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# Issue Paper RUSSIA CHRONOLOGY DECEMBER 1993 TO FEBRUARY 1995 July 1995

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## GLOSSARY

### ***Political Organizations and Government Structures***

[This glossary is included for easy reference to organizations which either appear more than once in the text of the chronology or which are known to have been formed in the period covered by the chronology. The list is not exhaustive.]

**All-Russia Democratic Alternative Party.** Established in February 1995 by Grigorii Yavlinsky. ( OMRI 15 Feb. 1995)

**Concord in the Name of Russia.** Formed by Aleksandr Rutskoi and supported by both extremist and moderate opposition groups and individuals. ( RFERL 1 July 1994b, 28; RFERL 29 Apr. 1994, 5)

**Congress of Russia's Nationality Organizations (KNOR).** Founded in 1994 to establish links between organizations of various nationalities and the federal government.

**Federal Counterintelligence Service (FSK).** A successor organization to the Ministry of Security, formerly the KGB. Headed by Nikolai Golushko until the end of February 1994 when Sergei Stepashin assumed the position Interfax 28 Feb. 1994 (FBIS-SOV-94-040 1 Mar. 1994, 17).

**Federation Council.** The upper chamber of the Russian parliament.

**Liberal Democratic Party.** Right wing nationalist party led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

**Liberal Democratic Union of 12 December.** Formed as a result of a split in the Russia's Choice bloc. Boris Fedorov, the former Finance Minister, and others formed the **Union of 12 December**, named for the 12 December 1993 elections, and later renamed it the Liberal Democratic Union of 12 December. ( RFERL 1 July 1994b, 28).

**Majority Party.** Founded 15 February 1994 and led by Moscow businessman Vyacheslav Grechnev. (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Aug. 1994, 59).

**Ministry of the Interior (MVD).** Headed by Viktor Yerin, the MVD is responsible for internal security and is one of the "power ministries" in Russia.

**Movement for National Revival of Russia.** Formed in 1994 by the union of the **National Patriotic Front "Memory" (Pamyat)** and the **Centrist Block (Tsentristky Bloc)**. Led by Dmitri Vasiliyev ( RFERL 22 Apr. 1994, 29).

**OMON.** Special Unit Militia Detachment. Interfax 2 Aug. 1994 in FBIS-SOV-94-149 3 Aug. 1994,

15). Under the Ministry of the Interior (RFERL 11 Feb. 1994, 13)

**Party of Power.** Founded in February 1994, the party's platform combines nationalist and communist ideology. ( RFERL 22 Apr. 1994, 29).

**Party of War.** A group which includes the Defence Minister, Interior Minister, and head of the FSK. It is led by Aleksandr Korzhakov (Yeltsin's chief body guard) and the chief of the Security Council, Oleg Lobov ( The Economist 14 Jan. 1995, 44). Its objective is to "re-establish Russia as a Eurasian great power." ( ibid.)

**Provisional Council.** The unofficial opposition government in Chechnya established in 1994 and led by Umar Avturkhanov. ( Reuters 26 Nov. 1994)

**Russia's Choice.** A group of pro-reform parties. This bloc formed the **Russia's Democratic Choice Party** in 1994, led by Egor Gaidar.

**Social-Democratic Union.** A movement of moderate left-wing political parties. The movement, formed in 1994, strives for the peaceful replacement of the Yeltsin regime. see listing for 30 October 1994.

**Yakoblo** (Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin). Democratic-centrist bloc led by Grigorii Yavlinsky, Yury Boldyrev and Yury Lukin. Yakoblo reportedly held an inaugural congress for a new political party in January 1995 ( OMRI 9 Jan. 1995).

**Security Council.** Definitions of the Security Council suggest that it is "a body with ill-defined but extensive influence over Russia's national security interests" ( The Economist 14 Jan. 1995, 44) and "a quasi-official grouping of 'power ministers'-including the defense and interior ministers, and officials from the Federal Counterintelligence Service (the former KGB)-and has been setting overall policy much like the old communist Politburo did" ( OMRI 15 Mar. 1995b, 10). It is chaired by the Russian president with the prime minister serving as deputy chair. (RFERL 11 Feb. 1994, 10)

**State Duma.** The lower chamber of the Russian parliament.

**Western Group of Forces (WGF).** Russian forces stationed in Germany, withdrawn to Russia in 1994.

### ***Political Leaders***

Aizderdzis, Andrei. State Duma deputy and newspaper publisher. Killed by unknown assailants near his house in April 1994. ( RFERL Daily Report 7 Nov. 1994).

Aushev, Ruslan. President of the Republic of Ingushetia.

Burlakov, Matvei. First Deputy Defence Minister, former commander of Russian troops in Germany and Hungary. Implicated in corruption allegations while involved with the withdrawal of the Western Group of Forces from Germany. ( RFERL Daily Report 8 Nov. 1994).

Chernomyrdin, Viktor. Prime Minister of Russia.

Dudayev, Dzhokhar. President of the Chechen Republic-Ichkeria.

Egerov, Mikhail. Deputy Minister of Interior of the Russian Federation.

Egerov, Nikolai. Deputy Prime Minister. Appointed Minister for Nationality Affairs and Regional Policy in 1994 and replaced by Nikolai Semenov in January 1995.

Gaidar, Egor. Former acting prime minister, known as the Father of Russian Reforms. Leader of Russia's Democratic Choice.

Grachev, Pavel. Minister of Defence.

Ilyushenko, Aleksei. Acting Prosecutor General of the Russian Federation.

Khasbulatov, Ruslan. Former Chairman of the Supreme Soviet (the dissolved parliament) and one of the leaders of the October 1993 taking of the White House. (see RFERL Mar. 4 Changes in leadership" if necessary to cite).

Kovalev, Sergei. Head of Yeltsin's human rights commission and State Duma deputy. Voted Russia's "Man of the Year" in a public opinion poll in December 1994. (OMRI Daily Digest 4 Dec. 1995; The Ottawa Citizen 6 Jan. 1995-Nexis). Kovalev spent 1977-1987 in Soviet gulags and in exile because of his demands for an address for human rights abuses (Ottawa Citizen 6 Jan. 1995-Nexis)

Kovalev, Valentin. State Duma deputy. Chair of the Yeltsin decreed commission to oversee the observance of the constitutional rights of the residents of Chechnya during the restoration of order.

Lebed, Aleksandr. Leader of the Russian 14<sup>th</sup> Army, stationed in the Dneistr Moldovan Republic. A vocal opponent of Defence Minister Pavel Grachev.

Mavrodi, Sergei. State Duma deputy and former head of the MMM joint-stock company.

Martemyanov, Valetin. State Duma deputy who died of injuries sustained in a robbery near his home on 1 November 1994.( RFERL Daily Report 7 Nov. 1994).

Rutskoi, Aleksandr. Former vice president of the Russian Federation and one of the leaders involved in the seige of the White House in October 1993.

Shakhrai, Sergei. Former Minister for Nationality Affairs and Regional Policy, replaced by Nikolai Egerov.

Shumeiko, Vladimir. Speaker of the Federation Council.

Yavlinsky, Grigorii. State Duma deputy and leader of the Yakoblo bloc.

Yakovlev, Aleksandr. Head of Ostankino television network and member of the Social-Democratic Union.

Yerin, Viktor. Minister of Interior of the Russian Federation.

Zhirinovskiy, Vladimir. State Duma deputy and leader of the Liberal Democratic Party.

Zyuganov, Gennadii. State Duma deputy and leader of the Communist Party of Russia.

## INTRODUCTION

This chronology begins in December 1993 when parliamentary elections and a referendum on a draft constitution were held in Russia. The elections followed the turbulent events of 2-3 October when Russian forces stormed the White House (the former Soviet parliament) to remove armed "hardliners", led by Aleksandr Rutskoi and Ruslan Khasbulatov, who had barricaded themselves in the building. They were protesting Yeltsin's decree N<sup>o</sup>. 1400 of 21 September 1993 which dissolved the parliament, and his subsequent decree to suspend the activities of the constitutional court (*Moscow News* 30 Sept.-6 Oct. 1994, 2; LCHR July 1994, 292; AFP 22 Sept. 1994; HRW 1993, 232). Several hundred people were killed or injured in the attack and the coup leaders were immediately jailed ( *ibid.*). The October events were not focused solely on the White House: throughout Moscow there were reports of people being detained, beaten and even expelled from the city by authorities ( *ibid.* 232-233; Monitor 2 Sept. 1994b, 5). People believed to be from the Caucasus were especially targeted for such actions ( *ibid.*).

During the period covered by the chronology, which ends in February 1995, many events have had, or may have, an impact on the situation in the country. As it is impossible to include all such events, this chronology focuses on a few important themes that have emerged in the past year and a half and attempts to encapsulate some of their more salient aspects. These themes include the development of tensions in "ethnic hotspots" in the North Caucasus; migration flows, particularly within the Russian Federation, but also from the countries of the near abroad; the problems of policing and security caused by increased crime throughout the country, and especially in the cities; the issue of the disparity of power between the legislative and executive branches; and the deterioration of the Russian armed forces, both materially and morally. Many of the problems in Russia are exacerbated by economic considerations, but they fall outside the scope of this chronology.

Other recent DIRB publications which may be of interest to the reader and which complement this chronology are Information Package: Women in the Soviet Union and Russia ; Jews in Russia and the Soviet Union: Chronology 1727 to 1 January 1992; and *Russia: Security Forces* (August 1993). They are available in the Regional Documentation Centres. For further information on specific issues please consult the Refinfo database.

## CHRONOLOGY

### 1993

#### December 1993

The first trial by jury to be held in the country since 1917 begins in the city of Saratov ( RFERL 17 June 1994, 3). The new constitution guarantees access to jury trials for capital cases and other cases "provided by federal law" ( LCHR July 1994, 294-5). However, by the end of 1994, only 9 of the country's 89 regions have introduced jury trials (*Country Reports 1994 1995*, 938).

#### 7 December 1993

The Federal Migration Service (FMS) approves regulations regarding the treatment of forced migrants. [Russian citizens or displaced permanent residents of Russia from the near abroad.] The regulations, aimed at monitoring and regulating the flow of migrants, are an extension to the February 1993 Law on Forced Migrants and are set out in the "Statute on the Recognition of Persons as Forced Migrants, Their Registration, and Monitoring on the Territory of the Russian Federation" ( RFERL 1 July 1994a, 43). The Law on Forced Migrants details how migrants are accorded status, i.e., they must prove they have a real fear of persecution (Article 2.2); once this is established and they are registered, they are given a residence permit for their place of temporary residence (Article 2.9) ( *ibid.*, 43). Whereas the provision of temporary housing was set out in the Law on Forced Migrants, the wording of the new regulations "seems [to say] that this is no longer an automatic provision" ( *ibid.*).

### **12 December 1993**

Parliamentary elections and a referendum on the draft constitution are held. The Central Election Commission later reports that the 54 per cent voter turnout exceeds the 50 per cent minimum required for the referendum [However, the 50 per cent minimum is not met in 19 of the 89 republics and regions in the country. Turnout is lowest in the Republic of Tatarstan, at 13.8 per cent (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* June 1994, 51) and the Republic of Chechnya refuses to participate in the elections altogether (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Nov. 1994, 49, 51; *Country Reports 1994 1995*).] ( US Helsinki Commission Jan. 1994, 1).

**Referendum on the constitution:** Yeltsin's constitution, passed by a reported 58.4 per cent of the voters ( US Helsinki Commission Jan. 1994, 1), "establish[es] a presidency clearly more powerful than the legislature and empowered to set the course of Russia's foreign and domestic policy" ( US Helsinki Commission Jan. 1994, 1, 3). In addition to being the head of state, the president chooses the prime minister; as well as nominating the head of the Central Bank, the General Procurator and the High Command of the armed forces, and nominates candidates to the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court and High Court of Arbitration ( *ibid.*, 5; White 1994, 14). The president also has the power to issue binding decrees, declare states of emergency and martial law, and while he cannot dissolve the Federation Council (the upper chamber), he can dissolve the State Duma (the lower chamber) in certain circumstances ( US Helsinki Commission Jan. 1994, 5-6).

The constitution delineates powers among the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government ( US Helsinki Commission Jan. 1994,5). However, it is the president, not the parliament, who forms the government ( RFERL 17 June 1994, 3). Human rights enshrined in the constitution include freedom of conscience, movement, thought and expression, assembly and the presumption of innocence ( US Helsinki Commission Jan. 1994, 5). It also prohibits the deprivation of citizenship ( *ibid.*, 5).

**Parliamentary elections:** According to the election law, half of the seats in the State Duma are won on a most-votes basis, and the other half are allotted proportionally to the parties based on their total number of votes nationwide (see Table 1 in Appendix) ( US Helsinki Commission Jan. 1994, 7). The Federation Council is elected on the basis of two seats for each of the 89 regions, republics and provinces in the country (for listing of the regions and republics in the country, see Table 2 in Appendix) ( *ibid.*, 7).

While Russia's Choice is the largest bloc winner in the elections ( RFERL 1 July 1994b, 27), a formidable anti-reformist bloc is formed by hard-line communists, their agrarian allies and ultra-nationalists. This bloc takes more than one-third of the 450 seats in the State Duma ( US Helsinki Commission Jan. 1994, 1).

### **21 December 1993**

The Ministry of Security, the successor to the KGB, is abolished by presidential decree, and Yeltsin establishes the Federal Counterintelligence Service of the Russian Federation (FSK). The former head of the Ministry of Security, N.M. Golushko, becomes the head of the new organization (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* June 1994, 51; RFERL 25 Feb. 1994, 28). The FSK, subordinated to the president, is to undergo a staff reduction of about 50 percent, to 75,000 persons [In March 1994, an FSK spokesman noted that the size of the force was 75,000 people strong (*The Guardian* 2 March 1994).] (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* June 1994, 52; RFERL 25 Feb. 1994, 27-28).

### **22 December 1993**

Yeltsin signs a decree on Local Self-Government Guarantees in the Russian Federation. The decree gives regional administrators the power of self-government in their regions ( RFERL 4 Mar. 1994, 4). The administrators will be selected by the president for 1994 and 1995 ( *ibid.*).

### **23 December 1993**

Russia and Turkmenistan sign an agreement on dual nationality. It is the first such agreement signed by two states of the former Soviet Union ( RFERL 19 Aug. 1994, 33; ITAR-TASS 23 Dec. 1993, 78).

### **29 December 1993**

Fire destroys the Mariina Roshcha synagogue in Moscow ( AFP 3 Jan. 1994). AFP reports, shortly after the fire, that police claim it was caused by an electrical short circuit, but Rabbi Berel Lazar notes that recently there have been threats against another synagogue and a fire at a Moscow Jewish school ( *ibid.*). Police decide not to hold an official inquiry into the blaze ( *ibid.*). Country Reports 1994 states that "the Jewish community believes, and authorities suspect, that arson was the cause of the blaze" and that results of an investigation were still inconclusive at the end of 1994 (*Country Reports 1994 1995*, 945).

