

## INFORMATION AGENCY “FOR HUMAN RIGHTS”

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### CHRONICLE OF POLITICAL PERSECUTION IN PRESENT DAY RUSSIA *News, statements, appeals, analysis, commentaries*

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### **In cherished memory of the human rights advocate Alexander Luboslavsky**

The Council of the All-Russian Nongovernmental Movement “For Human Rights” grievously informs of the untimely death of the member of the Council of the Movement, the well known human rights advocate and the active participant of the movement against the war in Chechnya, the editor of the journal “Protection of Rights and Freedoms of Man”, the Chairman of the Committee for Protection of Prisoners, the good-hearted, candid and self-denying person – Alexander Mikhailovich Luboslavsky.

*Sobinform*

### **40 members of the National Bolshevik Party brought their charges against Vladimir Putin to the State Duma**

On November 8, approximately at 12:00 hours, around 40 members of the National Bolshevik Party came to the reception room of the State Duma and the Federation Council with their personal applications, in which they ask the members of the lower chamber of the Russian parliament and the senators to consider the charges against Vladimir Putin. This news was reported by the press service of the NBP.

The members of the National Bolshevik Party accuse the Russian president, among other things, of the falsification of the results of the presidential elections, of the closing of the independent television channels, the massacre of children and adults in the city of Beslan and at the Dubrovka Theatre, resumption of the practice of political trials.

As the official site of the NBP reports, the similar application was brought by the seven members of the National Bolshevik Party to the Commission for Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Reprisals under the Administration of the President of the RF; however all of them were arrested by the FSB officers ...

### **Platon Lebedev was allowed to spend several hours with his wife**

Natalya Lebedeva, the spouse of Platon Lebedev, visited her husband in the prison OG No. 98/3, located in the outskirts of the village Kharp of the Yamalo-Nenetsk Autonomous Okrug. The meeting was very short, since the administration of the prison allowed Natalya and Platon Lebedev to spend only three hours together; following the meeting the spouse of Platon Lebedev left for Moscow. For the sake of being just several hours with her husband Natalya Lebedeva spent several days in a train, the reason being that last week there closed the navigation between the city of Salekhard, where the nearest airport is located, and the settlement Labytnanghi, near which the relevant prison is located ...

“The details of her meeting with her husband are not known, because Natalya does not like to communicate with the journalists”, said Elena Liptser, the defence lawyer of Platon Lebedev, to the correspondent of the newspaper “Izvestiya”. “She spoke more than once that she does not want to become a public person”...

*The author: Maria Rogacheva,  
Source: IZVESTIYA*

## **Banished from Moscow to Siberia: the oligarch, who used to have everything and who lost everything**

*One of these people is the former Soviet dissident, who spent four years in prison and after his release from prison worked for 15 years as a driver to eventually become an orthodox priest. Another one is the former activist of the Young Communist League, who has managed to become the richest person in the post-Soviet Russia, and then, following his quarrel with the Kremlin, he was put in prison.*

The 49-year-old orthodox priest, Father Serghiy (Taratukhin) and 42-year-old Mikhail Khodorkovsky chose very different ways to reach their goals during the time of the death agony of the Soviet Union and the simultaneous birth of the new Russian state. But yesterday these two victims of the rough Russian politics met one another in unrepresentable environment of the penitentiary institution YaG No. 14/10 in the town of Krasnokamensk located near the uranium mine in the East Siberian region.

Father Serghiy, who takes care of the spiritual health of the prisoners of the above-mentioned penitentiary institution, met the newly arrived convict Mikhail Khodorkovsky for the first time following the latter's transference from Moscow on 15 October to this prison to serve his sentence. The men conversed twenty minutes or so and very soon the atmosphere of mutual understanding dominated their talk. The priest, who was made a prisoner just for the fact that he challenged the Kremlin in 1974, and the oil magnate, who was put in prison exactly for the same reason in the present-day Russia ruled by President Vladimir Putin.

"When I used to be in prison, the people from the KGB said that their most cherished dream was to live until the day when the political prisoners could be treated like ordinary criminals", said Father Sergiy in his interview to the "Times". "Nowadays, it is quite obvious that their dream has eventually come true".

These words uttered by the priest were the only words of sympathy that came from Krasnokamensk, a town of 65, 000 residents built in the 1960s near the Russian border with China and Mongolia. In the Soviet times, this dusty settlement consisting of wooden houses and concrete multi-storied buildings was actually a closed military station, where the majority of residents hate the oligarchs thinking them to have benefited from the disintegration of the Soviet Union ...

In the Soviet times, the dissidents used to be exiled here. And, today, these places have become a home for the most known critic of the present-day Russian authorities – the founder of the «NK «Yukos» company, who headed not so long ago the list of the richest Russians with a personal wealth amounting to \$ 15.2 billion.

