. (COMMENT: A CONFUSED PICTURE: SO FAR THERE HAVE BEEN ONLY 'SUSPENSIONS': NO PARTIES, EVEN THE MOST EXTREME, HAVE BEEN FORMALLY BANNED ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT HAS STATED THAT THEY WILL BE. WE ARE SEEKING CLARIFICATION FROM THE JUSTICE MINISTRY VIA THE MFA.)

ELECTION ORGANISATION

6. THE HEAD OF THE CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION RYABOV ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY THAT ALL SUBJECTS OF THE FEDERATION EXCEPT THE CHECHEN REPUBLIC HAD SUBMITTED THE NECESSARY PAPERS FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER. RYABOV INDICATED THAT EVEN IN THE CASE OF CHECHNYA THE PROBLEM MIGHT BE COMMUNICATIONS DIFFICULTIES RATHER THAN POLITICAL OBJECTIONS. RYABOV ALSO GAVE DETAILS OF THE DIVISION BY FEDERATION SUBJECTS OF THE 225 SINGLE MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES IN THE DUMA. (COMMENT: RYABOV'S COMMISSION HAS MAINTAINED IMPRESSIVE MOMENTUM DESPITE THE EVENTS OF 3-4 OCTOBER.)

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RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: LETTER FROM GEORGE FOULKES MP TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE: IONA ANDRONOV

SUMMARY

1. IONA ANDRONOV MAY BE IN HIDING. REPRESENTATIONS ON HIS BEHALF WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE.

DETAIL

2. HANCOCK'S (EASTERN DEPARTMENT) FAX TO EGERTON OF 12 OCTOBER.

3. WE SPOKE TODAY TO [REDACTED] AND THE US EMBASSY. THE FORMER SAID THAT HE HAD NOT HEARD THAT ANDRONOV HAD DISAPPEARED BUT BELIEVED THAT, IF SO, HE WAS PROBABLY IN HIDING. ANDRONOV WAS 'A TERRIBLE MAN'. THE US EMBASSY TOLD US THAT THEY HAD NOT/NOT MADE REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF ANDRONOV OR ANYONE ELSE. THEY HAD NO INFORMATION THAT ANDRONOV WAS BEING HELD BY THE POLICE.

4. WE HAVE ALSO TELEPHONED ANDRONOV'S WIFE, BUT THERE WAS NO REPLY.

COMMENT

5. ALL FORMER DEPUTIES (APART FROM THOSE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE ATTEMPTED REBELLION) HAVE BEEN RELEASED BY THE POLICE. THE ONLY ARREST WARRANT STILL OUTSTANDING FOR A FORMER DEPUTY IS FOR KONSTANTINOV, WHO IS STILL ON THE RUN. THERE HAVE BEEN ALLEGATIONS THAT SOME DEPUTIES WERE BEATEN UP INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE AFTER THE SURRENDER: BUT WE HAVE SEEN NO INDEPENDENT CONFIRMATION OF THIS. WE THEREFORE HAVE NO INFORMATION TO SUGGEST THAT ANDRONOV IS BEING HELD AGAINST HIS WILL OR IS ON THE RUN - AND (PACE GEORGE FOULKES) HE COULD BY NOW HAVE EMERGED IN MOSCOW.

6. ANDRONOV IS AN OUTWARDLY SMOOTH ENGLISH SPEAKER WHO WAS DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE AND A VINDICTIVE AND

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AGGRESSIVE HARD LINE OPPOSITION LEADER IN THE FORMER SUPREME
SOVIET. REPRESENTATIONS ON HIS BEHALF WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE.

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INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK, UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO, PEKING
INFO IMMEDIATE OTTAWA, TOKYO

RUSSIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS: HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES
SINCE THE INSURRECTION

SUMMARY

1. SURVEY OF DIFFICULT HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES THROWN UP BY THE MOSCOW STATE OF EMERGENCY, BANNING OF OPPOSITION PARTIES AND PUBLICATIONS, AND PRESSURE FOR INCREASED POLICE POWERS TO CONTINUE INTO THE MEDIUM TERM.

DETAIL

2. A LIVELY DEBATE HAS DEVELOPED HERE THIS WEEK (ENCOURAGED BY STATEMENTS FROM AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND HELSINKI WATCH) ABOUT THE EXTENT OF HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS RESTRICTIONS/VIOLATIONS UNDER THE MOSCOW STATE OF EMERGENCY REGIME AND IN CONNECTION WITH THE MEASURES WHICH THE AUTHORITIES HAVE TAKEN AGAINST PERSONS, ORGANISATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS ALLEGED TO HAVE INSTIGATED OR SUPPORTED THE INSURRECTION ON 3-4 OCTOBER. THE FOLLOWING ROUND UP IS BASED ON OFFICIAL STATEMENTS AND A DISCUSSION DHM HAD ON 13 OCTOBER WITH SERGEI KOVALYOV, WHO WAS CHAIRMAN OF THE EX-SUPREME SOVIET'S HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE AND NOW HEADS THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE 'SOCIAL CHAMBER' ESTABLISHED ON THE BASIS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TO ENSURE CONTINUING SCRUTINY OF THE EXECUTIVE DURING THIS INTERIM PERIOD OF PRESIDENTIAL RULE.

ABUSES OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY REGIME

3. KOVALYOV SAID THAT IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE POLICE HAD EXCEEDED THEIR LAWFUL POWERS UNDER THE STATE OF EMERGENCY. HE REFERRED TO THE NUMEROUS REPORTS OF DETAINEES INCLUDING FORMER DEPUTIES BEING BEATEN UP IN POLICE STATIONS IN THE DAYS AFTER THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REFERENDUM. SIMILAR ALLEGATIONS WERE MADE AT A PRESS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY BY BONDARENKO (HARDLINE DEPUTY LEADER OF THE DISSOLVED MOSCOW CITY COUNCIL) AND KAGARLITSKY, A FORMER 'EUROCOMMUNIST' DISSIDENT AND DEPUTY IN ONE OF MOSCOW'S NEIGHBOURHOOD COUNCILS ('RAISOVIET') WHO IS WELL KNOWN IN THE WEST

insurrection