## **1994**

### **January 1994**

The new government, led by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, is formed ( White 1994, 16) and on 11 January, the Federation Council holds its inaugural meeting (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* June 1994, 52).

An official government report on organized crime states that "The situation in [Russia] differs from the situation in Western Europe and the United States. There, organized crime controls only 'criminal' activities such as prostitution, drugs and gambling. In [Russia] it controls all types of activities." ( RFERL 10 June 1994, 24; OMRI 15 Feb. 1995c, 33).

**11 January 1994**

The Ministry of Justice denies "Pamyat" leader Dmitri Vasilev's application to register his organization ( *ibid.*; *Kuranty* 11 Jan. 1994).

**19 January 1994**

By decree, Dzhokhar Dudayev changes the name of Chechnya to "Chechen Republic-Ichkeria" (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* June 1994, 54).

**3 February 1994**

Georgia and Russia sign a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation which gives Russia rights to maintain 23,000 troops on three military bases in Georgia (*Washington Quarterly* Summer 1994).

**15 February 1994**

Russia and Tatarstan sign a treaty "On the Demarcation of Areas of Responsibility and the Mutual Delegation of Powers Between the Organs of State Power of the Russian Federation and the Organs of State Power of the Republic of Tatarstan" (*Rossiyskaya Gazeta* 18 Feb. 1994).

**24 February 1994**

Yeltsin delivers a state-of-the-nation speech on live television in which he states that Russians outside of Russia will be protected "by deeds as well as words" (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Aug. 1994, 59; see also *Calgary Herald* 25 Feb. 1994; Official Kremlin International News Broadcast 24 Feb. 1994). In his address, the Russian president also apologizes for Stalin's policy of deporting ethnic minorities and claims that many of the inter-ethnic problems in Russia are the fault of Stalin's policies (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Aug. 1994, 59; Official Kremlin International News Broadcast, 24 Feb. 1994). He also identifies crime as the number one problem facing the country (*The Washington Times* 25 June 1994).

**26 February 1994**

The leaders of the October 1993 revolt, including former vice president Aleksandr Rutskoi and former parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, after being pardoned by the State Duma, are released from prison ( RFERL 29 Apr. 1994, 1; *Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Aug. 1994, 59; *Country Reports 1994* 1995, 939). Shortly after his release from prison, Rutskoi forms a bloc called Concord in the Name of Russia, which is supported by both extremist and moderate opposition groups and individuals ( RFERL 1 July 1994b, 28; *ibid.* 29 Apr. 1994, 5). The new bloc reportedly obtains one million registered members by April and has the support of 50 per cent of the deputies in the State Duma ( *ibid.*). The Communist Party headed by Gennadii Zyuganov is part of the new bloc although Zyuganov portrays himself as an independent politician; Vladimir Zhirinovskiy does not join the new group ( *ibid.*).

**19 March 1994**

Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Mikhail Egerov, states that 3,600 officials are under



investigation for links with organized crime and that 500 staff members of the Ministry of Interior were prosecuted in 1993 for the same offence (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Aug. 1994, 60).

### **29 March 1994**

The Minister for Nationality Affairs and Regional Policy, Sergei Shakhrai, states that in recent years 356,000 ethnic Russians have immigrated to Russia from Central Asia and that if current trends continue, Russia may receive as many as three million more people from the region (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Aug. 1994, 61).

### **early-April 1994**

A Holocaust Day memorial service is held on 7 April, in St. Petersburg a few days after the discovery of 160 desecrated gravestones in a Jewish cemetery (INS Sept. 1994, 15).

### **8 April 1994**

Hearings conducted by the Federation Council into crime, conclude that the crime rate in the country doubled between 1988 and 1993; that in 1993, 500,000 of the 2.8 million recorded crimes were serious, including 30,000 murders [The MVD reported 29,500 murders for the first eleven months of 1994 (OMRI 15 Feb. 1995c, 32).] (BBC Summary 23 Apr. 1994; *Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Aug. 1994, 61). The hearings also conclude that the growth of organized crime is a grave concern (ibid.).

### **Mid-April 1994**

The Congress of Russia's Nationality Organizations (KNOR) holds its founding conference (*Monitor* 3 Feb. 1995b, 2). The organization's objectives include establishing communication links with the federal government, although it has reportedly not been very successful (ibid.).

### **26 April 1994**

State Duma deputy Andrei Dainisovich Aizderdzis is assassinated outside his home. Aizderdzis was the publisher of the newspaper *Kto est Kto* (Who is Who) which had recently published an article identifying over 200 leading Russian "mafiosi" (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Aug. 1994, 61; OMRI 15 Feb. 1995c, 33).

### **28 April 1994**

Yeltsin and representatives of most of Russia's regions, republics, political parties and movements, trade unions and religious organizations sign a Treaty on Civic Accord (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Aug. 1994, 61; OMRI 15 Feb. 1995a, 5). The treaty calls for non-violence in the pursuit of political objectives and the signatories agree not to press for early elections (Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service Aug. 1994, 61).

### **4 May 1994**

Krasnodar Krai implements new restrictions on people seeking permanent residence status and on foreigners and stateless persons seeking temporary stays in its Kuban region (Izvestiya 4

May 1994; *Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Oct. 1994, 59;). The restrictions, which limit the categories of people seeking residence permits, provides for refugee status [The reader should note that throughout this chronology, when referring to refugees, it is often unclear from the sources whether persons being referred to as refugees are asylum seekers coming from countries outside Russia or are persons seeking asylum in one part of Russia from another part of the country.] to be granted only to those persons with close relatives or who have been resident in the Kuban for five years ( *ibid.*; *Izvestiya* 4 May 1994). Russians are exempted from the restrictions ( *ibid.*).

### **5 May 1994**

Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service reports on this date (without giving the source of the info.) that there are about 860,000 officially registered refugees and two million economic migrants in Russia ( *Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Oct. 1994 59; BBC Summary 13 May 1994).

### **16 May 1994**

Yeltsin replaces Sergei Shakhrai with Nikolai Egerov as Minister of Nationalities and Regional Policy (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Oct. 1994, 60; ITAR-TASS 16 May 1994). Shakhrai later resigns his position as deputy Prime Minister (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* *ibid.*, 60-61). Shakhrai's replacement may be due to Chechen leaders not wanting him to lead a Russian delegation at proposed negotiations ( *ibid.* 61; ITAR-TASS 16 May 1994).

### **12-13 June 1994**

Russia's Democratic Choice Party, based on the political movement Russia's Choice and lead by Egor Gaidar, holds its inaugural congress ( RFERL 1 July 1994b, 25; ITAR-TASS 12 June 1994a). The new party is committed to the pursuit of democracy and reform ( *ibid.* 12 June 1994b; RFERL 1 July 1994b, 27).

### **14 June 1994**

Yeltsin signs a decree to fight crime (*The Los Angeles Times* 28 June 1994; *The Washington Times* 25 June 1994; RFERL 26 Sept. 1994). The decree gives the police more powers when following up certain serious crimes; including the power to hold suspects for up to 30 days without laying charges, to search vehicles and homes without search warrants and to investigate bank records without court orders (*The Los Angeles Times* 28 June 1994; *The Washington Times* 25 June 1994; *Country Reports* 1994 1995, 934). Parliament comes out against the decree entitled Decree No. 1226 "On Urgent Measures to Protect the Population Against Banditry and Other Manifestations of Organized Crime" claiming that it contravenes the constitution ( OMRI 15 Feb. 1995c, 35). Yeltsin rebuffs requests to rescind it ( *ibid.*; *Los Angeles Times* 28 June 1994), but appoints the head of the Human Rights Commission, Sergei Kovalev, with the task of monitoring the implementation of the decree ( TASS 23 June 1994; OMRI 15 Feb. 1995c, 35). Human rights groups claim that the decree resulted in "discriminatory procedures" which forced thousands of people to leave Moscow, noting that authorities in larger cities are reportedly enforcing the propiska system, especially targeting persons from the Caucasus and Central Asia (*Country Reports* 1994 1995, 942).

## **July 1994**

The Ministry of Defence releases a report which claims that there were 518 deaths in the military in the first half of the year (*Country Reports 1994 1995*, 936). Of these deaths, the report claims, 57 per cent resulted from "violations of safety regulations", 25 per cent were deemed to be suicides, 8 per cent were murders, and 5 per cent caused by "barracks violence" ( *ibid.*).

### **28-29 July 1994**

In Southern Russia, masked gunmen hijack a bus carrying 41 passengers and demand a ransom ( Reuters 29 July 1994). On 29 July, they engage in a shootout with OMON forces as they try to escape by helicopter from Mineralnyi Vody, the closest Russian town to the Chechen border ( *ibid.*). Five people are killed in the incident (*The New York Times* 9 Aug. 1994). It is the fourth time that gunmen have taken hostages for ransom in the area since December 1993 ( *ibid.*). All the other attempts were unsuccessful, in part due to cooperation between Russian and Chechen police ( Reuters 29 July 1994).

### **29 July 1994**

Russia issues a statement "calling the situation in Chechnya 'out of control' and branding Dudayev a destabilizing factor" ( HRWHelsinki Jan. 1995a, 7). Shortly thereafter, Moscow officially gives its support to the anti-Dudayev group, called the Provisional Council, led by Umar Avturkhanov ( Reuters 9 Oct. 1994; HRWHelsinki Jan. 1995a, 7; OMRI 15 Feb. 1995a, 8).

### **3 August 1994**

Russia and Bashkortostan sign a treaty which sets out the powers of the republic and federal governments. It is the second such treaty after the one signed with neighbouring Tatarstan on 15 February 1994. The treaty affirms the preservation of the federal legislative structure ( Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service Nov. 1994, 48).

### **8 August 1994**

A group of Afghan refugees is forcibly returned to Afghanistan from the Krasnodar region (*Refugees* 1994b, 12; Reuters 12 Aug. 1994; *Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 14 Sept. 1994; BBC Summary 16 Sept. 1994). Various reports put the number of returnees at between 18 and 21 ( *ibid.*). About 30,000 Afghans have claimed refugee status in Russia so far in 1994, according to UNHCR. They make up half the number of registered asylum seekers from outside the CIS and Baltics who are in Russia (*Refugees* 1994a, 8). However, UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond claims the Afghani refugees are caught in a "catch-22" situation. The Russian authorities claim they are not refugees because they have not officially declared themselves as asylum seekers, yet Redmond points out that Russia has not established procedures for the registration of refugees ( Reuters 12 Aug. 1994; *Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 14 Sept. 1994; BBC Summary 16 Sept. 1994). Redmond also claims that UNHCR has provided refugees with identity cards but when stopped by Russian police officers, the officers often tear up the documents ( Reuters 12 Aug. 1994; *Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 14 Sept. 1994).

### **10 August 1994**

Chechen Republic President Dzhokhar Dudayev bans Russian television programs from Chechen airwaves (*Human Rights in the Countries of the Former Soviet Union* 26 Sept. 1994, 11; Radio Rossii 11 Aug. 1994).

Russia and Moldova agree on the removal of the Russian 14<sup>th</sup> Army from the Transdnestr region over the next three years [For information on the Russian 14<sup>th</sup> Army in the DMR, see the DIRB's Question and Answer Series paper *Moldova: State Protection*, March 1995.] (*Russia and the Successor States Briefing Service* Nov. 1994, 50).

### **23 August 1994**

By decree, Yeltsin approves the federation migration program ( ITAR-TASS 23 Aug. 1994; BBC Summary 1 Sept. 1994 [The BBC Summary, from an ITAR-TASS source of 24 August 1994 states that the edict was signed by Yeltsin on 9 August 1994.]). The program's aim is to regulate migration and protect "the rights of refugees and displaced persons" ( ITAR-TASS 23 Aug. 1994). The program estimates that the flow of migrants from the near abroad into Russia in the next two years will be between 800,000 and 6 million ( BBC Summary 1 Sept. 1994).

### **25 August 1994**

Sergei Kovalev's report on the human rights situation in Russia is published in Rossiyskaya Gazeta two months after it was given to Yeltsin ( UPI 25 Aug. 1994; *Country Reports 1994* 1995, 934). The report claims that there has been little improvement in the human rights situation in Russia since independence (*Monitor* 2 Sept. 1994a, 3; UPI 25 Aug. 1994). It points out violations committed by the police, to which Yeltsin granted special powers in his June 1994 anti-crime decree ( *ibid.*; *Country Reports 1994* 1995, 934, 937). The report also points to rights violations created by overcrowding and underfunding in the prison system; and hazing rituals in the military ( *ibid.*, 934; *Monitor* 2 Sept. 1994b, 5). Kovalev's report claims that ethnic minorities and refugees are also common targets of human rights violations ( UPI 25 Aug. 1994). He blames the two month lag between the release of the report to Yeltsin and its publication on a government attempt to keep the report from the public ( *ibid.*; *Monitor* 2 Sept. 1994a, 4; *ibid.* 2 Sept. 1994b, 5).

### **26 August 1994**

Yeltsin signs a decree approving Matvei Burkalov for the position of deputy defence minister ( ITAR-TASS 26 Aug. 1994).

### **31 August 1994**

Russian troops are withdrawn from Latvia [The Russian military will maintain a small group of personnel at the early-warning base in Skrunda, Latvia for the next five and a half years ( OMRI 15 Feb. 1995b, 23).] and Estonia as per agreements between Russia and the two Baltic states ( RFERL 19 Aug 1994, 36; OMRI 15 Feb. 1995b, 22). The remaining troops from the Western Group of Forces (WGF) in eastern Germany are also withdrawn ( *ibid.*).

### **September-October 1994**

Heavy fighting erupts in Chechnya in September and October between Dudayev and opposition

forces (*HRWHelsinki* Jan. 1995a, 7) and on 5 September, Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev puts the Russian military in the North Caucasus Military District on high alert to prevent the fighting in the republic from spreading outside the republic's borders ( RFERL 6 Sept. 1994; *The New York Times* 6 Sept. 1994; Reuters 5 Sept. 1994).

## **September 1994**

By presidential decree, and in agreement with Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, Yeltsin fires Chairman of the State Committee on the Press Boris Mironov ( RFERL 5 Sept. 1994; *Country Reports 1994 1995*, 940). Earlier, Mironov had toured the regions of Russia advocating nationalism and the nationalization of the mass media (*Moscow News* 2-8 Sept. 1994a, 1, 2; *Country Reports 1994 1995*, 940). He had also stated that "he did not believe in democracy or freedom of the press" ( OMRI 15 Feb. 1995d, 40).

### **2 September 1994**

The Chechen Provisional Council issues a statement warning that the military ouster of Dudayev is the only alternative to civil war in the Caucasus republic ( RFERL 5 Sept. 1994; ITAR-TASS 2 Sept. 1994).

### **4 September 1994**

Ruslan Khasbulatov announces that he will form a paramilitary unit under the Chechen Provisional Council forces to fight against Dudayev ( RFERL 5 Sept. 1994).

### **6 September 1994**

Russian television reports that the Russian Orthodox Church and the Ministry of Interior (MVD) have signed a cooperation agreement to fight crime and "enhanc[e] the 'spiritual health' of society" ( RFERL 7 Sept. 1994). The two organizations will form a joint commission on fighting crime. The agreement allows the church more access to prisons and provides for better protection of church property by the MVD. The church signed a similar agreement with the Defence Ministry in February ( *ibid.*).