The defence lawyers of Mikhail Khodorkovsky are of the opinion that it is unhealthy to live in this town. In winter, the temperature here drops to minus 40 degrees centigrade, while in this prison, like in the majority of the penitentiary institutions of Russia for that matter, the tuberculosis is the everyday ominous factor of the prisoners' existence. According to Nikolai Podprigorin, the chief medical officer of the State Sanitary Supervision of Krasnokamensk, this year, each fifth prisoner of the prison YaG No. 14/10 has been diagnosed for TB. This year alone, in this prison, two inmates have died: one person has passed away killed by the gangrene, while another has closed his days resulting from the dysentery caused by pollution of the water supply system of the prison by the sewer effluent.

The officials say that detention conditions in this particular prison are not worse than in any other similar penitentiary institution in the territory of Russia. However, the lawyers of Mikhail Khodorkovsky are concerned with the prospects of radioactive contamination from the uranium mine, which is located 16 km from the town of Krasnokamensk.

In 1991, in the area of the village of Oktyabrskaya located near the mine, the level of radiation was 7000 becquerel per cubic meter, which is actually more than 30 times higher

than the maximum permissible level of safety. That year, the authorities started to evacuate the population of the village numbering 3000 inhabitants; however, 2000 villagers still remain there, because the government does not have enough money to move these people to another place.

Under the circumstances, Father Serghiy, who normally visits the prison each Friday, will certainly be that interlocutor, with whom Mikhail Khodorkovsky will communicate most. He is well prepared for a role of the spiritual instructor of Mr. Khodorkovsky. When he was a young man of 18 years of age, this priest was charged with having organized the anti-Soviet youth group and he was eventually sentenced to four years in prison. He served his sentence in the labour camp located in the Perm oblast, which is thousands of kilometers away from his native city of Chita.

He served his sentence together with the Ukrainian and Armenian nationalists and with the people, who tried to emigrate from the country. For two years he shared the same cell with Serghei Kovalyev, the well-known dissident and human rights advocate.

Natalya Terekhova, the Chita lawyer of Mikhail Khodorkovsky, told me that her client had asked her to subscribe him for the total of 50 newspapers and magazines. Another lawyer mentioned that it was in Mikhail Khodorkovsky's plans to write the doctor's dissertation, and that he also had plans relating to his possible teaching work at the prison's school.

"No matter what his occupation in the penitentiary institution is, the time spent in this prison will certainly change him, that's for sure", said Father Serghiy. "However, he will not necessarily change the way the Kremlin would like him to have changed. Anyway, none of my inmates left the prison, where I served my sentence, as a communist".

Despite the closest attention paid to his person by the KGB officers, Father Serghiy, during his stay in prison, turned his mind to the Christianity rather than to the Communism. According to him, Mikhail Khodorkovsky is also a believer, although the man has never been baptized in his life. "The last two years have taught him a lesson of patience and humility", said the priest. "God has graciously granted him a hard trial, but I am sure that he is strong enough to pass it like a true believer should".

*Jerome Page  
InoPressa  
The Times*

### **Mikhail Khodorkovsky has addressed to the world public**

The western mass media have published the appeal of the Russian prisoner

The very respectable and extremely influential British newspaper "Financial Times" has published – as an advertisement – the appeal by Mikhail Khodorkovsky to the public. On the eve of this publication the owners of the MFO «Menatep», which is main shareholder of the OAO «NK «Yukos» company, Leonid Nevzlin, Vladimir Dubov and Mikhail Brudno have given a joint press conference, where Mr. Nevzlin has directly declared that "there may be taken a decision on the physical elimination of Mikhail Khodorkovsky, which can be easily done in the prison environment. Therefore, we are going to continue to inform the people in the West, in Israel about the events occurring in the present-day Russia and to name a spade a spade".

Yesterday, the publication in the "Financial Times" was quoted by the news agency "France Press". Thus, it may be stated that Mikhail Khodorkovsky has appealed – on the pages of the foreign press – not just to the Russian public opinion, but also to the world-wide public. "The Kremlin has tried to completely isolate me from my country and my people, and even more than that – to destroy me physically", writes Mikhail Khodorkovsky. "Thus, the today's political power in Russia has, once again, proved that it is not yet willing to hold an

open and honest dispute with me (and, in general, it is not yet willing to hold a direct dialogue with the present-day Russian opposition)”.

“The struggle has just started”, writes Mikhail Khodorkovsky and next to this statement he identifies the main objectives of this struggle. In his opinion, it is necessary to formulate the program for development of Russia in XXI century. “It is necessary to build from anew the Russian army and the law-enforcement system, as well as to build, starting from the ground up, a new class of officialdom comprised of the people, who would be interested in the destiny of their country and society as a whole instead of being indulged in the unchecked and unrestrained personal enrichment”, writes the former oligarch and the current prisoner. “It is necessary to abandon a disastrous road of transformation of Russia into an official raw material appendage, to make a resolute turn towards a new “economy of knowledge”. In the opinion of the disgraced oligarch, it is necessary to pay special attention to the Far East and Siberia, since “these Russian territories, just in a period of several years, may find themselves under the control of China”. It is also critically important to restore both the positions and the bygone prestige of Russia in the world, which both have been lost resulting from the current unprofessional attitude to these vitally important values.

