

**INFORMATION AGENCY “FOR HUMAN RIGHTS”**  
*All-Russian Nongovernmental Movement “For Human Rights”*  
Executive Director Lev Ponomarev

Room 21, Bldg 1, House 7, M. Kislovsky Pereulok, Moscow, 125009  
Tel: (095)291-62-33, Tel/Fax: (095)291-70-11, e-mail: [info@zaprava.ru](mailto:info@zaprava.ru); <http://zaprava.ru/>

**CHRONICLE**  
**OF POLITICAL PERSECUTION**  
**IN PRESENT DAY RUSSIA**

*News, statements, appeals, analysis, commentaries*

**Issue № 39**  
**20 October, 2005**

**Contents:**

The “Boss Tragedy”: the bloody failure of ostrich policy! .....	2
The terrorists entered Nalchik at nine a.m., just like going to work .....	2
Court postponed the hearings on Mikhail Trepashkin’s case and managed to seek a permission for Lev Ponomarev’s participation in the hearings.....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
Lev Ponomarev, advocate: Colony № 2 in Yekaterinburg is a torture colony.....	4
Svetlava Bakhmina’s trial- at last! .....	5
"Children think Sveta is away for a business trip" .....	5
VIP-burden for governors.....	7
Khodorkovsky “was found” in Perm.....	8
In search of Khodorkovsky .....	8
Mikhail Khodorkovsky taken to uranium mines .....	9
Printed manifestation of loyalty .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
Yevgeni Yasin, the scientific supervisor at the Highest School of Economics: “Social reforms are still” .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
Russian tycoons are getting ready for elections again.....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
Business is scared, seeing the YUKOS destiny.....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
Sinecure for a member of Parliament.....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
What to do with Russia?.....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
State terror and “elections” .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
The life and property of entrepreneur Ilya Dudyrev are stolen away.....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>

## **The “Boss Tragedy”: the bloody failure of ostrich policy!**

At the very moment we were writing this letter (afternoon of the first day) there came up information on the website of the “Echo Moskvyy” on that the fight with a group of Chechen militants, 60 in number was going on in Nalchik. It was told in the newsletter that the militants captured several buildings (including the UFSB building /Administration of the Federal Security Service /) and that the doctors from Nalchik Republican Hospital informed about 20 killed people.

We condole with the families and relatives of all the peaceful citizens and representatives of law enforcement structures killed in Nalchik today.

The tragedy proved that the words of the President of Russia and force ministers about the peaceful course of life in Chechen Republic and the nearly total abolishment of all the Chechen separatists and their commanders are nothing but lies.

These lies are paid for today by the lives of peaceful Russian citizens from Nalchik, earlier in Astrakhan, Budenovsk, Beslan, Volgodonsk, Essentuki, Kaspiysk, Minvody, Mozdok, Moscow, Pyatigorsk, Cherkessk and other Russian towns and cities.

Dramatic events of Nalchik have proven once more that all the attempts to talk away the problem of political regulation in Chechnya are leading to the innocent victims and the collapse of the country.

Only in case the true political regulation in Chechnya takes place and the Russian authorities recognize the obvious fact that the ideas of Chechen separatism are supported by the majority of Chechen society and that the separatists and their supporters must have a possibility to undertake legal political struggle if they lay down arms, the terrorist war in Russia might be over.

*Lev Ponomarev,  
Executive Director  
Movement “For Human Rights”*

*Yuri Samodurov,  
Director of Museum and Public Center after Andrey Sakharov*

## **The terrorists entered Nalchik at nine a.m., just like going to work**

A year or a year and a half ago Kremlin was still having a chance to make friends with Chechnya. Today Russia is losing Caucasus. According to the common sense the paradise between the Black and Caspian seas had to be plenty of health and wealth. But it is under the heel! Who is crazy enough to travel to Caucasus with money, to invest and spend the leisure time there if he knows that people there are killing each other for 11 years already? The economics of Caucasian republics is in such a state that the 85-90% of the miserable budget is raised from federal gratifications; the main part of the budget is spent on federal enforcement structures. The younger generation of Caucasians was grown up in wartime- they have neither jobs nor future perspectives. They have mainly got two alternatives- either to take the gun and become a Militia worker, thus earning for living of the family or to go to the mountains and fight for independence, running a risk for their lives.

The Caucasian war resembles a volcano. Whenever it calms down in Chechnya, it erupts in Dagestan, Northern Ossetia and then comes back to Chechnya again. Last year in June a group of militants in Ingushetia totally blocked Nazran- the central city of the Republic. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June, 2004 at night when the Sergey Ivanov, Minister of Defense of Russia was lazily

supervising the military games from the fully armed ship in Vladivostok- he was teaching the army how to destroy the puppet- militants, there were tens of cadavers of the militants killed by officers in the streets of Nazran. 15 bodies of law enforcement structures of Ingush Republic were attacked on that memorable historical day. The militants attacked the buildings of the Ministry of Interior, Procuracy, Military Commandant's Office, armaments and ammunition stores...

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of October, 2005 everything was repeated in Nalchik, the capital of Kabardino-Balkaria. According to the official military sources of Russia on Thursday, at nine o'clock a.m. Nalchik was attacked by militants, approximately 100 in number. They spitted into small groups. The militants were armed by grenades and firearms. The militants started a simultaneous attack of the buildings of the Ministry of Interior, FSB, rayon departments of Militia, Isolator- prison, the border military unit, city airport. The city was cut off and left without telephone connection, the trains, buses and trolleybuses stopped, people were disappearing from the streets of the city with 300 thousand people inhabitants. It is only from the machine gun- fire and explosions that the citizens became aware of the fight.