In an interview with the *Financial Times*, General Aleksandr Lebed, leader of the Russian 14<sup>th</sup> Army stationed in the Dneistr region of Moldova, when asked what Russia needs right now, answers "What's wrong with a military dictatorship?" noting that historically "Russia has prospered under the strictest control" (*Financial Times* 6 Sept. 1994, *ibid.* 8 Sept. 1994). The leader of the 14<sup>th</sup> Army has been enjoying rising popularity with the Russian population and has been closely watched by Moscow since the spring when he told a Russian newspaper that Russia needs a man like [Chile's] Pinochet and "described Yeltsin as a 'minus'" (*Financial Times* 6 Sept. 1994).

### **7 September 1994**

Acting Prosecutor Aleksei Ilyushenko, in a press conference, highlights the issue of mistreatment of soldiers in the military by describing an incident in which the commander of the Northern Fleet's Admiral Gorshkov "punished violators of discipline by locking them into a metal pit, some for as long as 370 days" (*Country Reports 1994 1995*, 936-937; *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* 7 Sept.

1994). In February 1994, a ruptured steam pipe killed seven sailors who were being confined in this way ( *ibid.*).

### **8 September 1994**

The head of the Hebrew school Halom, Grigory Levin, is attacked and beaten by two individuals "screaming anti-Semitic epithets" (*Monitor* 14 Oct. 1994b, 4).

The Russian government passes decree number 1021 "On Measures to Prevent and Reduce Uncontrolled External Migration" (*Rossiyskaya Gazeta* 17 Jan. 1995; *Human Rights in the Countries of the Former Soviet Union* 26 Sept. 1994, 5). The decree, in order to control migration into the federation, calls for migration posts and temporary reception centres to be set up for the processing of persons seeking asylum ( *ibid.*). Moskovsky Komsomolets reports that the those seeking asylum in Moscow will have to have relatives living in the city capable of providing "registration" for them (*Human Rights in the Countries of the Former Soviet Union* 26 Sept. 1994, 18).

### **11 September 1994**

Acting Russian Prosecutor-General Aleksei Ilyushenko calls on the government to restore law and order in Chechnya immediately ( RFERL 12 Sept. 1994). Ilyushenko states that "a further delay in the restoration of law and order in Chechnya could pose a serious threat to the constitutional order and national security of Russia as well as represent a severe violation of the human rights of Russian citizens" ( *ibid.*).

### **12 September 1994**

There are more than 640,000 officially registered refugees and forced migrants in Russia from the near abroad and about half of these are from Tajikistan, Azerbaijan and Georgia ( ITAR-TASS 24 Aug. 1994; BBC Summary 1 Sept. 1994). According to the Russian Federation Migration Service, there are 71,000 refugees from Chechnya officially registered in Russia ( *ibid.*; *ibid.* 14 Sept. 1994).

A Congress of Russian Lawyers opens in Moscow ( RFERL 13 Sept. 1994; *Moscow News* 7-13 Oct. 1994b, 14). The objective of the conference is "to merge the existing three organizations representing defense lawyers in Russia into a single body, with a view to providing better protection for their interests" ( RFERL 13 Sept. 1994; *Moscow News* 7-13 Oct. 1994b, 14). The congress also discusses a draft law which reportedly provides for more "guarantees of independence and immunity" for defence lawyers ( RFERL 14 Sept. 1994).

### **14 September 1994**

The newspaper *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* reports that, worried about the possible threat of rebellion from dissatisfied military personnel returning from Germany and the Baltics, Yeltsin is creating a group of elite military units to protect Moscow ( RFERL 15 Sept. 1994). Members of these elite units will be selected on the basis of their loyalty to the president ( *ibid.*). ITAR-TASS reported on 12 September that a special unit is being created in the Moscow military district that is capable of "autonomously [carrying] out battle missions." ( ITAR-TASS 12 Sept. 1994)

**15 September 1994**

Dudayev signs a decree proclaiming martial law and a curfew in the Chechen republic for an indefinite time period ( Country Reports 1994 1995, 939; RFERL 16 Sept. 1994). Martial law is to become effective on 16 September ( *ibid.*; *Libération* 18 Sept. 1994; HRWHelsinki Jan. 1995a, 7).

**16 September 1994**

The first united congress of Russian communist and nationalist forces, chaired by Aleksandr Rutskoï, is held in Kaliningrad ( RFERL 15 Sept. 1994; *What the Papers Say* 29 Sept. 1994, 12). The new union's mandate is the restoration of the "former great power inside the frontiers of the former USSR" ( *ibid.*). Calling itself the Congress of Patriotic Forces, it operates under the slogan "Russian Border: From Kaliningrad to the Kuril Islands" ( Interfax 13 Sept. 1994).

Interfax reports that a representative of the Dudayev government has arrived in Moscow for talks on the possibility of signing a bilateral treaty with Russia ( RFERL 19 Sept. 1994). However, ITAR-TASS reports the same day that a representative of the Russian Ministry for Nationality Affairs claims that Russia has no intention of holding talks with the Dudayev regime ( *ibid.*).

**20 September 1994**

Ruslan Khasbulatov announces in Moscow that Russia should provide military assistance to his opposition forces (see entry 4 September 1994) to help them oust Dudayev from Chechnya ( RFERL 21 Sept. 1994). Independent Russian Television (NTV) reports on 23 September that Khasbulatov has secured the Kremlin's support ( *ibid.*).

Nezavisimaya Gazeta reports that during an inspection of the Moscow Military District, which now houses the forces returned from Germany, Central Europe and the Baltics, Defence Minister Pavel Grachev "found 'extreme bitterness' among servicemen over poor accommodation, 'the fall in their social status, and chronic impecuniousness'" (*Nezavisimaya Gazeta* 20 Sept. 1994; RFERL 21 Sept. 1994).

Russian television reports that the Russian State Committee on the Press is seeking a publication ban on the opposition newspaper *Zavtra*, the successor to the newspaper *Den* which Yeltsin banned after the events at the Russian parliament in October 1993 ( ITAR-TASS 20 Sept. 1994; RFERL 22 Sept. 1994). The Committee claims that "the weekly had been warned on several occasions for provoking discord among nationalities and inciting rebellion" ( *ibid.*).

**20-24 September 1994**

Military exercises being held in the North Caucasus Military District are reportedly "totally divorced" from the situation in nearby Chechnya according to a spokesman for the Russian Defence Ministry ( RFERL 21 Sept. 1994; *ibid.* 19 Sept. 1994, 4).

**21 September 1994**

Opposition forces hold rallies to commemorate the first anniversary of Decree 1400 (see introduction) ( RFERL 22 Sept. 1994). The Moscow rally attracts a few thousand people, while demonstrations in St. Petersburg are reported to be larger and much better organized,

"embracing Yeltsin opponents of every stripe, from anarchists to monarchists" ( *ibid.*).

### **22 September 1994**

Bella Kurkova, the chairperson of St. Petersburg's Channel 5 television network, and two other employees are beaten within a week of each other by unknown assailants (*Monitor* 11 Nov. 1994, 3; *Country Reports 1994 1995*, 941). Even though the victims are robbed, the attacks are suspected to be politically motivated ( *ibid.*). On 8 October the head of St. Petersburg Television's information programs, Vladislav Nechayev, is seriously injured when attacked by unknown assailants ( *ITAR-TASS* 8 Oct. 1994). The attacks on Nechayev and Kurkova bear similar modus operandi ( *ibid.*).

### **24-25 September 1994**

Representatives of more than 39 pro-reform parties and movements gather in Moscow to create the United Democratic Centre ( *RFERL* 26 Sept. 1994). The organization aims to unite the efforts of the reformist parties in Russia in anticipation of presidential elections scheduled for June 1996 ( *ibid.*). Aleksandr Yakovlev reportedly warns the congress that "a conservative opposition could come to power in Russia by democratic means if its ranks were united and those of the democrats were not" ( *ibid.*).

### **24 September 1994**

Sergei Kovalev's August report on the human rights situation in the country, is delivered to the Human Rights Public Chamber (*Human Rights in the Countries of the Former Soviet Union* 26 Sept. 1994, 18; *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* 27 Sept. 1994). The Human Rights Public Chamber, established by Yeltsin to "neutralize his opponents in the Russian parliament", agrees to put forward a list of recommendations to the president. Included on the list is the recommendation to cancel the 14 June 1994 decree on fighting crime ( *RFERL* 26 Sept. 1994; *Interfax* 24 Sept. 1994). The chamber also expresses its concern over "the dangerous" human rights situation in the country ( *ibid.*). On 26 September, in defending the Yeltsin anti-crime decree, MVD spokesperson Vladimir Vorontsov claims that "only 36 complaints of human rights having been violated in this connection had been deemed valid by the Office of the Russian Prosecutor-General" ( *RFERL* 27 Sept. 1994).

### **25 September 1994**

Russian television and Interfax report that Egor Gaidar has asked Yeltsin to investigate Evgenii Nazdratenko, the governor of Primorsky Krai (Maritime Territory), on allegations of corruption and human rights violations, including torture ( *RFERL* 26 Sept. 1994; *Kommersant-Daily* 27 Sept. 1994; *ITAR-TASS* 24 Sept. 1994). Nazdratenko had removed and arrested the elected mayor of Vladivostok in February 1994. In June, reporter Aleksei Sadykov, who criticized the action was kidnapped and tortured by unknown assailants ( *OMRI* 15 Feb. 1995d, 37; *Monitor* 11 Nov. 1994, 2; *Country Reports 1994 1995*, 940).

### **27 September 1994**

Dudayev's forces shoot down a Russian military helicopter ( *RFERL* 29 Sept. 1994).



## 2-3 October 1994

Russia denies Chechen charges that it was involved in helicopter attacks in Chechnya on 2 and 3 October which resulted in one death ( RFERL 4 Oct. 1994).

## 2 October 1994

A rally to mark the first anniversary of the October 1993 crisis is held in Moscow (*Moscow News* 7-13 Oct. 1994a, 2; ITAR-TASS 2 Oct. 1994). The demonstration was reported to have been peaceful (*Moscow News* 7-13 Oct. 1994a, 2; Mayak Radio 2 Oct. 1994) and "only one demonstrator was detained for carrying [an anti-Zionist poster]" (*Moscow News* 7-13 Oct. 1994a, 2).

## 3 October 1994

The fall call-up to military service begins ( AFP 8 Oct. 1994). The recruitment campaign's target is 251,600 people ( BBC Summary 31 Oct. 1994a; AFP 8 Oct. 1994). The Defence Ministry announces a crackdown on draft dodgers as the call-up gets underway. Lt-General Vyacheslav Zherbetsov says that about 27,500 people failed to present themselves to their commissariats for the spring draft resulting in suits being filed against 800 draft dodgers and another 13,000 conscripts receiving administrative punishment ( BBC Summary 31 Oct. 1994a). 88 per cent of conscripts were processed in the spring call-up as the result of "a massive recruiting drive, including hunting down draft evaders and calling up previously exempted technological college students" ( AFP 8 Oct. 1994).

Demonstrators march to the former White House to mark the first anniversary of the shelling of the Russian parliament [Demonstrations were organized for 2-4 October 1994 (*Rossiyskaya Gazeta* 1 Oct. 1994)]. The demonstrators call for Yeltsin's resignation (Reuters 3 Oct. 1994; Interfax 3 Oct. 1994). According to one report, the demonstrators carry anti-government and anti-Semitic placards ( RFERL 4 Oct. 1994). Reportedly there was a "strong police presence" at the rally, although there were no incidents ( Interfax 3 Oct. 1994).

## 5 October 1994

The fall session of the Russian parliament commences. The State Duma fails to reach agreement on the order of presentation of the 264 draft bills slated for adoption during the session. In the absence of the Liberal Democratic Party, which is boycotting the opening session, the opposition's criticism of the government centers around Yeltsin's drinking habits and Viktor Ilyukhin's claim that Yeltsin "suffer[s] from alcoholism and [is] therefore unfit for office" ( RFERL 6 Oct. 1994). Gennadii Zyuganov suggests that the Duma not bother passing any laws "because no one carries them out" (*Moscow News* 14-20 Oct. 1994, 3). One deputy lists a number of laws passed which were then over-ruled by Yeltsin or ignored ( *ibid.*). The Federation Council also fails to reach consensus on any points on its agenda, which include confirming the continuation of Yeltsin's decree of 4 October 1994 on the state of emergency in Ingushetia currently scheduled to remain in effect until 2 December 1994 [Some 60,000 Ingush were forcibly expelled from the Prigorodnyi raion by the North Ossetians in November 1992 ( RFERL 29 Nov. 1994, 2; *ibid.* 7 Dec. 1994, 2). Moscow established a Temporary Administration to oversee the state of emergency in the disputed region and to facilitate the repatriation of the expelled Ingush ( *ibid.* 23 Nov. 1994, 2). The Temporary Administration suspended the repatriation process in

September 1994 in reaction to increased tension in the region (*Segodnya* 7 Sept. 1994). Only a few hundred Ingush have been repatriated to date ( RFERL 29 Nov. 1994, 2; *ibid.* 7 Dec. 1994, 2).] ( RFERL 6 Oct. 1994; *ibid.* 7 Oct. 1994).

### **6 October 1994**

A conference of the president's regional envoys decides that the president's representatives should take financial control of the media after discussing the "failure of provincial media to convince the population of the correctness of presidential and governmental policies" and blaming provincial governors "for cases of publications sympathetic to the opposition [receiving] preferential treatment" ( RFERL 7 Oct. 1994).

### **6-7 October 1994**

Council of Europe experts claim that Russia's poor human rights performance should bar it from entry into the Council ( RFERL 10 Oct. 1994). The experts cited the "appalling state of Russian prisons and police brutality" and added that while there have been changes in recent years, such as free elections and a new constitution which guarantees human rights, these changes have not yet been implemented ( *ibid.*). Country Reports 1994 reports that the State Duma has established a commission to investigate prison conditions (*Country Reports 1994* 1995, 935).

### **7 October 1994**

Zhirinovskiy and his Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) orchestrate a walkout from the State Duma which is supported by the Agrarians and Communists ( Inter Press Service 7 October 1994; *The Christian Science Monitor* 13 Oct. 1994). The walkout is to protest the treatment of the LDP which Zhirinovskiy claims is "persecuted, stifled and repressed everywhere" ( Inter Press Service 7 Oct. 1994; *The Christian Science Monitor* 13 Oct. 1994).

Nezavisimaya Gazeta reports that Buryatia has passed a law to establish its own constitutional court to be the supreme legislative body of the republic ( BBC Summary 29 Oct. 1994).

### **8 October 1994**

The executive committee of the Kabardian People's Congress in the Caucasian republic of Kabardino-Balkaria demand the withdrawal of the Russian military from inside its borders, reportedly fearing that Russian forces will be used against neighbouring Chechnya ( RFERL 10 Oct. 1994).

The deputy minister of internal affairs of the Udmurt Republic, Colonel Nikolai Perevozshchikov and his wife and two children are assassinated by masked gunmen ( ITAR-TASS 9 Oct. 1994; RFERL 18 Oct. 1994). Perevozshchikov had been responsible for fighting organized crime in the region ( *ibid.*). A Komsomolskaya Pravda report on 11 October claims that the police were combing the city where the killings occurred but that few clues had been found (*Komsomolskaya Pravda* 11 Oct. 1994). A subsequent report on Ostankino television on 17 October claims that one of four suspects was captured and detained after the shooting ( RFERL 18 Oct. 1994).

### **9 October 1994**

An unexploded incendiary device is found in the entrance of Moscow's Choral Synagogue

(*Monitor* 14 Oct. 1994a, 4; *Country Reports 1994, 1995, 945*; *Jewish Bulletin* 21 Oct. 1994). On 12 October, seven shots from a BB gun were fired at the synagogue (*Jewish Bulletin* 21 Oct. 1994). Police investigated a bomb threat on the synagogue in July 1994, but did not find a bomb ( *INS* Sept. 1994, 15).

### **12 October 1994**

The State Duma, for the first time, overrides a presidential veto on a budget bill by a 310 to 6 vote (*The Christian Science Monitor* 13 Oct. 1994). The Duma also votes 230 to 2 to hold a vote of no confidence in the government following a dramatic fall in the value of the ruble ( *RFERL* 13 Oct. 1994; *OMRI* 15 Feb. 1995a, 6). The government survives the non-confidence vote on 27 October 1994 ( *RFERL* 28 Oct. 1994; *OMRI* 15 Feb. 1995a, 6).

The State Duma passes a bill on anti-corruption ( *RFERL* 14 Oct. 1994; *ITAR-TASS* 12 Oct. 1994). The bill's objective is to prevent "state bureaucrats from abusing their positions" and to promote the government's campaign to fight organized crime ( *RFERL* 14 Oct. 1994). The Federation Council rejects the bill on 24 October 1994. According to a Russian television broadcast, as reported in *RFERL* 26 October 1994, the upper chamber said that "the [draft] law does not include legal norms necessary to fight corruption in Russia." ( *RFERL* 26 Oct. 1994)

### **17 October 1994**

A bomb explodes in the offices of the newspaper *Moskovsky Komsomolets* injuring one journalist and killing the deputy editor, Dmitri Kholodov ( *AFP* 17 Oct. 1994; *RFERL* 18 Oct. 1994). Kholodov had recently written several articles on corruption in the Western Group of Forces (WGF) ( *AFP* 17 Oct. 1994; *Christian Science Monitor* 25 Nov. 1994) and was scheduled to testify before a State Duma committee ( *ibid.*; *RFERL* 18 Oct. 1994; *Country Reports 1994, 1995, 940*). The newspaper's chief editor and other journalists blame the assassination on the FSK, the former commander of the WGF, Colonel General Matvei Burlakov, as well as Grachev and Yeltsin ( *RFERL* 19 Oct. 1994). Others are reported to believe that the assassination is the outcome of Kholodov's recent articles on Chechnya ( *ibid.*). On 19 October, the chief editor of *Moskovsky Komsomolets*, Pavel Gusev states that Yeltsin has become personally involved in the investigation into the Kholodov's assassination, having the charge changed from "wilful murder" to terrorism ( *RFERL* 20 Oct. 1994; *ITAR-TASS* 19 Oct. 1994). Since the assassination, other journalists covering corruption in the military have reportedly received anonymous threatening phone calls (*Country Reports 1994 1995, 940-941*). On 22 November 1994, Oleg Gaydanov, the Russian Deputy Prosecutor General, informs reporters that a suspect in the killing has been arrested ( *Interfax* 22 Nov. 1994).

### **23 October 1994**

*ITAR-TASS* reports that Zhirinovskiy has won a libel suit filed against the weekly *Moscow News* bringing to over 30 the number of successful suits he has brought against various media which have called him a fascist ( *RFERL* 25 Oct. 1994). According to *RFERL* Daily Report, "One of the reasons for his success is the absence of a definition of 'fascism' in Russian law" ( *ibid.*).

### **24 October 1994**

Yeltsin signs a decree "On Certain Questions of the Implementation of the Russian Federation

Law 'On Citizenship of the Russian Federation'" (*Rossiyskaya Gazeta* 26 Oct. 1994; Radio Rossii 25 Oct. 1994). The decree makes it easier for Russians to obtain citizenship if they came to Russia after 6 February 1992, when the Russian Law on Citizenship came into force. It also regards Russians who came to Russia before 6 February 1992 to be Russian citizens ( *ibid.*), and entitled to obtain formal documentation of their citizenship "at their personally expressed wishes" (*Rossiyskaya Gazeta* 26 Oct. 1994).

The Federation Council confirms Yeltsin's nominations to the Russian Supreme Court, but confirms only half of his six nominees for the Constitutional Court (*Moscow News* 28 Oct.-3 Nov. 1994a, 1; RFERL 25 Oct. 1994). Furthermore, Yeltsin's candidate for the position of Prosecutor-General, Aleksei Ilyushenko is rejected by the Council for a second time, having been previously rejected in April 1994 (*Moscow News* 28 Oct.-3 Nov. 1994a, 1; RFERL 25 Oct. 1994). Ilyushenko has been the Acting Prosecutor-General since his predecessor resigned on 26 February 1994 after the leaders of the October 1993 revolt were released from prison (*Moscow Times* 8 April 1994; *Country Reports 1994 1995*, 938-939). He was responsible for overturning the findings of his two predecessors, and absolving the commanders of the WGF in Germany of corruption charges ( RFERL 19 Oct. 1994).

### **27 October 1994**

Trade unions call for nation-wide one-day rallies to protest reforms, wage arrears, increasing poverty and unemployment. Several thousand people rally throughout the country, some calling for the resignation of Yeltsin and the government ( BBC Summary 31 Oct. 1994b; RFERL 28 Oct. 1994). According to the trade unions, the number of people involved in the rallies is five million ( *ibid.*). An FBIS Editorial Report of ITAR-TASS summaries of the demonstrations does not mention violence or police involvement being part of any of the demonstrations ( FBIS Editorial Report 31 Oct. 1994, 27).

### **28 October 1994**

A round table on Russian-speakers in the near abroad, held at the Ministry for Affairs of Nationalities and Regional Policy, is told that Russia can expect six to seven million Russian-speakers to return to Russia from the near abroad in the near future ( BBC Summary 2 Nov. 1994). Deputy Minister Valeriy Shamsurov estimates the Russian-speaking population in the near abroad to be 35 million, based on those who consider Russian to be their native language ( *ibid.*). A week earlier, *Izvestiya* reported that the head of the Federal Migration Service, Tatyana Regent, said that Russia can expect 3-4 million migrants from the near abroad to return to Russia by the year 2,000 (*Izvestiya* 20 Oct. 1994).

Kommersant Daily reports that the State Duma has adopted legislation entitled "On Keeping the Accused and Suspected in Detention" (*Monitor* 5 Dec. 1994, 3). The new law sets out the rules for holding suspects ( *ibid.*). On 7 December 1994, the Federation Council rejects the law claiming that unspecified articles are "unacceptable" ( FBIS Media Note 25 Jan. 1995, 21).

### **30 October 1994**

The Russian Social-Democratic Union holds its inaugural congress (*Moscow News* 4-10 Nov. 1994c, 3; RFERL 31 Oct. 1994). The aims of the new movement of moderate left-wing parties include the peaceful replacement of the Yeltsin regime ( *ibid.*; ITAR-TASS 30 Oct. 1994).

A by-election is held for the seat of assassinated State Duma deputy Andrei Aizderdzis (see 26 April 1994) (*Moscow News* 28 Oct.-3 Nov. 1994b, 6; RFERL 27 Oct. 1994). At the final meeting with voters before the elections, ten of the twelve candidates attend the meeting. Only Aleksandr Fyodorov of the neo-Nazi Russian National Unity (RNU) movement is successful in expressing his views (*Moscow News* 28 Oct.-3 Nov. 1994b, 6). The rest of the candidates are jeered by the crowd, and some receive threats on their lives ( *ibid.*). Two candidates, Sergei Mavrodi and Konstantin Borovoi, avoid the meeting ( *ibid.*). The seat is won by Mavrodi, the president of the MMM joint-stock company who was recently released from jail where he was being held on charges of tax violations ( RFERL 17 Oct. 1994; *ibid.* 2 Nov. 1994). As a parliamentary deputy, Mavrodi can only be rearrested with the approval of the Duma ( *ibid.* 17 Oct. 1994, 2) and Moscow Prosecutor-General Ponamarev admits that it will be difficult to bring Mavrodi to trial because of the "limited immunity he now enjoys as a Duma deputy" ( *ibid.* 2 Nov. 1994, 3) [An investigation into allegations that the election results had been falsified determined that the allegations were unfounded ( TASS 2 Feb. 1995). More recently, Aleksei Ilyushenko has sent a formal request to the Duma asking it to strip Mavrodi of his parliamentary immunity so that he can be charged with tax evasion (*Russian Press Digest* 22 Mar. 1995; BBC Summary 25 Mar. 1995). ]. Mavrodi, through a representative, tells journalists after his win that he had no choice but to run for the political position, stating that "if not a deputy, then again a prisoner somewhere closer to Siberia" (*Moscow News* 4-10 Nov. 1994a, 1). The newspaper *Vesti* quotes Mavrodi as saying that he plans to turn his MMM shareholders group (believed to number up to 100,000 members) into a political party ( RFERL 17 Oct. 1994).

### **November 1994**

Authorities revoke the registration of an anti-Semitic Palestinian newspaper called *Al-Kods* because the publisher is a foreigner. The paper's mandate is to "combat Zionism" (*The Jerusalem Post* 18 Nov. 1994; *Monitor* 19 Dec. 1994, 5-6; *Country Reports 1994 1995*, 940). According to *Obshchaya Gazeta*, *Al-Kods* published a new issue which went on sale on 23 November in defiance of Russian authorities (*Obshchaya Gazeta* 25 Nov. 1994). In December 1994, the State Committee for the Press announces its intention to force the closure, through legal actions, of about 100 other newspapers considered to be fascist or "inciteful of ethnic or racial enmity" (*Country Reports 1994 1995*, 940).

### **3 November 1994**

ITAR-TASS reports that Yeltsin has signed a decree to protect Russians outside of the country in emergency situations ( RFERL 7 Nov. 1994). The decree allows the president to authorize the evacuation of Russian citizens and to provide the force necessary to carry out evacuations ( *ibid.*).

### **6 November 1994**

ITAR-TASS reports that Yeltsin has signed a law passed by the Duma which provides for the resignation of the government should the Duma reject the government's proposed budget ( RFERL 7 Nov. 1994). Yeltsin had vetoed the law earlier, but according to provisions in the constitution, a presidential veto can be overturned by a two-thirds majority vote in both chambers of the parliament ( *ibid.*; *ibid.* 4 Mar. 1994, 4; OMRI 15 Feb 1995a, 7 ). The budget passes in the Duma on fourth reading on 15 March 1995 ( OMRI 16 Mar. 1995). It must still be approved by the Federation Council ( *ibid.*)

Valetin Martemyanov, State Duma deputy, dies of injuries sustained when attacked and robbed by unknown assailants near his home on 1 November 1994 ( RFERL 7 Nov. 1994; *ibid.* 8 Nov. 1994).

The executive director of the Trans-Volga Railroad, Yurii Tsittel is assassinated, prompting calls for MVD Minister Viktor Yerin's resignation. Yerin states that he will not resign but will continue "investigating the recent murders of politicians, journalists and businessmen" ( RFERL 8 Nov. 1994). Ten days later, on 16 November, another businessman, oil executive Vladimir Zakharov is found murdered in his Moscow home ( RFERL 18 Nov. 1994).

Three OMON police officers and two suspects are killed when OMON forces conduct a raid on the Ingush village of Alteivo ( RFERL 10 Nov. 1994; TASS 7 Nov. 1994). The raid was allegedly organized to find persons who participated in clashes in neighbouring North Ossetia in 1992 which saw the area "ethnically cleansed" of Ingush ( RFERL 10 Nov. 1994).

Independent television's "Itogi" program calls General Lebed "the army's undisputed informal leader" ( RFERL 11 Nov. 1994). Other reports support this claim (*Russian Press Digest* 21 Oct. 1994; *Moscow News* 4-10 Nov. 1994b, 1). However, AFP reports that Grachev, in spite of his "unpopularity among the military", still has the support of the Russian president ( RFERL 15 Nov. 1994).

### **9 November 1994**

Sergei Kovalev, in an article in the daily *Segodnya*, states that his inspection of the area of North Ossetia and Ingushetia found "massive and very crude violations of human rights" ( BBC Summary 11 Nov. 1994). Kovalev claims that the Ingush are becoming more radical and frustrated by the slow pace at which those who were expelled from Prigorodnyi raion are being returned. He blames the North Ossetian leadership for the on-going problem ( *ibid.*).

### **10 November 1994**

The parliament of the Republic of North Ossetia votes to change the republic's name to the Republic of North Ossetia-Alaniya ( RFERL 11 Nov. 1994). The change of name reflects the "ethnic origin of the Ossetian people" ( *ibid.*). The Alan are "an Indo-European ethnic group whose original homeland was in the North Caucasus near the sea of Azov" ( *ibid.*).

The government endorses a draft law "On the procedure of the change of constitutional-legal status of subjects of the Russian Federation" which will be presented to the State Duma in the near future ( TASS 10 Nov. 1994; BBC Summary 12 Nov. 1994). The draft law proposes that territorial division of the federation not be based on nationality ( *ibid.*). The draft states that "a republic, territory, region, city of federal importance, autonomous region and autonomous district having no right to withdraw from Russia are subjects of the Russian Federation." ( *ibid.*). The draft law further stipulates that subjects of the Russian Federation cannot change their status unilaterally, but must have their proposed status change approved by the Russian parliament ( *ibid.*).

### **13 November 1994**

Vladimir Ovchinsky, an expert on the MVD, reports at public hearings into corruption, that

authorities investigated 15,500 corruption and abuse of power charges involving public officials in 1993 ( RFERL 17 Nov. 1994).

### **16 November 1994**

MVD Minister Viktor Yerin reports to the State Duma that 500 police officers have been arrested in 1994 on corruption charges ( ITAR-TASS 16 Nov. 1994b; RFERL 17 Nov. 1994; OMRI 15 Feb. 1995c, 32). Yerin also states that his department has reacted "inadequately" to the increasing number of violent crimes, but notes that the MVD has arrested suspects in the assassinations of Andrei Aizderdzis and Valentin Martemyanov (see 26 April and 6 November 1994). Moscow Prosecutor Gennadii Ponamarev is unimpressed by the announcements, noting that in the first ten months of 1994 there have been 2344 murders in Moscow alone ( RFERL 17 Nov. 1994).

The State Duma passes a draft bill for fighting organized crime ( RFERL 17 Nov. 1994; OMRI 15 Feb. 1995c, 36; ITAR-TASS 16 Nov. 1994a). A similar bill sponsored by Yeltsin failed to pass second reading on 10 November 1994 ( RFERL 14 Nov. 1994).