15<sup>th</sup> of October was a mourning day in Nalchik; the flags were lowered, people were mourning on over 150 victims and even more wounded. The city is blocked by the military units of the Russian army, that were dislocated from the neighboring republics of Northern Caucasus. Over 50 investigation groups in Nalchik are in search of the groups of militants. The military men intrude into the flats and houses, exercise searches, arrest the suspects and take them away. Each family in Nalchik and surroundings is living in the fear of such penetrations, searches and the danger of that their men might be taken to the custodial questionings. If you open your mouth, you might eat a gun during such cleaning operations.

Figures are amazing. There are officially located military units, major frontier guards and special troops in Kabardino- Balkarian Republic. As one of the deputies of the State Duma said in his TV interview on the day Nalchik was captured there are 13 thousand Militia workers only in the Republic! Since it is the territory of the Northern Caucasus and the military actions are a daily routine there all the force structures are, so to say, at complete availability. But, there come 100 or 130 armed militants (or maybe 300- no one has counted them) ; they enter the city, capture the central streets, block the administrative buildings of the force structures and rayon Militia departments, take hostages... On the 13 and 14<sup>th</sup> of October the Russian TV- channels were showing the completely empty streets of Nalchik. It is clear that the peaceful citizens were sitting at their homes. But where were the 13 thousand Militia workers?

The force structures created in Russia during the last years exceed three times the number of force structures of the former USSR. It is probably the fashionable word "stability" that reveals these За последние годы в России созданы силовые структуры государственной the meaning of these exceptionally large- scale development of the law enforcement structures. The Russian citizens immediately felt what camouflaged stability means when Vladimir Putin became the president. But the safety of the citizens for the sake of which the camouflaged stability was developed, disappeared.

The war is going on in Caucasus. The Kremlin junta inspires it..

*Alexander Lyuboslavsky  
IA "For Human Rights"*

### **Court postponed the hearings on Mikhail Trepashkin's case and managed to seek a permission for Lev Ponoparev's participation in the hearings**

The Tagilstroevsky rayon Court postponed to the 26<sup>th</sup> of October the hearings of the case on the grant of parole to Mikhail Ivanovich Trepashkin, political prisoner and lawyer Mikhail Ivanovich Trepashkin (the reason for postponing was that there was no reply to the court enquiry).

Upon the enquiry of Trepashkin's lawyers the Judge drew a decision on the permission for Lev Ponomarev to take part in the hearings. A day before Lev Ponomarev and his colleagues were thrown out on their necks from the colony in the morning when they wanted to be present at the Court as the Plenipotentiary on Human Rights in RF.

The sessions of Tagilstroevsky rayon Court take place on the territory of Colony- 3. A day ago Lev Ponomarev appealed to the Judge to allow him take part in the hearings. The Procurator approved it.

*Sobinform*

### **Lev Ponomarev, advocate: Colony № 2 in Yekaterinburg is a torture colony**

*The situation with penitentiary system of Russia and Sverdlovskaya oblast provoked the serious fears among Russian advocates. That was the statement made by Lev Ponomarev, the Executive Director of the Nongovernmental organization "For Human Rights" and the member of the Experts' Council at the Plenipotentiary On Human Rights in RF during the press- conference in Yekaterinburg...*

According to him, he is personally familiar with four cases of torture applications, physical violence and psychic pressure on the persons under investigation. Among the victims- three participants of the trial of Ravil Khakimov, the famous Ural businessman

...- All the persons apprehended on Khakimov's case are battered, humiliated and tortured,- says Lev Ponomarev,- since the law enforcement bodies haven't got other possibilities to finalize the case.

The tortures applied to one of "Khakimov's case" figurants- Konstantin Okhlopkov are a vivid example of pressure on the person under investigation aimed at obtaining the necessary prejudicial evidence. Okhlopkov was tortured by electricity, beaten by a plastic bottle filled with water. All the cases of physical and moral pressure were described in details by Okhlopkov in his letter to the plenipotentiaries on human rights, the Procuracy and even the UNO. Lapshin, Gaydukov and Menshikov- the other figurants of Khakimov's case have been treated in a similar way. They were subjected to violence (physical and psychological) in the Colony No 2 of Yekaterinburg. "According to my investigations the Colony No 2 is a torture colony, a factory of squeezing out the necessary evidence. I have all the proves of the fact that Gaidukov, who was take to Colony No 2 and is still there, has been battered; Menshikov and Lapshin were subjected to a severe psychological pressure. Gaidukov said he was threatened to be battered and raped unless he gives the necessary evidence. Gaidukov has already refused (they say up to his own will) to have three lawyers hired for him. He gave the prejudicial evidence and then refused from it. Recently Khakimov was taken to the Colony No 2 from Nizhniy Tagil. He is there now", – the advocate said.

According to Ponomarev he will insist on the complete investigation of the situation in Colony No2. "Of course, it is a classic colony- they have a crocodile, their own theatre there. But I do have the evidence of people that prove the facts of violence. We need to tackle it out and undertake measures."