### **17 November 1994**

The Chechen government accuses the Russian military of entering Chechnya from North Ossetia ( RFERL 18 Nov. 1994). Russia denies that the tanks are from the North Caucasus Military District, but according to Interfax, as reported in RFERL, "the Chechen leadership issued a statement to the world community characterizing the incursion as the beginning of a new Russian-Caucasian war that would affect the interests of many countries" ( *ibid.*). Dudayev repeats the warning in an interview with Interfax on 19 November 1994 ( *ibid.* 21 Nov. 1994).

### **18 November 1994**

Defence Minister Pavel Grachev, before the State Duma, refutes allegations that the armed forces are on the brink of collapse ( RFERL 21 Nov. 1994; *Moscow News* 25 Nov.-1 Dec.1994, 2). However, he warns that the situation could quickly deteriorate unless there are improvements in funding, equipment and staffing and a general increase in respect for the military ( RFERL 21 Nov. 1994). Grachev also notes a decline in the quality of recruits in the army stating that they are more poorly educated, less fit, and more prone to violent and cruel behaviour, which has resulted in a 25 per cent increase in serious crime within the military ( *ibid.*). The hearing fails to turn Grachev's address into an assessment of his suitability for his position, or to garner enough support to oust him from his position ( *ibid.*; AFP 18 Nov. 1994; *Moscow News* 25 Nov.-1 Dec. 1994, 2).

The State Duma passes a draft law on the FSK which has been sponsored by the president's administration ( ITAR-TASS 18 Nov. 1994; RFERL 21 Nov. 1994). The new law allows the FSK to use "eavesdropping and secret informers" and it reestablishes an "investigative branch of state security organs", which had been abolished with the Ministry of Security (see 21 December 1993) ( *ibid.*).

### **19 November 1994**

Nezavisimaya Gazeta reports that a number of draft election laws have been presented to the State Duma ( RFERL 23 Nov. 1994). According to the 12 December 1993 constitution, there is a

one year moratorium on disbanding parliament and calling elections, but if the Duma cannot pass an election law before the 12 December 1994 deadline, then new elections will be called by presidential decree ( *ibid.*). On 16 December, the State Duma passes a Yeltsin-sponsored draft law on presidential elections ( *ibid.* 19 Dec. 1994, 4; FBIS Media Note 25 Jan. 1995, 20). However, the Duma amended it heavily, to Yeltsin's displeasure ( BBC Summary 16 Feb. 1995). On 24 March 1995, the final version of the draft passes the Duma ( OMRI 27 Mar. 1995), only to be rejected in early April by the Federation Council's Committee on Constitutional Law, which claims that the draft favours the Moscow region ( *ibid.* 11 Apr. 1995); the committee recommends that the Council reject the draft ( *ibid.*).

### **22 November 1994**

Ingush President Aushev condemns Russia for its "pro-Ossetian" stance on the Ingush-North Ossetian conflict ( RFERL 23 Nov. 1994). The Ingush authorities demand the resignation of the head of the Temporary Administration for North Ossetia and Ingushetia and the relocation of the body from the Ossetian capital of Vladikavkaz to the disputed Prigorodnyi raion ( *ibid.*).

### **23 November 1994**

Yeltsin is scheduled to visit Pskov region where he will inspect the Russian-Estonian border ( RFERL 23 Nov. 1994). Yeltsin had ordered the temporary border between the two states to be marked despite Estonian demands that the border respect the 1920 Treaty of Tartu. For its part, Russia claims the 1920 treaty is no longer valid ( *ibid.*; *ibid.* 28 Nov. 1994, 2).

The State Duma passes legislation on information and data protection ( FBIS Media Note 14 Dec. 1994, 20; RFERL 28 Nov. 1994). The legislation provides for access to state information by all citizens as well as protection of the individual's privacy ( *ibid.*).

### **24 November 1994**

Dudayev proclaims martial law in Chechnya and mobilizes all males over the age of 17 ( RFERL 28 Nov. 1994).

Parliamentary hearings are held into corruption charges involving the Western Group of Forces (WGF) ( RFERL 29 Nov. 1994). Grachev, unable to attend due to illness, sends Matvei Burlakov in his stead. Afterwards, Grachev expresses his satisfaction that Burlakov was able to assure parliament that appropriate action had been taken and that those who did participate in illegal activities have been punished ( *ibid.*).

### **25 November 1994**

The liberal newspaper Novaya Ezhednevnyaya publishes an article alleging that Russian prosecutors are "cooking up" a case to prosecute Mikhail Gorbachev using Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code which "gained the world-wide notoriety under its former title 'Anti-Soviet Agitation and Propaganda'" ( RFERL 2 Dec. 1994). The investigation against Gorbachev reportedly stems from his address to the inaugural congress of the Social-Democratic Union, in which he criticized the government and called for early presidential elections ( *ibid.*). An ITAR-TASS report, carried in BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, states that the newspaper was quoting unofficial sources and that such investigations have generally been closed at the



preliminary investigation stage ( BBC Summary 26 Nov. 1994).

Yeltsin signs a decree "On Drafting Reserve Officers for Military Service in 1995-1996" which calls for 18,000 citizens who have graduated from their educational programs to be called into active service (*Rossiyskaya Gazeta* 29 Nov. 1994). Shortly thereafter, Gaidar and his Democratic Choice of Russia party announce their opposition to the decree claiming that the military needs better control and direction and not increased numbers of untrained people ( BBC Summary 14 Dec. 1994a). Gaidar also alleges that a large number of military college graduates are abandoning the military ( *ibid.*).

### **27 November 1994**

Dudayev threatens to execute Russian soldiers captured in Chechnya unless Russian authorities admit to having sent Russian soldiers into the republic ( RFERL 29 Nov. 1994). While some captured soldiers, shown on television, have been identified as members of the Russian army, it is still unclear whether they were in the republic on military orders or on their own initiative ( *ibid.*). While Russia maintains that it has not committed troops to the conflict, opposition forces in Chechnya acknowledge that the Russian military has supplied them with financial and logistical support ( *ibid.*; Reuters 26 Nov. 1994). Country Reports 1994 states that the Chechen opposition forces' 26 November offensive was covertly supported by "'volunteers' from several elite regular Russian army units" (*Country Reports 1994 1995*, 939).

### **28 November 1994**

The Ingush government issues a statement to ITAR-TASS alleging that the North Ossetians and the Temporary Administration have hampered the repatriation of Ingush to the Prigorodnyi region ( RFERL 29 Nov. 1994). Ingush authorities claim that the few hundred Ingush who have been repatriated have been harassed and denied essential services by the North Ossetians ( *ibid.*; *ibid.* 7 Dec. 1994).

### **29 November 1994**

Yeltsin warns the warring sides in Chechnya that if they do not lay down their arms within 48 hours he will proclaim a state of emergency and move to restore order in the republic ( RFERL 29 Nov. 1994; HRWHelsinki Jan. 1995a, 7).

### **1 December 1994**

A group of State Duma deputies sets out for Grozny, the capital of the Chechen Republic, to try to secure the release of some 70 Russian soldiers who were captured in fighting in the republic on 26-27 November ( RFERL 1 Dec 1994; *ibid.* 2 Dec. 1994).

As the 29 November deadline to lay down arms expires, Yeltsin issues a decree extending the deadline to 15 December 1994 ( TASS 13 Dec. 1994). While the decree does not mention the threat to impose martial law, it does state that Russia will move to restore order in the republic ( RFERL 2 Dec. 1994) and it offers amnesty to those who obey ( TASS 13 Dec. 1994; OMRI 10 Jan. 1995). The State Duma passes a decree "On the Proclamation of Amnesty for Persons Who Have Participated in Illegal Actions in Connection with Armed Conflicts in the North Caucasus" on 13 December 1994 ( FBIS Media Note 25 Jan. 1995, 22).

ITAR-TASS reports that Yeltsin has nominated two more candidates for the constitutional court ( RFERL 6 Dec. 1994). In an earlier session, the Federation Council approved three Yeltsin nominees (see 24 October 1994), but according to a new law, the court cannot resume operations until all of its 19 seats are filled ( *ibid.*). Later reports claim that only one of the two nominees is accepted by the Federation Council ( *ibid.* 7 Dec. 1994).

Pro-reform deputies propose legislation to abolish the indication of nationality from internal passports, which are issued to every Russian citizen at age sixteen. The bill has not been introduced to parliament yet (*The Jerusalem Report* 1 Dec. 1994).

## **2 December 1994**

The special task force of the Main Administration for Protection of the Russian Federation (GUO) conducts a raid on the offices of "Most" (*The New York Times* 5 Jan. 1995b, A8; RFERL 5 Dec. 1994). "Most" is involved in the financial, construction and communications sectors ( *ibid.*). Aleksandr Korzhakov's office claims that the raid was called to search for evidence of corruption links between the bank and Yurii Lushkov (*The New York Times* 5 Jan. 1995b, A8). In recent weeks "Most" has been implicated in the October ruble destabilization incident ( RFERL 5 Dec. 1994) and has been reported to be supporting the Lushkov-Yavlinsky team in presidential elections scheduled for 1996 ( *ibid.*; *ibid.* 23 Nov. 1994, 2). The Rossiyskaya Gazeta report claims the Lushkov-Yavlinsky team is being supported by the chiefs of newspapers backed by "Most" including Moskovskie Novosti, Segodnya, Nezavisimaya Gazeta, and Rossiyskie Vesti ( *ibid.* 30 Nov. 1994, 2-3). Lushkov reacts by preparing to sue Rossiyskaya Gazeta and requesting the FSK to investigate the matter [On 23 January 1995, Lushkov tells reporters that those responsible have been brought up on charges of exceeding their authority by the military procurator's office ( 2x2 Television 23 Jan. 1995).] ( *ibid.*). Vladimir Gusinsky, the head of Most bank, claimed later that the bank had been attacked because he supported an independent media, although an OMRI report claims that the motive may have been anti-Semitic as Gusinsky is Jewish and reports on him in Rossiiskaya Gazeta have been anti-Semitic ( OMRI 15 Feb. 1995d, 40).

Russian troops are reported to have passed through Ingushetia to the Chechen border ( The Ottawa Citizen 3 Dec. 1994).

## **3 December 1994**

Moscow officially admits that Russian forces have been involved in the attempts to oust Dudayev in Chechnya ( AFP 3 Dec. 1994).

## **5 December 1994**

Western news sources report a build-up of Russian forces on the Chechen border ( RFERL 5 Dec. 1994). Ingush President Aushev, who is opposed to a Russian invasion of Chechnya, warns that if Russian troops attempt to reach Chechnya through Ingushetia, the Ingush will launch an uprising ( *ibid.*).

On the Chechen-Russian border, Pavel Grachev admits that Russian troops fought along side Chechen opposition forces the previous week ( RFERL 6 Dec. 1994; AFP 5 Dec. 1994) and that Russian warplanes bombed targets inside Chechnya as well ( RFERL 6 Dec. 1994; Xinhua News

Agency 5 Dec. 1994).

## **6 December 1994**

Dudayev and Grachev meet in North Ossetia and agree to refrain from further fighting ( RFERL 7 Dec. 1994). Dudayev agrees to release the Russian soldiers captured on 26-27 November 1994 ( *ibid.*) and does so 8 December 1994 ( ITAR-TASS 8 Dec. 1994).

The Federation Council votes not to extend the state of emergency called in the Ingush-North Ossetian conflict in 1992 ( RFERL 7 Dec. 1994; *Libération* 9 Dec. 1994). Yeltsin had wanted the Federation Council to extend it until 31 January 1995, but the Council decided that it had been ineffective in resolving the problems of the disputed area and should therefore not be extended ( FBIS Media Note 25 Jan. 1995, 22; RFERL 7 Dec. 1994). On 9 December, the Council considers a revised version and votes in favour of the extension ( *ibid.* 12 Dec. 1994, 3). However, when the deadline expires, the Federation Council refuses to ratify another Yeltsin decree to again extend the state of emergency ( OMRI 8 Feb. 1995) and Yeltsin finally lifts the state of emergency by decree in mid-February 1995 ( *ibid.* 17 Feb. 1995, 2).

The leader of the National-Republican Party of Russia, Yurii Belyayev is attacked and shot by unknown assailants (*Smena* 7 Dec. 1994). A number of possible motives for the shooting, emerge, including political fighting within the party and assassination by criminal groups ( *ibid.*).

## **7 December 1994**

Yeltsin tells the Russian Security Council that Chechen leaders must begin to comply with the constitution and laws of the Russian Federation immediately and unconditionally ( RFERL 8 Dec. 1994).

Yeltsin signs a decree dismissing the Justice Minister Yurii Kalmykov ( RFERL 8 Dec. 1994; *Libération* 8 Dec. 1994). While the decree gives no clear reason for the dismissal (*Nezavisimaya Gazeta* 8 Dec. 1994), Kalmykov claims that his disapproval of Moscow's policy on the Caucasus is the cause (*Pravda* 10 Dec. 1994).

## **8 December 1994**

Both chambers of the Russian parliament debate the Chechen crisis and call upon Yeltsin to only use peaceful, constitutional means to resolve the conflict ( RFERL 9 Dec. 1994).

The government endorses new punishments for those who fail to report for, or perform, their military duty ( RFERL 9 Dec. 1994). According to the military, every year about 250,000 people either fail to register for or dodge the draft, or do not present themselves for reservist duty ( *ibid.*). Under the proposal, the punishment for such actions would increase from a 5 to 25 ruble fine to either a jail term or fine of up to 50 times the minimum wage ( *ibid.*). The Duma has yet to approve the measures ( *ibid.*).

The day after the State Duma votes against Yeltsin's proposal to make 12 December, the day the constitution was adopted, a national holiday, Yeltsin overrules their decision and decrees the day to be a national holiday anyway ( RFERL 12 Dec. 1994).

## **9 December 1994**

Yeltsin issues a decree authorizing the Russian government to resolve the conflict in Chechnya as well as the area of conflict in the Ingush-Ossetia region using all resources available to the state ( ITAR-TASS 9 Dec. 1994; RFERL 12 Dec. 1994). The decree cites the conflicts as impinging on the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation and illegal under the constitution ( *ibid.*).

### **10 December 1994**

Komsomalskaya Pravda publishes a report claiming that a group of eleven top generals in the Russian forces has appealed to parliament on the state of the Russian ground forces ( RFERL 12 Dec. 1994). The report states that the generals' appeal claims that, contrary to Grachev's assurances that they are combat ready, the ground forces are in such poor condition that they might not be able to fulfil their duty unless parliament intervenes immediately ( *ibid.*).

ITAR-TASS reports that there are 12,000 refugees from Chechnya being placed in Ingushetia, North Ossetia, Dagestan and Stavropol Krai ( ITAR-TASS 19 Dec. 1994a).