Alexander Livchak, an advocate, has also told to the journalists about the facts of violence in Colony No2. He is aware of the fact that three guards have battered to death a person under investigation who (as if) tried to resist them. Alexey Sokolov, the head of "Pravovaya Osnova" non- governmental organization has got nine facts of violence application cases in Colony No2." All the facts of violence have been recorded together with Yevgeniy Roizman, the deputy of the State Duma and sent to Moscow, to Vladimir Lukin, the Plenipotentiary on Human Rights in Russian Federation and to the Procuracy, – said Alexey Sokolov.

Olga Dianova the plenipotentiary on the protection of prisoners' rights in Sverdlovskaya oblast told about several cases of batteries, pressure and tortures of prisoners and persons under investigation in the prisons of Sverdlovskaya oblast. It enabled the advocates to assume that the

whole penitentiary system of Mid- Ural needs to be audited; urgent measures should be undertaken.

“Everybody should think of it; we must pay our attention to it. As they say in Russia, do not swear off the prison and poverty. When I hear that we are building a Police country, I always say we have already built it. It is important to bear in mind that the repressions of 1937 did not appear at once. Everything was peaceful in the beginning, no one was tortured. The repression machine has started the engine again now; it is necessary to stop it”, – Lev Ponomarev thinks.

*Elena Vasilyeva  
“Noviy Region- Yekaterinburg”*

### **Svetlana Bakhmina’s trial- at last!**

*The Simonovsky Court of Moscow started the hearings on Svetlana Bakhmina’s criminal case. Bakhmina was the deputy head of the legal department of “Yukos- Moscow” Company. The state Prosecutor read out the bill of particulars after which Bakhmina said she did not find herself guilty.*

When reading the bill of particulars, the Procurator said Bakhmina was charged of tax evasion in large amounts- 606, 4 thousand Rubles and of appropriation and misapplication of other people’s property entrusted to her and committed by a group of persons in particularly large amounts . After the Procurator’s speech there was announced a ten- day break in the trial since a new lawyer Alexander Gofshtein undertook the case and appealed on providing him time to familiarize with the case materials. The next Court session on Bakhmina’s case is appointed on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November...

*Source: VREMYA NOVOSTEY*

### **“Children think Sveta is away for a business trip”**

*The Court of Moscow started the hearings on Svetlana Bakhmina’s criminal case. Bakhmina was the deputy head of the legal department of “Yukos- Moscow” Company. Her story has been for a long time shaded by Khodorkovsky- Lebedev trial. Meanwhile, it is nearly for a year that Svetlana was arrested- on the 10<sup>th</sup> of December last year. While she is kept in the Isolator, her husband and two little children are at home..*

*...The correspondent from “NI” has a meeting with Mikhail, Svetlana Bakhmina’s husband in their apartment in Cheremushki.*

There was a smell of spilt milk and chocolate flakes in the apartment. A serious bearded gentleman in a colorful apron was doing something in the kitchen. Two boys in the neighboring room were dismantling a bicycle and discussing the construction of a skating rink in the hall for playing hockey. A grim concierge, a corridor full of skis and sledges, the word “Spartak” written on the wall... A typical “three- room” apartment in Moscow, a typical family.

*– Mikhail, while Sveta is not with you, are you a mum and a dad in one?*

*– And Santa Claus, too. Sveta and I decided not to tell the boys where their mum is. That is why the guys think she is away for a long- term business trip and she is sending them gifts from there. Daddy is a sort of courier who is delivering these gifts. Fedya is, of course, small, he is four years old and he is O.K. with this version. But Grisha is eight years old and he keeps on telling that it is a very strange business trip. He is quite a pugnacious guy, he always threatens to phone to mum’s boss and tell his that mums should not be sent to such long- term trips. Because children miss her.*

*– It is known that Svetlana went on a hunger strike, for being allowed to talk to the children on the phone.*

– It is nonsense, but the investigator did not allow Sveta to phone home. I do not know what the reason was. He was strongly objecting even to a two- minute talk even in the presence of witnesses. Sveta was suffering a lot, that’s why she went on a hunger- strike. You know, it helped. After all the newspapers wrote that a mother is not allowed to talk to her children, she was allowed to talk to them once a week.

– *What is Sveta telling them when they are talking on the phone?*

– Nothing special. She tells she loves them, but there is too much work. She will come back soon. In spite of being a workaholic, family has always been Svetlana’s priority. She always said that children are the most valuable thing in her life.

– *Расскажите, как вы со Светланой познакомились?*

– It is not a romantic story at all. I met Svetlana in the queue for the shares of one of the banks; it was after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. People had new opportunities for investment and enrichment. Of course, the majority lost in this lottery. But we were lucky enough to win a bit. Sveta was a fifth year student, but in spite of her young age, she was interested in everything going on in the country. I was amazed to see that such a beautiful girl is standing in a queue for shares in stead of doing shopping with her friends. In other words, I earned on the shares and found a wonderful wife...

– *How did Svetlana manage to do career and to bring up children?*

– Of course, we have a nanny. Our grandmothers are helping a lot. Sveta woke up early and came back late at night. But she always spend weekends with the family. These days have always been a taboo for her work. No meetings or negotiations- her boys only. She even managed to meet the friends. It is amazing, but she has so many friends: even her friends from kindergarten.

– *Your spouse was, probably, earning a lot. She was the deputy head of legal department in Yukos. I should confess I thought your apartment will be in an elite project house or you should have a cottage of your own.*

– Of course, Svetlana’s salary was high- \$8 000 USD. But it is a normal salary for a manager of her level in such a company. It was only for the last two years Svetlana worked as a deputy head of the department, before that she was an ordinary lawyer. That is why we haven’t saved yet for elite property. Of course we are trying to renovate our dacha in Vnukovo. But as for big money, you should not forget that Sveta was but a hired worker. She was stood far from big money and policy, though she got into this mess.

– *Was it difficult to get employed in Yukos?*

– Sveta is one of those people who make themselves. She comes from an ordinary family. Her father was a welder and has been working on construction all through his life. Her mother is still working as a seller in a food store. Sveta entered the Faculty of Law in MSU without any protection and then read an announcement and went to a job interview to “Menatep” Bank. When the oil sector developed she went to Yukos and worked there for nearly ten years. She was very loyal and responsible- these qualities are always appreciated. By the way, it is due to these qualities that she suffered. She was going to the Procuracy for a long time, just like to her work. She could not leave everything. At first she was questioned as a witness, but then, one day she turned into an accused person.

– *To be able to participate in a criminal case in our country, a lot of money is needed for lawyers. Does the company where your spouse used to work help you in this sense?*

– YUKOS is rather dead than alive now. And there is nobody to ask the money for lawyers from. That is why we pay to the lawyers ourselves. I can say that everything we have managed to save up so far has already been spent on the lawyers.

– *What do the lawyers say? What are the perspectives of your case?*

– None of the lawyers says anything definite. They say there has never been such large-scale operations on the exemption of finances in our country before. That is why no one can say how it will end.

I hope everybody will soon get tired of this circus. I want to believe that the mighty of this world will have other more important things to do and Sveta will come back home. Otherwise, I will have to tell the guys the whole truth. I am afraid to tell the children about the terrible country we are living in....

*Author: Oksana Semenova,  
Source: NOVYE IZVESTIYA*

### **VIP-burden for governors**

*The riddle of Mikhail Khodorkovsky's transit route can be explained by the intrigues between the governors of the regions.*

Mikhail Khodorkovsky's location is still unknown. Neither the representatives of the Federal Service for Execution of Punishment (FSEP), nor the lawyers and relatives know where the ex-head of YUKOS was taken to. "It seems like everybody has mouth full of water", - Yuri Schmidt, Khodorkovsky's lawyer described the response of official entities to give explanations in the place of confinement for the ex- head of Yukos.

This long- term absence of true information on Khodorkovsky's location provoked a lot of suppositions on the reasons of it. There are hundreds of versions: starting from a non- official bid among the heads of regional FSEP Administrations to welcome Khodorkovsky and the unwillingness of the governors to have such an odious prisoner in their regions.

The heads of colonies and FSEP administrations are fighting for the right to have such a famous prisoner, hoping for the money and possibilities of the ex- head of Yukos. As for the governors, Khodorkovsky is rather a burden than a desirable guest. On one hand, it is dangerous to be loyal and create special conditions for the detention of famous prisoner: the reaction of Moscow in this case is apparent, especially taking into account the new order of appointment for governors. On the other hand, the political climate can be changed a lot during the years of Khodorkovsky's imprisonment and the bad rumors about the "landlord of the oblast where Khodorkovsky was imprisoned" can turn out to be not so useful at all.

But the main problem for the governor will be the act of grace for Khodorkovsky, of course, if the latter files a motion for that. It is the highest official of the subject of the Russian Federation, to be the last person approving the submission of the motion to the RF President.

According to Yuri Sschmidt, neither the FSIN heads nor the governors define where to send Khodorkovsky. "Where to serve the term- this is something they will never ask about either the governors or the AEP heads", - the lawyer thinks...

The lawyers also say that the local authorities have no official leverages but the non-official relations always existed; they exist now and they will exist in the future. "The colonies, for example, have their own production, the consumption of which depends on the local authorities,- says Lev Ponomarev, the leader of "For Human Rights" movement.- Besides, there exist the trustee committees. I came back from Yekaterinburg last week; the chairman of the trustee committee of the Colony No 2 is the vice- prime minister of the local government."

Mikhail Khodorkovsky was sent to prison on the 10th of October. The long list of possible regions where he could have been sent, in the opinion of journalists and advocates, was eliminated to one- Saratovskaya oblast. According to non- official information Khodorkovsky was in the transit Isolator No 1 of Saratov and was waiting for the transfer to the "elite" colony No 13 of Engels. But the official representatives of Saratov's FAEP are constantly rejecting this information. The advocates of the ex- head of Yukos requested the FAEP in verbal form to inform them about Khodorkovsky's location, as Anton Drel says. The lawyers know nothing about the similar requests by Khodorkovsky's relatives.

*Author: Dmitri Simakin,  
Source: NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA*

## **Khodorkovsky was found in Perm**

At last something became clear on Mikhail Khodorkovsky's location that had been a riddle for lawyers and journalists for a long time. It seemed that the most probable version of Khodorkovsky's location was his transfer to the Colony No 13 near Saratov. However, Mikhail Khuranov, the deputy head of SA FSEP in Saratov oblast told "NI" yesterday that "Khodorkovsky is not in Saratovskaya oblast".