### **11 December 1994**

Yeltsin sends 40,000 Russian troops into Chechnya (*Globe and Mail* 3 Jan. 1995b, A7; *The New York Times* 1 Jan. 1995, 1; *HRWHelsinki* Jan. 1995a, 7). The troops enter the republic from the neighbouring republics of Ingushetia, Dagestan and North Ossetia ( RFERL 12 Dec. 1994). As the troops pass through Ingushetia, four Ingush civilians are killed trying to stop a convoy from crossing through their republic to attack their neighbour ( *ibid.*).

The Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus, a group of representatives of all the peoples of the Caucasus, holds a congress to discuss the situation in Chechnya and resolves to support the Chechen people and demand an end to fighting in the republic ( *Mayak Radio* 11 Dec. 1994; RFERL 14 Dec. 1994). A week later, the deputy chair of the Confederation's parliament confirms that the confederation will establish headquarters in the capital cities of the neighbouring republics to administer "comprehensive aid" to Chechnya ( *Interfax* 19 Dec. 1994).

### **12 December 1994**

Reports continue to appear of Ingush civilians blocking Russian troops from crossing Ingushetia to get to Chechnya. The reports describe civilian men, women and children barricading the roads, shooting at Russian military vehicles and setting them ablaze, and tearing up tracks ( RFERL 13 Dec. 1994; FBIS Editorial Report 19 Dec. 1994, 43). Some Ingush civilians are reportedly killed and wounded in the confrontations ( *Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskv*y 11 Dec. 1994; *Interfax* 11 Dec. 1994). Grachev accuses the Ingush MVD of "colluding" with the insurgents and Aushev responds that they are merely showing their solidarity with their Chechen brothers ( RFERL 13 Dec. 1994). Similar reports emerge from Dagestan where civilians are reported to be trying to capture Russian weapons, vehicles and soldiers ( *ibid.*; FBIS Editorial Report 19 Dec. 1994, 43). Some captured vehicles are reportedly being sent to the Chechen government ( RFERL 13 Dec. 1994).

Leaders of the State Duma debate the invasion of Chechnya. Most political factions come out against the invasion, including the Communist Party, Women of Russia, and four democratic parties. The Liberal Democratic Party is the only major bloc to support the invasion as do the

smaller Russian Path and the Liberal Democratic Union of 12 December ( RFERL 13 Dec. 1994).

Two rallies, one organized by democrats and the other by communists, to condemn the invasion of Chechnya take place in Pushkin Square simultaneously ( RFERL 13 Dec. 1994). The square was the site of an earlier small demonstration, organized by the "once pro-Yeltsin" Democratic Choice, which took place within two hours of the first news reports of the invasion of Chechnya ( *ibid.*; ITAR-TASS 11 Dec. 1994).

### **13 December 1994**

The State Duma passes a resolution describing the performance of the Russian government during the invasion of Chechnya as "unsatisfactory" and renewing its call for the government to negotiate a political resolution to the conflict ( RFERL 14 Dec. 1994). Interfax reports that the Provisional Council in Chechnya has agreed to comply with Yeltsin's demand that they lay down their arms ( RFERL 13 Dec. 1994; OMRI 15 Mar. 1995d, 12). Meanwhile Chechen government forces and Russian military are reported to be fighting fifteen miles from Grozny ( RFERL 13 Dec. 1994).

Russian television reports that Ingush Vice President Boris Agapov claims that "tens of thousands of refugees" are fleeing Chechnya into Ingushetia ( RFERL 14 Dec. 1994).

Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, in an interview on Ostankino television, criticizes the democrats who oppose the invasion of Chechnya, and admits that the government pressured the heads of Ostankino television and Russian state television to force them to provide coverage of the conflict from the government's point of view ( RFERL 14 Dec. 1994).

### **14 December 1994**

The Russian Foundation for the Freedom of the Press reports several cases of the Russian military violating the rights of journalists covering the conflict in Chechnya ( TASS 14 Dec. 1994). In response to the accusations, the provisional information centre of the Russian government vows to "take measures to prevent attacks on journalists [in the Republic]" ( *ibid.*).

After initially being refused permission to fly to Chechnya by the Russian military, Kovalev and his party arrive in Grozny to begin negotiations with Dudayev on behalf of the Russian State Duma ( RFERL 14 Dec. 1994; OMRI 5 Jan. 1995).

The State Duma passes first reading on a draft law "On Alternative Civil Service" (*Segodnya* 15 Dec. 1994). The draft envisages that for reasons of conscience, draftees can serve in civilian enterprises and organizations ( *ibid.*). On 7 February 1995, Yeltsin sends a letter to the Duma calling the draft "insufficiently worked out in a conceptual sense" and claiming that the military should have first choice at employing conscripts qualifying for alternative service, in jobs which are unrelated to weapons ( BBC Summary 11 Feb. 1995).

### **15-16 December 1994**

The head of one of the three columns of Russian military forces headed towards Grozny, Major-General Ivan Babichev, announces that he is halting his forces and will not attack Chechen civilians ( RFERL 19 Dec. 1994; *The Globe and Mail* 3 Jan. 1995c, A7; OMRI 15 Feb. 1995a, 8).

OMRI reports that Babichev did in fact participate in the storming of Grozny after all ( *ibid.* 15 Feb. 1995b, 25). In January 1995, he is given the command of the 44<sup>th</sup> Infantry Corps in Chechnya ( *ibid.* 26 Jan. 1995).

### **16 December 1994**

First deputy director of the FSK, Anatoly Safonov, tells a meeting of the government operative committee that the FSK is on alert after receiving information that a group of Chechen extremists is planning to use portable rocket launchers to attack government motorcades along the section of Kutuzovsky Prospekt that leads to the Kremlin ( BBC Summary 19 Dec. 1994). ITAR-TASS reports that in a twenty-four hour period on December 17 and 18, four Chechen groups are arrested in Moscow on charges of illegal arms possession ( *ibid.* 20 Dec. 1994a). Three weeks later, on 5 January 1995, an FSK spokesman notes that there has not been a single terrorist attack in the Russian Federation in connection with the fighting in Chechnya ( TASS 5 Jan. 1995; *Russian Press Digest* 6 Jan. 1995). Safonov also claims that while the FSK is on the lookout for Chechen extremists throughout the Russian Federation, the constitutional rights of Chechen nationals and other people from the North Caucasus living in Moscow and elsewhere in the federation will be protected as citizens of the federation ( BBC Summary 19 Dec. 1994).

Aleksei Ilyushenko claims that legal proceedings are underway after an investigation concluded that some people in Ingushetia had blocked passage of Russian troops moving through the republic on their way to Chechnya and that Russian troops and materiel were captured, damaged and destroyed as they passed through Ingushetia ( FBIS Editorial Report 19 Dec. 1994, 43; BBC Summary 20 Dec. 1994b). Ilyushenko also said that criminal proceedings are underway in Dagestan after Russian soldiers were captured while trying to cross that republic to Chechnya ( *ibid.*).

### **17 December 1994**

Reports claim that Russian soldiers attacked and killed a group of people fleeing the fighting in Chechnya (*The Toronto Star* 19 Dec. 1994; Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskv 18 Dec. 1994). Ingush authorities claim that nine people were killed in the attack, which occurred on Ingush territory ( *ibid.*). According to a Toronto Star report, "witnesses and officials" claim that drunken Russian soldiers used their tanks to cut the fleeing refugees off, then opened fire on their cars and hunted down the wounded (*Toronto Star* 19 Dec. 1994). Official Russian sources acknowledge that a number of people were killed in the incident when Russian troops opened fire but claim the soldiers were acting in self defence ( ITAR-TASS 19 Dec. 1994b; AI 4 Jan. 1995, 1). FSK Deputy Director Anatoly Safonov has stated that an investigation is underway ( AI 4 Jan. 1995, 1).

### **18 December 1994**

After repeated failures of Chechen and Russian government officials to resolve the conflict in Chechnya, Yeltsin decrees a territorial administration, subordinate to the central organs of power, to take over in the republic ( RFERL 19 Dec. 1994). Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Nationality Affairs, Nikolai Egerov, is appointed to head the new territorial administration which has five days to establish itself ( *ibid.*). The territorial administration will set up branches of the Russian MVD and FSK to operate in the republic ( *ibid.*). On 27 January 1995, Egerov, who is reportedly in hospital with pneumonia ( OMRI 30 Jan. 1995), is replaced by Nikolai Semenov, by

presidential decree ( ITAR-TASS 27 Jan. 1995).

### **21 December 1994**

Ekho Moskvyy radio reports that a group of human rights organizations has started a "samizdat publication" called *Ne Znat, Ne Slyshat, Ne Ponimat* (Without Knowing, Hearing or Understanding) ( BBC Summary 23 Dec. 1994). The publication's objective is to provide "the truth about the Chechen crisis" ( *ibid.*).

Representatives of the FSK and other security organizations in St. Petersburg hold a conference to address such issues as the distribution of fascist materials in the city and the growth of paramilitary groups which provide security services for commercial organizations (*Monitor* 25 Jan. 1995, 9). After the conference, the city's Procurator General, Vladimir Yeryomenko concedes that there is no legal basis for confiscating anti-Semitic material which is blatantly displayed on the streets ( *ibid.*).

### **22 December 1994**

The State Duma approves on first reading the draft of a new criminal code (*The Moscow Times* 23 Dec. 1994; OMRI 15 Feb. 1995c, 36). On 1 July 1994, the existing code was amended to, among other changes, define acts of terrorism as well as offences committed by organized groups ( *ibid.*). The draft must pass two more readings in the State Duma before being sent to the upper house (*The Moscow Times* 23 Dec. 1994).

Russian television reports that Colonel General Eduard Vorobyev, deputy commander of land forces, has resigned his position in the Russian armed forces to protest his orders to "conduct an operation to liquidate so-called bandit formations in Chechnya" ( BBC Summary 28 Dec. 1994a). A Defence Ministry statement had claimed on 17 December that "Bandit formations [in Chechnya] will be disarmed and, if they show resistance, eliminated" ( ITAR-TASS 17 Dec. 1994). However, another report claims that Vorobyev refused to lead his troops into the fighting because he felt they were ill-prepared for battle ( OMRI 15 Mar. 1995b, 10).

Dudayev appears on television to urge his fellow Chechens to wage a holy war against Russia (*The San Francisco Examiner* 23 Dec. 1994). Dudayev had threatened Russia with a holy war (gazavat) in August when he addressed rallies in Grozny (*Moscow News* 2-8 Sept. 1994b, 3). Dudayev claims that it is "better to die with honor in a holy war than to enter into slavery" (*The San Francisco Examiner* 23 Dec. 1994; BBC Summary 28 Dec. 1994b). Earlier the Chechen foreign minister had announced that several Islamic countries had offered to send "volunteers" to help Chechnya repel the Russians ( RFERL 22 Nov. 1994).

### **23 December 1994**

Neither the Russian nor Chechen sides respond to the State Duma's 228 to 38 vote to stop the fighting in Chechnya and hold peace talks ( *The San Francisco Examiner* 23 Dec. 1994).

The State Duma passes a law "On Meetings, Rallies, Demonstrations, Marches, and Picketing" ( FBIS Media Note 25 Jan. 1995, 20-21; Interfax 24 Jan. 1995). Interfax reports on 24 January 1995 that Yeltsin has vetoed the law claiming it has "significant shortcomings" and he offers several amendments to be considered when the Duma re-examines it ( Interfax 24

Jan. 1995). The Duma later overrides the president's veto according to a 22 February Interfax report ( OMRI 23 Feb. 1995).

### **26 December 1994**

Twenty-four people are arrested after clashing with police during an anti-war demonstration organized by the human rights group Memorial (*Monitor* 9 Jan. 1995b, 8; *Country Reports 1994* 1995, 941). Those arrested are released in the evening (*Monitor* 9 Jan. 1995b, 8) and civil charges against them are dropped in January 1995 (*Monitor* 3 Feb. 1995a, 7).

### **28 December 1994**

Yeltsin signs a decree "On a Temporary Oversight Commission for the Observance of Citizens' Constitutional Rights and Freedoms" to be in effect for the period of restoration of constitutional legality in Chechnya ( BBC Summary 31 Dec. 1994; *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* 1 Jan. 1995). The commission is to be chaired by Valentin Kovalev ( *ibid.*) and deputy chairs are Sergei Kovalev and Ramazan Abdulatipov, the deputy speaker of the Federation Council ( BBC Summary 31 Dec. 1994). The commission is to monitor violations of citizens rights during the process of restoring order ( BBC Summary 31 Dec. 1994; *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* 1 Jan. 1995).

### **30 December 1994**

Dudayev calls for a cease-fire to go into effect on 31 December at 8:00 p.m. He demands that at that time Russian troops begin withdrawing from the republic. Russian leaders reject the proposal insisting that Chechens must lay down their arms as part of any cease-fire agreement (*The New York Times* 1 Jan. 1995a, 10).

### **31 December 1994**

Russian forces advance on Grozny's city centre (*The New York Times* 1 Jan. 1995a, 1). 300,000 of Grozny's 400,000 residents have fled the city in the wake of the fighting ( *ibid.*; Deutsche Presse-Agentur 7 Jan. 1995).

## **1995**

### **2 January 1995**

A group of deputies of the State Duma returns from Grozny accusing the "Russian government of 'terrible bloody crimes' in Chechnya" (*The Globe and Mail* 3 Jan. 1995a, 1). The deputies state that several hundred civilians and soldiers were killed in a 26 December 1994 attack on the city ( ITAR-TASS 2 Jan. 1995).

### **3 January 1995**

AFP reports that Russian planes bomb a hospital in Shali (Chechnya) killing 100 people ( AFP 4 Jan. 1995). Witnesses interviewed by Human Rights Watch also claim that the town of Shali is bombed ( HRWHelsinki Jan. 1995a, 4).

The Los Angeles Times reports that eyewitnesses claim to have counted 400 Russian corpses and 150 disabled tanks on the streets of Grozny ( OMRI 4 Jan. 1995).



A Russian air attack on the Ingush village of Arshty kills six people ( HRWHelsinki Jan. 1995a, 5; *ibid.* Jan. 1995b, 10). Ingush President Aushev expresses outrage at the attack and demands that those responsible be held to account ( Rossiyskiye Vesti 6 Jan. 1995).

#### **4 January 1995**

Yeltsin orders the bombing of Grozny to end at midnight (*The New York Times* 5 Jan. 1995a, A8; OMRI 5 Jan. 1995). The cease-fire order excludes artillery and rocket launchers (*The New York Times* 5 Jan. 1995a, 1). The bombing did not cease ( OMRI 6 Jan. 1995; *The Economist* 14 Jan. 1995, 44) and when Yeltsin asked why his order was not obeyed he did not receive a clear answer from the Security Council ( OMRI 9 Jan. 1995).

The Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry summons the ambassadors of Iran, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Jordan and Pakistan as well as Turkey's chargé d'affaires and asks for their cooperation in stopping mercenaries from going to Chechnya to fight with Dudayev's forces ( OMRI 5 Jan. 1995; UPI 4 Jan. 1995). Afghanistan claims that mercenaries are being sent by Afghani opposition groups and Iran and Pakistan agree to try to stop mercenaries from exiting their countries for the region ( UPI 4 Jan. 1995).

#### **5 January 1995**

According to Deputy Prime Minister Nikolai Egerov the "government of national revival" headed by Salambek Khadzhiev will begin governing in Grozny today ( Russian Television Network 5 Jan. 1995; OMRI 15 Mar. 1995d, 12).

Upon his arrival in Moscow, Sergei Kovalev tells RFERL that "Russian official propaganda on the Chechen developments surpassed the Bolsheviks 'and even Dr. Goebbels'" ( OMRI 6 Jan. 1995). Kovalev claims that Russian officials have been lying about the situation in Chechnya and that Yeltsin has been misinformed by his advisors ( *ibid.*; *Monitor* 9 Jan. 1995a, 5). Kovalev claims that Yeltsin has not been lied to to the same extent as the Russian people, because only a "very stupid person" would believe such lies ( *ibid.*).

#### **6 January 1995**

After meeting with Yeltsin, Sergei Kovalev holds a news conference and says that the president had denied not knowing what was going on in Grozny, but then told him that bombing of the beleaguered city had ceased on 27 December 1994 ( OMRI 9 Jan. 1995; *The Boston Globe* 7 Jan. 1995).

The chair of the Duma Defence Committee, Sergei Yushenko, announces that a public commission will begin to investigate "violations of the Russian Constitution and military crimes in Chechnya" ( OMRI 10 Jan. 1995).

#### **6-8 January 1995**

The bombing of Grozny continues ( OMRI 9 Jan. 1995). Conflicting estimates of the number of losses to the Russian forces are released. The Russian military reports on 6 and 7 January that Russian losses stand at 257, an 8 January report in the *Washington Post* claims that 1,800 Russians have been killed in fighting ( OMRI 9 Jan. 1995). On 7 January, ITAR-TASS reports that

Russian sources claim that "some 2,500 [Chechen] 'militants'" have been killed ( *ibid.*).

### **7 January 1995**

Russia gives its consent for UNHCR to begin an aid program for displaced persons from Chechnya ( AFP 7 Jan. 1995). The UNHCR begins aid flights on 15 January ( UNHCR 15 Jan. 1995).

### **9 January 1995**

Izvestiy reports that an OMON unit from Ekaterinburg which was called up on 2 December and sent to Grozny, has returned home ( OMRI 10 Jan. 1995). Various reasons for the premature return include: the failure of military authorities to issue written orders defining the unit's mission ( *ibid.*); claims from within the unit that it had been sent to Chechnya without adequate food, arms, or heat; and dissatisfaction with having their tour extended from 2 to 26 January ( *Ottawa Citizen* 4 Feb. 1995, A8). Another report claims that unit morale was low because they had not been paid since the beginning of December ( BBC Summary 13 Jan. 1995). The MVD however stated that the unit was replaced as scheduled, and the unit commander contends that it had declined "a proposal" to stay on in Chechnya because some 80 per cent of its members were suffering from colds they caught while in the republic ( OMRI 11 Jan. 1995) On 19 January 1995, ITAR-TASS reports that an OMON unit from the Siberian city of Bratsk was disbanded and its members fired for refusing to obey the order to go to Chechnya ( ITAR-TASS 19 Jan. 1995a).

Interfax reports that Aushev, in a telegram to the chair of the Russian Federation Council, demands that Russia send observers to investigate human rights abuses committed by Russian army and interior ministry troops in Ingushetia ( OMRI 11 Jan. 1995; AFP 9 Jan. 1995).

### **10 January 1995**

The Chechen leadership fails to respond to Yeltsin's 9 January offer of a 48-hour cease-fire to become effective at 8:00 a.m. today ( OMRI 10 Jan. 1995; HRWHelsinki Jan. 1995b, 14). Around 10:00 a.m., Russian shelling of Grozny resumes ( OMRI 10 Jan. 1995).

The chair of Russian Television (RTV), Oleg Poptsov tells a news conference that RTV is continuing to provide "unbiased reporting" despite pressure from factions of the Russian government trying to "make RTV a propaganda organ" ( OMRI 11 Jan. 1995).

Nikolai Egerov, in an interview on the television program "Vremya", "[dismisses] as insignificant the Russian bombing of a Grozny orphanage, saying the Chechens had raped children and their teacher at a local kindergarten" ( OMRI 12 Jan. 1995). The residents of the orphanage were not injured in the bombing ( *Time* 9 Jan. 1995, 26).

By decree, Yeltsin appoints Ivan Rybkin and Vladimir Shumeiko as permanent members of the Security Council ( ITAR-TASS 10 Jan. 1995). The leaders of the lower and upper houses of the parliament have been non-voting members of the Council since May 1994 ( *ibid.*).

### **11 January 1995**

A close Dudayev associate reportedly tells Reuters that Chechnya may back off its demands for total independence and "agree to 'an economic, monetary and security confederation' with

Russia" ( OMRI 12 Jan. 1995).

Russia's Choice, at an extraordinary session of the State Duma, submits a bill calling for a ban on use of military force to resolve conflicts within Russia ( OMRI 12 Jan. 1995; *ibid.* 15 Mar. 1995a, 5). The bill does not garner a majority vote ( *ibid.* 12 Jan. 1995, 3).

Vladimir Shumeiko, Ivan Rybkin, Viktor Chernomyrdin and Boris Yeltsin decide to establish a commission to investigate who is responsible for selling Soviet military arms to Chechnya ( TASS 11 Jan. 1995; *Russian Press Digest* 12 Jan. 1995). After the meeting, Shumeiko says that armed groups must be disarmed not only in Chechnya but throughout Russia ( *ibid.*).

### **12 January 1995**

ITAR-TASS and Interfax report more Russian troops are on their way to Chechnya amid suggestions by both Russians and Chechens that the Chechens may retreat to the south of the republic and maintain resistance towards the Russians ( OMRI 13 Jan. 1995).

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Chairman Istvan Gyarmati announces that the OSCE will send an "early mission" to Chechnya to investigate the human rights situation and assist in the distribution of humanitarian aid ( HRWHelsinki Jan. 1995b, 3; OMRI 13 Jan. 1995).

### **13-15 January 1995**

Russian artillery continues to bombard the presidential palace in Grozny ( OMRI 16 Jan. 1995).

### **13 January 1995**

Interfax reports that Yeltsin has again proposed Robert Tsivilev to fill the nineteenth and final vacant seat on the Constitutional Court ( OMRI 16 Jan. 1995). Tsivilev had been nominated by the president in December 1994, but fell four votes short of the minimum 90 votes needed in the Federation Council in order to secure his appointment ( *ibid.*). Eighty deputies had signed a petition asking the president to nominate Isa Kostoev, head of the Council's Committee for Constitutional Law and Legal Issues, for the post ( *ibid.*). On 17 January, the Federation Council again rejects Tsivilev's nomination ( *ibid.* 19 Jan. 1995, 4). On 17 January, the Council also rejects two Yeltsin nominees to the Supreme Court, but accepts the five judges nominated by Supreme Court chairman V. Lebedev for that court's presidium ( *ibid.*).

### **14 January 1995**

Aleksandr Yakovlev, head of Ostankino television network, asks the Russian government to stop censoring and pressuring the media in its coverage of events in Chechnya ( OMRI 16 Jan. 1995).

Interfax reports that railcars carrying forced Ingush resettlers to the Prigorodnyi raion have been attacked in the disputed region ( BBC Summary 19 Jan. 1995). The district's military commander, fearing for the resettlers' safety, orders them evacuated to Nazran ( *ibid.*). A spokesperson for the Ingush government claims that the attacks were carried out by North Ossetian militants who have not been disarmed and wish to sabotage the resettlement efforts in the district ( *ibid.*).

**16 January 1995**

Interfax reports that the unofficial death count for Russian soldiers in Chechnya is 505, while its correspondent in Mozhdok (the North Ossetian base for the Russian offensive on Chechnya) estimates the number of dead to be around 1,160 ( OMRI 19 Jan. 1995). Mariam Chemaldinova Yandieva of the human rights group Memorial, claims that the number of Russian soldiers killed in the conflict is about 12,000 ( AFP 16 Jan. 1995). Other reports claim that official Russian figures put the death toll for Russian troops at more than 1000 (*The Ottawa Citizen* 11 Feb. 1995, F8; AFP 7 Feb. 1995; Reuters 21 Feb. 1995). A report prepared by Sergei Kovalev claims that up to 25 January, 24,350 civilians and 650 armed men were killed in Grozny since the December invasion of the republic ( Reuters 21 Feb. 1995; AFP 7 Feb. 1995).

Acting Prosecutor General Aleksei Ilyushenko, in a press conference, claims that the top leadership of the Central Bank is responsible for the October 1994 crash of the ruble (*The Moscow Times* 17 Jan. 1995). Ilyushenko's office has stated that those responsible could be charged under Article 69 of the criminal code. The Stalin-era article provides for imprisonment for "'action or inaction aimed at undermining industry, transport, agriculture, monetary system or trade' in order to 'weaken the Soviet state'" ( *ibid.*). Sophia Kelina, a lawyer involved in drafting a new criminal code notes that the article, which has not been used in more than thirty years, has been omitted from the new draft code ( *ibid.*).

**17 January 1995**

Interfax reports that Russian Foreign Ministry official Mark Entin has stated that while an OSCE mission has no authority to mediate in the Chechen crisis, it may assist in dealing with "'humanitarian and legal' aspects of the crisis" ( OMRI 19 Jan. 1995). The OSCE mission is scheduled to arrive in Moscow on 22 January 1995 ( Kossuth Radio 17 Jan. 1995).

**18 January 1995**

Yeltsin tells members of the diplomatic corps in Moscow that he is in control of the situation regarding the crisis in Chechnya and that nothing happens without his knowledge ( OMRI 19 Jan. 1995). This statement comes amid "Western speculation" that the Russian president is no longer in charge ( *ibid.*; *Time* 9 Jan. 1995, 26). Yeltsin further tells the ambassadors that he has no intention of negotiating with Dudayev, but will negotiate with the Chechen military and clan leaders ( OMRI 19 Jan. 1995).

Interfax reports that an official of the Russian Fund for Freedom of Information, a public organization whose aim is to publicize violations of journalist's rights, has documented 97 cases since the Chechen crisis began including detention without explanation, threats of bodily harm, the seizure of equipment, and murder ( OMRI 19 Jan. 1995; *ibid.* 15 Mar. 1995a, 7).

Sergei Filatov, Yeltsin's chief of staff, warns those republics and regions in Russia that have been pushing for more autonomy that such actions may compromise Russia's integrity and suggests that the State Law Administration be called upon to encourage the regional leaders to "change their attitudes" ( Interfax 18 Jan. 1995). Filatov suggests that if this fails, the federal authorities will consider using the Constitutional Court to settle disputes ( OMRI 20 Jan. 1995).

**19 January 1995**

The Russian military takes control of the presidential palace in Grozny after Chechens abandon it in order to establish resistance headquarters elsewhere in the city ( OMRI 20 Jan. 1995; *ibid.* 15 Mar. 1995b, 11; Mayak Radio 19 Jan. 1995). Yeltsin claims that military operations in the republic are nearing completion and that the MVD will assume responsibility for restoring law and order ( OMRI 20 Jan. 1995; *The Christian Science Monitor* 23 Jan. 1995).

The Federation Council passes a resolution on the situation in Chechnya which claims that "the Chechen republic has turned into a zone of mass violations of human rights and freedoms" ( Interfax 19 Jan. 1995). Motions to impeach Yeltsin, achieve a non-confidence vote in the Chernomyrdin government, and bar the council speaker, Vladimir Shumeiko, from participating in the Security Council all fail to win enough support to be adopted ( *ibid.*; OMRI 20 Jan. 1995). Motions which are adopted include a resolution to "introduc[e] amendments into the constitution to ensure parliamentary and public control over the executive branch of the government" and a resolution to call upon the acting Prosecutor-General, Aleksei Ilyushenko, to lay criminal charges against "those responsible for illegal sales of Russian weaponry to Chechen forces" ( *ibid.*). The chair of the Defence Committee, Petr Shirshov, in his address to the Council implicates Grachev in illegal arms sales ( *ibid.*).

Upon his return from Grozny, Sergei Kovalev tells Moscow reporters the Russian military is preparing for guerilla war in Chechnya ( OMRI 20 Jan. 1995). He supports this charge by displaying a leaflet "in which a Russian commander stationed in Chechnya threatens rural villages with destruction if they shelter Chechen fighters" ( *ibid.*). On 3 January 1995, Human Rights Watch Helsinki researchers in Ingushetia received a "propaganda sheet" from a Chechen refugee, which claimed to be from the Russian military and threatened "mass destruction if all resistance did not cease" ( HRWHelsinki Jan. 1995a, 4-5). In March 1995, reports of leaflets being distributed bearing such messages emerge in the Western press (*The Ottawa Citizen* 19 Mar. 1995; *The Washington Post* 19 Mar. 1995; *The San Francisco Chronicle* 31 Mar. 1995).

The Defence Ministry bans the use of untrained conscripts in the fighting in Chechnya ( ITAR-TASS 19 Jan. 1995b). Vladimir Shumeiko says that anyone sending conscripts with less than six months service in the army to Chechnya will be punished ( *ibid.*).

## **20 January 1995**

The State Duma adopts changes to the criminal code which call for penalties ranging from five years imprisonment to execution for 'illegal armed units' [According to the Amnesty International report, "illegal armed units" is a frequently used term for those fighting against Russian forces in Chechnya. The AFP article states that it is "code for Chechen rebels". ] convicted of causing violence, damage or death ( AFP 20 Jan. 1995b; AI 25 Jan. 1995). The changes must be approved by the Federation Council and the president before becoming law ( *ibid.*).

Yeltsin and Kazakh president Nazarbayev sign a Russian-Kazakh Agreement on Obtaining Citizenship, which simplifies the procedures for citizens of one of the parties to obtain the citizenship of the other party, and a "Treaty Between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation on the Legal Status of Citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan Permanently Residing in the Russian Federation and Citizens of the Russian Federation Permanently Residing in the Republic of Kazakhstan" ( BBC Summary 2 Feb. 1995; BBC Summary 3 Feb. 1995).

## **22 January 1995**

A Reuters report claims that Russian military doctors have discovered signs of torture on the bodies of 39 Russian soldiers whose corpses were taken from Chechnya to Mozhdok, North Ossetia ( Reuters 22 Jan. 1995; BBC Summary 23 Jan. 1995).

### **23 January 1995**

Interfax reports from government sources that 50,000 residents of two Chechen raions, Naur and Shelkov, have petitioned the Russian government and parliament, to be annexed to Stavropol Krai ( OMRI 24 Jan. 1995). They claim that ethnic Russians have suffered severe discrimination under the Dudayev regime ( ibid.). While the Stavropol administration is reportedly "'distancing itself' from the issue", local Cossack groups are in favour of the proposal ( ibid.).

### **24 January 1995**

Alaksandr Bakulin, head of the Kaa-Khems district of the Tuva Republic, is assassinated by a number of unknown assailants while on his way to work ( ITAR-TASS 26 Jan. 1995). While Bakulin was the only ethnic Russian heading a district in the republic, authorities claim the killing was not ethnically motivated ( ibid.).