Andrey Fetisov, the Chairman of the non- governmental organization for the protection of prisoners' rights "Your Right" referred to a high official from the local SA FSEP and proved this information. Председатель общественной организации защиты прав заключенных "Твое право". " I know for sure, – he said to "NI", – that Khodorkovsky is already in Perm now". The advocate was surprised that Perm oblast was chosen for Khodorkovsky's confinement: there are mainly the so- called "black" colonies in Perm where the environment and moods depend largely on the authoritative prisoners and not the prison administrations. A highly- positioned official neither approved, nor denied the information on Khodorkovsky's location in Perm yesterday evening.

*Author: Konstantin Fomichev,  
Source: NOVIE IZVESTIYA*

## **In search of Khodorkovsky**

*Russian authorities know nothing on the location of the most famous prisoner*

But where is Mikhail Khodorkovsky? More than a week ago the former head of Russian Oil Company Yukos was sent from "Matrosskaya Tishina" Isolator to a colony. Since then, neither relatives, nor his lawyers know anything of his location. The only official information was that Khodorkovsky and Lebedev, his former business partner, also sentenced to eight years of imprisonment, are in transfer process. It was the Federal Service for Execution of Punishment to inform about it. Vladimir Semenyuk, the deputy director of FSEP refused to say where the prisoners have been sent. " It is not ethical to speak about it,- he explained, - when Khodorkovsky and Lebedev reach the point of destination they will choose whom to tell about their location."

That was the so- called reason for the silence of authorities. Yuri Schmidt, Khodorkovsky's lawyer says this kind of behavior is "illegal and immoral". The service for execution of punishment had to inform the lawyers about their client's location- to-be even before they were sent anywhere...

It was informed about Platon Lebedev that he was taken to Colony No 3 in Kharm village of Yamalo- Nenetsky Autonomous region. According to some data, he was placed in quarantine there for 15 days, but so far there has been no official approval of Lebedev's placement there. Yamalo- Nenetsky Autonomous District is in Eastern Siberia; it is not the most suitable place for sick Lebedev. Anyway, Lebedev's lawyers do not have any possibility to appeal against the actions of the Justice authorities. They must first talk to the defendant and only then file a motion to the European Court on Human Rights, said Yevgeniy Baru and Yelena Liptser on Friday. "He should at least sign this appeal", – RIA "Novosti" renders Liptser's words. However, the contacts with Lebedev were prohibited even when he was still in Moscow.

Russian mass media are still in search of Khodorkovsky and Lebedev. They are "found" from time to time in Moscow region, Tambov, Tver, Ural and other places...

*Berliner Zeitung  
Катя Тухомирова*

## **Mikhail Khodorkovsky taken to uranium mines**

*He was registered in the 8<sup>th</sup> division of Krasnokamenskaya colony in Chita*

There is information on that Khodorkovsky will serve his term in the colony of Krasnokamensk town, Chitinskaya oblast. The relatives and the lawyers of the former Yukos head have no official information proving this fact. Both the colony and the Federal Service for Execution of Punishment (FSEP) had no comments on this information.

Right after Khodorkovsky and Lebedev were transferred from Moscow, there appeared some hypotheses in their possible location. Mikhail Khodorkovsky was looked for in the representative colony No 13 in Saratovskaya oblast, but this version was not true. "Zabinfo" information agency from Chita informed yesterday that Khodorkovsky arrived in Krasnokamensk town of Chita oblast last Saturday. He will be serving his term in YaG-14/10, and he has already been registered in the 8<sup>th</sup> division of the colony.

YaG-14/10 institution of confinement is two km away from Krasnokamensk, the second large town of Chitinskaya oblast. There are around one thousand prisoners in the colony at present; the majority is sentenced to three- five years for theft. The colony was opened here in late 60's when Streltsovskoe U- mines were discovered. The construction of Priargunskiy mining- chemical plant on the extraction and beneficiation of uranium ore started then. By 1987 the plant made 30% of the total volume of U- extraction in USSR. Now the plant is renamed to Priargunskiy productive mining and chemical block and is on the composition of TVEL concern- the only enterprise on uranium extraction in Russia and one of the biggest world providers of uranium. As a result of the plant production there took place man-caused and radioactive pollutions in Krasnokamensk and neighboring areas. The prisoners do not work in U- mines and open cast mines; they had earlier been dealing with the plant construction and the development of infrastructure. There is a sewing production, a woodshop, carpentry and souvenir producing workshop, a stock-farm in the colony.

The officer on duty from YaG-14/10 told Mr. N that he can neither reject nor approve the information about Khodorkovsky. There were no comments in Chita's Administration of FSEP RF. The representatives of the press- service of SA FSEP in Chita said they heard about it for the first time from Mr. N. However, for Russian FSB sources it was not something new. "We knew already ten days ago where Khodorkovsky would be sent"- they said.

Henry Padva learnt that Khodorkovsky might be found in Krasnokamensk from Mr. N, too, but he could not comment on this information. As Anton Drel, Khodorkovsky's lawyer told Mr. N he knows nothing of it and the defense will be waiting for the official approval of any information. "I talked to Khodorkovsky's wife and parents today, - said Anton Drel, the lawyer.- They know nothing so far, they did not receive any official notification."

Platon Lebedev's and Mikhail Khodorkovsky's defense still hopes to receive an official document on the location of the defendants. It was on the 13<sup>th</sup> of October at the meeting with Mikhail Tumanov, the legal investigator from the Procuracy- General (he was the investigator on the money- laundering case within the framework of which Khodorkovsky and Lebedev are likely to face the new charges) that the defense filed a motion with a request to inform about the location of its defendants as well as to provide information on their health status. "Legal investigator Tumanov hasn't given any official response yet, - said Yevgeniy Baru, Platon Lebedev's lawyer. - But we are waiting. Now he is responsible for our clients." The defense is especially worried about the health of defendants. "All this time during the transfer our defendants were deprived of the possibility of advocatory defense, - mentioned Mr. Baru.- We will strive for the further protection of their rights." Besides, the lawyers are getting ready for the work on the new criminal case. "It is still unknown how we are going to work later on,- Yevgeniy Baru says.- They will be probably transferred here and there."

***Platon Lebedev's relatives were informed about his place of confinement.***

Platon Lebedev's relatives received official notification on his confinement in the colony with special regime OG OI 98/3, located in Kharm settlement of Yamalo- Nenetsky

Autonomous district. It was on the 14<sup>th</sup> of October that K. Informed about it. According to lawyer Yevgeniy Baru the notification was sent to Platon Lebedev's relatives via post from "Matrosskaya Tishina" on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October. It was signed by Fikret Tagiev, the head of the Isolator. It was on that very day that the lawyers came to the meeting with Lebedev and Khodorkovsky and found out that their defendants had been transferred from the Isolator.

*Author: Marina Lepina,  
Source: KOMMERSANT*

### **Printed manifestation of loyalty**

"It made no difference for me what I buy- a well- known newspaper, a sports club or a popular company,"- chatted Arkadiy Gaydamak. The most important thing for me was to reach a position of a person to be considered an authority. For that purpose it is very useful to have a newspaper that will make rounds over Moscow, like a dirigible with a sign "Gaydamak is a good person", - he said recently to the correspondent of "Kommersant" Moscow economic newspaper."

Entrepreneur Gaydamak haven't had anything in common with mass media before. He is the new owner of the respectable Moscow newspaper "Moskovskie Novosti" (MN) which is published in Western Europe in English under the title "Moscow News". This 53- year old man has recently bought the newspaper from Vladimir Rabinovich, the Ukrainian media giant. The editorial house learnt about it from telecasts.

They say Gaymak had to pay three million USD for the daily. Rabinovich bought the newspaper in summer for \$1,5 mln. USD from Leonid Nevzlin, the main shareholder of Menatep, living in Israel and being retrieved in Russia for appropriation of state wealth and tax evasion.

<...>

*Die Welt  
Mandfres Quiring)*

### **Yevgeni Yasin, the scientific supervisor at the Highest School of Economics: "Social reforms are still"**

*The only useful reform the authorities can implement now is to increase the social expenditures. It will not improve the business climate, since it requires political changes. It makes no sense to low down the taxes when the business is scared. If it is so, the state is better to deal with social reforms. That was the unexpected idea Yevgeni Yasin, the scientific supervisor at the Highest School of Economics shared with Konstantin Frumkin, the correspondent from "Izvestiya" daily.*

*Izvestiya:* What is your opinion on the ongoing economic reforms? You can even meet the word "reform" on a more irregular basis in media now...

*Yevgeniy Yasin:* In fact, nothing is being done. The only two reforms we have tried to introduce were the monetization and the administrative reform.

<...>

*Yasin:* If we had high rate of business activity, it would make sense to lower the taxes. If we had good business environment I would advocate for the lowering of taxes. There could be a hope that the unemployment would decrease, there would be some additional incomes, including the ones of the budget and it would be possible to raise the salaries of the budget workers from a healthier source. But the situation is not so now. The business is scared. Of course, it negotiates with the bureaucracy representatives; some groups of businessmen are trying to prove they are more loyal to the president; but there comes a moment of truth for each businessman after all- he has to take out his own money from the pocket and invest it into the business.

*Izvestiya*: Do you think the businessmen do not want to invest in the production?

*Yasin*: The decision on investment is always determined by the ration of the possible profit and possible risks. The risks are high today — you can be visited by tax inspectors or the Procuracy. The businessmen support the suggestion on the decrease of VAT because they know the authorities will agree to lower the taxes but not to stop the tax audits. If the tax authorities do not want to loose a trial they are writing that this or that tax- payer is not honest, like Khodorkovsky. That's all- the decision of court will be in favor of tax service.

<...>

*Source: IZVESTIYA*

### **Russian tycoons are getting ready for elections again**

*The world economic forum held in Kuban have another portion of information for meditations. Peter Aven, the president of "Alpha- Bank" gave a valuable advice to domestic entrepreneurs: "It is very important to built complex relations with the administration". It seems that the understanding of the necessity to establish contacts on the municipal level became a regular practice in "Alpha- Group".*

The consortium has lost some of its lobbying resources on the top- governmental level and is hoping now for the local heads of the subjects of the Russian Federation. The analysts think that the new doctrine on constructing the relations between business and state "Alpha- Group" is sticking to now was developed in the depth of consortium and is a sort of preparation to the coming presidential elections. The actions of "Alpha" might provoke the waves of corruption in the regions.

<...> ...from this time on the positive relation between the regional structures of the financial- industrial group and the local bureaucrats will be treated by "Alpha" as the fundamental business- resource which is as valuable as commercial success.