### **25 January 1995**

So far this year, Russian border guards and local police in the Maritime Territory have expelled 770 Chinese nationals from Russia in an operation called "Foreigner" whose objective is to clamp down on Chinese nationals who are in violation of passport regulations in Russia ( TASS 25 Jan. 1995).

The Russian Security Council claims that military operations in Chechnya are completed and that control of the republic has been handed over to the MVD (*The Washington Post* 29 Jan. 1995; ITAR-TASS 25 Jan. 1995).

Rossiyskaya Gazeta reports that the Court of Appeals for Information Disputes, after investigating allegations that the Volgograd-based newspaper Kolokol has been publishing anti-Semitic literature, has asked the Prosecutor General's office to launch a criminal investigation into the paper's editor, Sergei Terenyev (*Rossiyskaya Gazeta* 25 Jan. 1995).

### **26 January 1995**

Sergei Kovalev claims that he has been told he will not be allowed to board the plane carrying the OSCE mission to Mozhdok ( Interfax 27 Jan. 1995a; *What the Papers Say* 1 Feb. 1995b, 13). Kovalev, in an open letter to Yeltsin published in *Novaya Gazeta*, states that he is told that the Defence Ministry is responsible for the passenger list and only Pavel Grachev could change the list to include his name ( ibid.). Kovalev asserts that Grachev is trying to keep him from the area because he had sought information on torture and extrajudicial killings in a detention camp in Mozhdok which has allegedly been set up by the defence minister and the minister of the interior ( ibid.).

### **27 January 1995**

A report by the Iberia news agency claims that members of a group of Abkhaz militants fighting

with Dudayev forces which were captured by Russian troops were executed on the spot in Chechnya ( BBC Summary 30 Jan. 1995). The DIRB is currently unable to corroborate this report.

Interfax reports that the government is preparing to bring a bill before parliament on federal-regional relations ( Interfax 26 Jan. 1995; *ibid.* 27 Jan. 1995b). The report, comprised of an interview with the Deputy Kremlin Chief of Staff Vyacheslav Volkov, claims that the government's objective is to set out power sharing arrangements "by intersectoral, departmental and other agreements" instead of bilateral agreements and treaties at intergovernmental levels such as the ones concluded with Tatarstan and Bashkortastan ( *ibid.*).

### **28 January 1995**

The Russian Security Council resolves to create a Committee of National Accord in Chechnya, composed of former Chechen parliamentarians and members of the Chechen diaspora and clergy, which will be charged with assisting in the restoration of order in the republic ( OMRI 15 Mar. 1995d, 13).

### **Late-January 1995**

In the wake of reports claiming that the Federal Migration Service issued an order to its local offices on 27 December 1994 directing them not to register persons of Chechen nationality who have fled the Chechen Republic ( OMRI 3 Feb. 1995; *Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 8 Mar. 1995), a state deputy initiates an inquiry into the matter ( *ibid.*). The deputy is informed that the Federal Migration Service has recently revised the order, advising its offices not to register anyone from Chechnya, regardless of nationality ( *ibid.*). According to the official rationale, the displaced people will be able to return to their homes in the republic ( *ibid.*). However, *Rossiiskie Vesti*, reported on 1 February 1995 that the Federal Migration Service has officially registered 168,828 refugees from the Chechen Republic since 8 December 1994 (*What the Papers Say* 1 Feb. 1995a).

### **1 February 1995**

Yeltsin signs a decree declaring a state of emergency and allowing for the disarming of "illegal bands" in Ingushetia and North Ossetia ( ITAR-TASS 31 Jan. 1995; *The Ottawa Citizen* 2 Feb. 1995).

Ilyushenko issues an arrest warrant for Dudayev on charges which include treason. If tried and convicted of treason, Dudayev could face the death penalty ( OMRI 15 Mar. 1995d, 13; ITAR-TASS 1 Feb. 1995).

### **2 February 1995**

State Duma deputy Sergei Skorochkin, who was kidnapped from a bar in his hometown near Moscow on 1 February 1995, is found dead in a forest ( ITAR-TASS 2 Feb. 1995; Xinhua News Agency 2 Feb. 1995). The deputy had been shot in the back of the head ( *ibid.*). In 1994, Skorochkin announced to the Duma that he had killed a man who had attacked him and had accidentally killed a woman during the incident. Charges against him were dropped when an investigation determined that he had acted in self defence. After the incident, an unsuccessful

attempt was made on the deputy's life by three gunmen, including a policeman ( ITAR-TASS 2 Feb. 1995). While his assailants are unknown, they had posed as police officers when they entered the bar and kidnapped the deputy ( *ibid.*).

### **6 February 1995**

Yeltsin extends the deadline for Russians living in the CIS to acquire Russian citizenship to 6 February 2000 ( TASS 6 Feb. 1995). Today is the original deadline, but an amendment will be made to the Russian citizenship law to extend the registration period ( *ibid.*).

### **7 February 1995**

ITAR-TASS reports that the Federation Council has accepted Yeltsin's nominee, Marat Baglai, to fill the remaining vacancy on the Constitutional Court ( OMRI 15 Mar. 1995c, 30). On 13 February 1995, the court resumes operation, with the election of a chair and deputy chair ( OMRI 14 Feb. 1995).

### **13 February 1995**

Russian and Chechen military officers reach agreement on a cease-fire in the Chechen conflict ( OMRI 14 Feb. 1995; Xinhua 13 Feb. 1995). The Chechen representative, Aslan Maskhadov, states that Dudayev has only authorized him to negotiate on military issues. The Russian representative, Colonel-General Anatoly Kulikov orders Russian artillery fire to cease immediately ( *ibid.*). It is the first cease-fire agreement signed since the two sides began fighting ( *ibid.*). However, sporadic fighting is reported around Grozny the next day ( OMRI 15 Feb. 1995).

### **20 February 1995**

Interfax reports that the Defence Ministry has told the State Duma that it believes that only 100,000 men, 60 per cent of the required number of conscripts will be inducted this year unless the rules for deferment are changed ( OMRI 21 Feb. 1995). In January 1995, a report on the military noted that 84 per cent of draft-age males avoided conscription in 1994 by claiming one of the many reasons for deferral of service ( *ibid.* 30 Jan. 1995). To remedy the problem, the Defence Ministry has suggested that the period of military service be lengthened from 18 months to 2 years, and that "vocational school students, men having young children and those with elderly parents" no longer be exempted from the draft ( *ibid.* 21 Feb. 1995). On 21 February, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin states that the government does not intend to consider the recommendations put forward by the military to lengthen military service or to draft students ( *ibid.* 22 Feb. 1995). [On 7 April 1995, Interfax reports that the Duma passed a draft law extending the period of conscription to two years and changing the rules for deferment for students ( OMRI 10 Apr. 1995, 2). The Federation Council has refused to support the draft, although the chairperson of the Federation Council's Security and Defence Committee, Petr Shirshov, has also claimed that his committee unanimously supports the draft and says that the bill could go directly to Yeltsin for signing without being debated in the Federation Council ( *ibid.* 12 Apr. 1995, 3). Students are threatening a nationwide strike to protest the legislation ( *ibid.*.)]

### **22 February 1995**



A second OSCE mission goes to Moscow and Chechnya ( OMRI 23 Feb. 1995). The mission hopes to establish procedures for distributing humanitarian aid, and to determine if a commission to investigate human rights violations should be established ( *ibid.*).

## 24 February 1995

Reports emerge of human rights violations being perpetrated by both sides in the conflict in Chechnya ( UPI 24 Feb. 1995; Reuters 8 Feb. 1995). Human Rights Watch claims that Russian soldiers have been violating the rights of Chechen civilians and prisoners, have been detaining civilians to be used in prisoner exchanges, mistreating prisoners and have been involved in widespread looting and destruction of civilian property ( UPI 24 Feb. 1995). Human Rights Watch investigators claim that Chechen prisoners are being tortured at the Russian military base in Mozhdok ( *ibid.*). Memorial, Kovalev's group and other human rights organizations have reported that some Chechen detainees have been beaten and subjected to mock executions ( AI 1 Feb. 1995). According to OMRI, an OSCE delegation, after visiting the region in January 1995 had said that it found no evidence of Chechen prisoners being tortured and summarily executed ( OMRI 31 Jan. 1995), but another source claims the delegation said that Russian soldiers have "beaten up many Chechen captives" ( Kossuth Radio 30 Jan. 1995). The OSCE delegation is also reported to have said that Chechens have tortured Russian captives ( *ibid.*; Reuters 8 Feb. 1995). In mid-January 1995, Amnesty International expressed concern that "some Chechen fighters have reportedly claimed that they take only conscripts prisoner, and execute captured special forces troops" ( AI 19 Jan. 1995).

## APPENDICES

### TABLE 1: SEAT DISTRIBUTION IN THE STATE DUMA

[According to the CSCE, these figures are unreliable claiming that ITAR-TASS tried to make Russia's Choice look "as good as possible" and also because there have been many changes caused by party splits and people leaving or changing parties ( CSCE Jan. 1994, 21)]

	OBTAINED ON PARTY LIST	OBTAINED IN SINGLE-MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES	TOTAL
Russia's Choice	40	56	96
Liberal Democratic Party	59	11	70
Communist Party of the Russian Federation	32	33	65
Agrarian Party	21	26	47
Yakoblo	20	13	33
Party of Russian Inity and Concord	18	9	27
Women of Russia	21	4	25
Democratic Party of Russia	14	7	21
Civic Union	0*	18	18
Russian Movement for Democratic Reform	0	8	8
Dignity and Charity	0	3	3
Russia's Future	0	1	1
Independents	0	30	30
TOTAL	225	219	444

\* Failed to achieve the 5% minimum vote

SOURCE: ITAR-TASS 25 December 1993 as published in RFERL 14 January 1994, 3.

**TABLE 2: REPUBLICS AND REGIONS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION**  
(According to the 1993 Constitution)

<b>REPUBLICS (21)</b>		
Republic of Adygeya	Ingush Republic	Republic of Maril El
Altai Republic	Kabardino-Balkar Republic	Republic of Mordovia
Republic of Bashkortostan	Republic of Kalmykia-Khalmg-Tangch	Republic of North Ossetia
Republic of Buryatia	Karachai-Cherkess Republic	Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)
Chechen Republic	Republic of Karelia	Republic of Tatarstan
Republic of Dagestan	Khakass Republic	Republic of Tuva
Chuvash Republic	Republic of Komi	Udmurt Republic

<b>KRAIS (6)</b>		
Altai Krai	Krasnodar Krai	Primorskii Krai
Kharbarovsk Krai	Krasnoyarsk Krai	Stavropol Krai

<b>OBLASTS (49)</b>		
Amur Oblast	Leningrad Oblast	Saratov Oblast
Arkhangelsk Oblast	Lipetsk Oblast	Smolensk Oblast
Astrakhan Oblast	Magadan Oblast	Sverdlovsk Oblast
Belgorod Oblast	Moscow Oblast	Tambov Oblast
Bryansk Oblast	Murmansk Oblast	Tomsk Oblast
Chelyabinsk Oblast	Nizhnii Novgorod Oblast	Tula Oblast
Chita Oblast	Omsk Oblast	Tver Oblast
Irkutsk Oblast	Orel Oblast	Tyumen Oblast
Ivanovo Oblast	Orenburg Oblast	Ulyanovsk Oblast
Kaliningrad Oblast	Orenburg Oblast	Ulyanovsk Oblast
Kaluga Oblast	Perm Oblast	Volgograd Oblast
Kamchatka Oblast	Pskov Oblast	Vologda Oblast
Kemerovo Oblast	Rostov Oblast	Voronezh Oblast
Kirov Oblast	Ryazan Oblast	Yaroslavl Oblast
Kostroma Oblast	Sakhalin Oblast	Moscow*
Kurgan Oblast	Samara Oblast	St. Petersburg*
Kursk Oblast		

<b>AUTONOMUS OBLAST (1)</b>
Jewish Auotonomus Oblast

<b>AUTONOMUS OKRUGS (10)</b>		
Agin Buryat	Khanty - Mansi	Taimyr
Chukchi	Komi - Permyak	Ust - Orda Buryat
Evenk	Koryak	Yamal Nenets
	Nenets	

\*Federal Cities Enjoying Status Equivalent to Oblast

SOURCE: Stephen White, 1994, 12.

**MAP 1: RUSSIA**

See original

Source: Adapted from map in Russia & the Successor States Briefing Service, Vol. 2, N<sup>o</sup>. 6, November 1994.

**MAP 2: THE NORTH CAUCASUS**

See original

Adapted from map in UNHCR Information Bulletin, March 1995.

**NOTES ON SELECTED SOURCES**

Russian Media Sources:

There are many newspapers operating in Russia today. Some have been in operation for a number of years, state-controlled at first by various organs of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union they now operate independently of the state; these include Izvestia, Pravda, and Komsomolskaya Pravda. Some other independent newspapers have been in operation for only a few years, such as Nezavisimaya Gazeta and Kuranty. Rossiskaya Gazeta and Rossiiskiye Vesti are organs of the Russian government. Moscow News is a weekly which has been published since 1930. It is independent and is published in both Russian and English. The monthly Smena has been in publication since 1924, and focuses on the problems of youth.

ITAR-TASS and Interfax are Russian news agencies. ITAR-TASS, founded in 1925, is state owned, while Interfax, founded in 1989, is independent.

OMRI Daily Digest:

The OMRI Daily Digest is published electronically by the Open Media Research Institute. Citations listed as having been received via an internet mailing list were received via the electronic listserv at [LISTSERV@UBVM.CC.BUFFALO.EDU](mailto:LISTSERV@UBVM.CC.BUFFALO.EDU). OMRI is a joint initiative of the United States Board for International Broadcasting, the US oversight agency of RFERL, and the Soros Foundation's Open Society Institute. OMRI now fulfills many of the research needs previously addressed by the RFERL Research Institute (see below). The OMRI Daily Digest commenced publication in January 1995. OMRI also publishes the monthly journal Transitions.

RFERL Daily Report:

The RFERL Daily Report was published electronically by the Radio Free EuropeRadio Liberty Research Institute, a division of Radio Free EuropeRadio Liberty Inc., until December 1994, when the RFERL Research Institute closed. The Open Media Research Institute (see above) now fulfills many of the research needs previously addressed by the Institute. Citations listed as having been received via an internet mailing list were received via the electronic listserv at [LISTSERV@UBVM.CC.BUFFALO.EDU](mailto:LISTSERV@UBVM.CC.BUFFALO.EDU).

Russia & the Successor States Briefing Service:

Russia & the Successor States Briefing Service is published bi-monthly by the Longman Group in the United Kingdom.

#### What the Papers Say:

What the Papers Say reviews over 100 daily and weekly newspapers, periodicals and selected television and radio programs in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). It is published in the United States.

#### Other Media Sources:

Inter Press Service is an international daily news agency from Italy and Kossuth Radio is part of the Hungarian Magyar Radio system, which broadcasts externally in several languages.

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