<...>

It should be borne in mind that P. Aven is not the first tycoon trying to pave his way to the local authorities. In 2001 Mikhail Khodorkovsky also encouraged his employees "to go to the local administrations". Soon it resulted in the creation of a sort of department of political technologies in Yukos, which developed and presented a plan of coup d'etat aimed at making a parliamentary republic with the vague role of supreme authorities. Everybody knows what the result of Khodorkovsky's attempt to build the vertical of power was. The management of "Alpha- Group" was always denying its interest towards politics and kept on telling that its intentions were purely commercially oriented. Maybe, the example of the disgraced tycoon was not convincing enough for them. Mikhail Fridman, for example, is absolutely sure that Russian authorities cannot simply afford another "Yukos case". He told about it to the "Wall- Street Journal".

<...>

It is not occasional that respectable political experts have recently been warning that the "inadvertent" drain of inter- corporate analytical documents from "Alpha" which stated about the preferences in the preservation of the current authority configuration, including the top- person can be nothing else but a shell, behind which the tycoon fighters are coming up together to implement the "natural" right to rule "this country".

<...>

*Author: Nikolay Veshniy,*

*Source: PARLAMENTSKAYA GAZETA*

### **Business is scared, seeing the YUKOS destiny**

*The Yukos case has spoilt the statistics*

*The level of corruption increased because of it, the international experts think. The growth of corruption is first of all conditioned by the ongoing political processes, the international experts think.*

Russia is in a corruption crisis now. It is caused by the negative performance of authorities in their fight against corruption. In case it goes on there might be a danger of revolutionary situation, Yelena Panfilova, the Director of the Russian Center for anti-corruption researches and initiatives "Transparency International" (TI) thinks. This international organization has published another research on the corruption around the world. According to its results, the positions of Russia in the rating got worse as compared with the last year. This year our country took the 126 place (the first places belong to the less corrupted countries) whereas last year it was on the 90<sup>th</sup> place...<...>

The experts mention the enforcement of the vertical administration of power as one of the factors influencing the increase of corruption. Such ideas as the administrative rent, administrative resource, and tenders are in the daily vocabulary of Russian Bureaucrats. According to Yelena Pamfilova, Russian entrepreneurs have to alternatives to the idea of "paying". The vertical is so well-constructed that any businessman understands it makes no sense to do business or to go to any region without settling the necessary "formalities" in Moscow. Another factor to influence negatively on the corruption was the "Yukos case". According to the experts of TI, the big business understands very well that the best way to escape the Yukos destiny is to be incorporated into the vertical.

<...>

*Author: Roman Ukolov,  
Source: NEZAVISIMAYA GAZERA*

### **Sinecure for a member of Parliament**

*According to INDEM analytical Foundation the annual turnover of the bribery in Russia makes around \$40 billion USD. <...>*

*Each tycoon structure has its own lobbyists in the State Duma*

Big companies on natural resource extraction, such as oil, gas, coal, precious metals, wood have the major influence in Duma. Nearly each tycoon structure has its own set of lobbyists. It is enough saying that Yukos only used to have around 20 lobbyists in the State Duma.

It is mainly due to the oil lobbyists that the State Duma has not adopted yet the law obstructing the capital flow abroad and has not revised the agreement on the production unit which enables the Western companies to be free and easy at "drinking" from our oil resources.

<...>

*Author: Tatiana Netreba,  
Source: ARGUMENTY I FAKTY*

### **What to do with Russia?**

*The United States cannot stop the anti-democratic tendencies of Russia*

*(James M. Goldgeier is a researcher in the sphere of international relations at the Congress Library and the Senior Scientific Worker of the Council on Foreign Relation). Michael McFaul is the Senior Scientific Worker at Hoover Institution and the professor of Political Science at Stanford University.*

<...>

Putin and his regime have demonstrated scandalous disrespect towards the rights of property and the institutes protecting them by re-nationalizing and re-distributing the bulk of "Yukos" Oild Company, which used to be the largest in Russia. At first the Russian authorities arrested Mikhail Khodorkovsky, the head of the company and then made the company face tax

fraud for several billion USD and sold its key production units- “Yuganskneftegaz” company to “Rosneft” company the chairman of the board of directors in which is Igor Sechin- one of Putin’s main advisors. Andrei Illarionov, president’s economic advisor called the “Yuganskneftegaz” “the bunco of the year”.

<...>

*Policy Review*  
*James M. Goldgeier and Michael McFaul*

## **State terror and “elections”**

*Application of “Memorial” Advocatory Center on the coming elections in Chechen Republic*

The elections of the deputies to the Republican Parliament of Chechnya are appointed on the 27<sup>th</sup> of November, 2005. The representatives of federal and republican authorities call these elections “another stage of political regulations”.

Having analyzed the present situation in Chechen Republic, “Memorial” Advocatory Center has to admit, unfortunately, that the elections will hardly become another step in the establishment of peace in Northern Caucasus.

To start the real political regulation of the conflict in Chechen Republic it is necessary to put up all the efforts so that all the political forces of Chechnya (including the supporters of Chechnya’s independence) could implement peaceful propaganda of their election programs without any obstacles.

However, the incessant violence in Chechnya leaves no chance for free and honest elections.

Some can object that the democratic process should not give way to the violence against democracy and that the world community supported elections in such hot spots as Afghanistan or Iraq.

We wouldn’t like to argue on the legitimacy of the elections in those countries, but rather to draw your attention to the fundamental differences in the situation with Chechnya.

The electorate here is much more terrified by the state terror and violence by the organizers of the elections than the actions of terrorists that wish to foil the elections.

There is nearly no freedom of press in the present day Chechnya. People here are trying to join the pro- governmental “Yedinaya Rossiya” party, thus hoping to have at least any protection from the state terror.

The noticeable part of population in Chechen Republic is inclined to the idea of national independence, however this political opposition will not take part in the elections at all.

If the separatism is not supported by the violence and the propaganda of national or religious detest, should not be treated as a crime.

However in under the current conditions in Chechen Republic no one can speak of the legal propaganda for these reforms.

The political parties- participants of the elections either do not want or are afraid to raise the topical problems of Chechen people- disappearance and murders of people during special operations, illegal violence exercised by the armed groups of the law- enforcement structures, failure of the state to provide the safety of population, rule of law and order. The most important issue for Chechnya- the problem of peace- will simply not be spoken about by any of the parties running the election campaign.

Taking into account everything mentioned above, “Memorial” Advocatory Center states that there are no conditions for running free and fair elections to the republican Parliament of Chechnya.

The legislation of the Russian Federation does not allow the non- political organizations to send its supervisory delegates to the elections, whereas the NGO representatives have the possibility to send their representatives to the election sectors, if previously agreed with any

political party, taking part in the elections.

However, “Memorial” Advocatory Center does not consider it possible to undertake any steps on the participation of its delegates in the supervisory process of the elections to the Parliament of Chechen Republic.

“Memorial” Advocatory Center thinks that no Russian, international or foreign observers can influence the elections or improve the current situation and contribute to the partial development of the election process in Chechnya and its likening to the real manifestation of Chechen people’s will.

*Advocatory Center "Memorial"*  
*18 October 2005*

### **The life and property of entrepreneur Ilya Dudyrev are stolen away**

20 October at 2:00 p.m. there took place a press- conference *“The life and property of entrepreneur Ilya Dudyrev are stolen away” in the Independent Press- Center (Tverskoy boulevard, 20, II floor, on spot accreditation).*

Lev Ponomarev, the Executive Director of the All- Russia Movement “For Human Rights”, Vladimir Stepanov, expert in legal issues of the All- Russia Movement “For Human Rights”, Ilya Dudyrev- the CEO of “Ruslan” automobile concern took part in the press- conference.

The press- conference was devoted to the life of Ilya Dudyrev, the CEO and the only founder of “Ruslan” company, who became a victim of killers, but managed to survive...

Here is the chronology of the stolen life and property of Ilya Dudyrev: 10<sup>th</sup> of May, 2001- a group of gangsters entered his office and demanded the 50% of profit. Dudyrev refused to pay and was cruelly battered by the members of the gang group. They decided that Dudyrev was dead and left the office. I. Dudyrev lost his conscience for 45 days; he was hospitalized in Sklifaskofsky Institute. He was made a trepanation of the skull, operated on brain haematomas, some parts were corrected; the skull was brought together like a puzzle. The professional doctors reanimated Dudyrev. When the man came around his weight was 50 kilograms, whereas the normal weight was 110 kg.

I. Dudyrev was in hospitals for over 2.5 years. He learnt to write and speak anew. When Dudyrev came back from the hospital he found out that his car center was called “Nika- Rus” and belonged to Nikolay Shimansky and a worker of the Ministry of Emergency Situations of Russia, Minister Shoigu’s friend Sergey Kudinov, who represents the minister in the Southern Federal District today.

“Ruslan’s” total area was 2000 square meters with communications and heating; approved by the founder’s documents. The assessed value of the building was in 2001 over \$1 million USD; it was built on Dudyrev’s personal money and is now renamed into “Nika- Rus”. Ilya Dudyrev was deprived of other properties, too- he lost four three- room apartments for the workers of the car center; he lost cars, spare parts, profit from the rent of premises and car renovation.

During the year Dudyrev wrote 26 letters and two Open Letters to the RF President Putin (dated to 30.06.05 and 04.10.05), he has many times turned to V. Ustinov, the RF Procurator-General, A. Zuev, Moscow City Procurator, he had personal meetings with M. Nikonov, the Deputy Procurator of Moscow and with R. Nurgaliev, the Minister of Interior of RF (29.12.04), with S. Shoigu, the Minister of Emergency Situations (10.06.05) — the actions of their employees resulted in the loss of property by I. Dudyrev.

In spite of the obvious facts of lawlessness all the mentioned officials do not perform their direct duties related to I. Dudyrev and are not trying to punish the guilty ones; they are doing nothing to return the stolen property.

Moscow City Procuracy and the Procuracy- General do not react to the letters of I. Dudyrev on the arrest and capture of the property, hired killing case.

To return his property Dudyrev undertook marginal measures: he went on a hunger- strike in the Procuracy's reception and in the department for the reception of citizens at Russian Government for three months. He took of his four medals as a sign of protest; he gave them to the Russian Government for the submission to Putin and Nurgaliev. He went on a 24 hour hunger- strike at the building of the Government of Russia on 13- 18 July, 2005. After that the number of his license plate was registered in the RF Ministry of Interior as a number of a car under retrieval. These actions resulted in regular checks of his car; after all the workers of Militia removed the license plate and did not give out any document in its confiscation. Dudyrev is an invalid of the first group, he cannot walk himself. The car is of vital importance to him.

*Vladimir Stepanov,  
Expert of ANM «For Human Rights»,  
Advocate of Ilya Dudyrev  
IA "For Human Rights"*

*Friends, if you do not want to receive the newsreel please advise us about it.*