This text written by Mr. Khodorkovsky in the Chita penitentiary institution IK 10 was published on 27 October, 2005, on the Internet site of his press centre. In the text, Mikhail Khodorkovsky for the first time speaks that the Kremlin tries to destroy him physically. “The man has been sent to prison, and he informs the public from prison of his fears, misgivings, apprehensions”. At the recent press conference, Leonid Nevzlin has spoken about the same fears”, a source, which is close to the businessman, has offered his comments on the situation to the correspondent of the “NG”. In the opinion of this source, the publication of the above-mentioned letter has been done within the framework of the campaign aimed at informing the western public of the so-called Khodorkovsky case.

*The author: Liliya Mukhamedyarova,  
Source: NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA*

### **The US Congress will return to the Yukos case**

*There has been brought to the House of Representatives of the United States Congress the draft resolution, in which the concern is expressed in connection with the conviction of Mikhail Khodorkovsky, as well as with the sale of assets of the «NK «Yukos» company and change of its owners. According to the Russian Information Agency “Novosti”, this news has been confirmed by the House Committee on International Relations.*

The document has been proposed for the House agenda by the Republican Congressman from the State of Mississippi Roger Weaker and by the Democratic Congressman from the State of California Thomas Lantos. It is said in the draft resolution about “the seizure of assets of the «NK «Yukos» and the change of the company’s owner carried out by the Government of the Russian Federation under the state control.

The draft resolution brought in the House of Representatives is actually a new version of the resolution adopted by the US Senate in December of 2003, containing the expression of concern with the situation around the former head of the «NK «Yukos» and the company itself.

In November, 2003, soon after the arrest of Mikhail Khodorkovsky, the US Senator John McCane requested that President George Bush should not invite the Russian President Vladimir Putin to attend the next summit meeting of the “Big Eight”. The Senator stated that “the creeping coup, the overthrow of democracy and market capitalism in Russia threatens the future of the Russian-American relations and promises to bring in an era of the cold peace

between Moscow and Washington”. His speech was the first public reaction of the American conservatives to the events around the so-called the Yukos affair.

Subsequently, both the Senators and Congressmen repeatedly returned to this issue. For instance, right after the announcement of the conviction of Mikhail Khodorkovsky and Platon Lebedev, the above-mentioned Democratic Congressman Thomas Lantos promised to put on the House agenda the draft resolution regarding the exclusion of Russia from the “Big Eight”.

Grani.ru

### **Silently does not mean quietly**

Lev Ponomaryev, the Chairman of the All-Russian Nongovernmental Movement “For Human Rights”, speaks about the detention conditions of Mikhail Khodorkovsky and Platon Lebedev.

So far we do not have any data relating to the infringements on the human rights of prisoners in the penitentiary institutions, where Mikhail Khodorkovsky and Platon Lebedev are currently held. But this does not at all mean that the relevant situation there is safe. Certainly, one cannot exclude the possibility that the flow of information was simply blocked. However, we have not received any alarming signals. The staff of our organization is small, and it is a very hard thing for us to keep a watching eye on all the Russian penitentiary institutions. We do not work as a preventive facility. We actually start working on having received the relevant appeals from the citizens. We do not have sufficient number of staff to be able to make the scheduled checks in the regions.

We receive the letters from the prisoners, and we react to these letters. At times, there appear the direct indications of the existence of such a prison, where the tortures are practiced on a more or less regular basis. For instance, in the notorious Lgov prison there took place the scandalous, outrageous events. The information comes to us both from current prisoners (it happens sometimes that they call us using mobile phones, which is not quite lawful), and from the former prisoners, as well as from the prisoners’ relatives and defence lawyers.

If we receive a signal of the violation of any prisoner’s rights, we can visit the relevant penitentiary institution. In such cases, we normally apply to the Federal Service for Execution of Punishments (FSIN) and we ask for their sanction to visit a relevant penitentiary institution or we apply to the regional human rights ombudsman. It should be noted, however, that all these activities are possible only due to the good will of the authorities. If they decide not to let us go, they will not let us go. The thing is that in the State Duma of the Russian Federation there is a draft law on the public control of places, where the citizens of Russia are held under guard. However, to this day, this unfortunate draft has failed to be adopted and enacted into a new law. The above-mentioned draft law has passed the first reading; after that the officials from the government have started to throw a little grit in the bearings of the legislative machine in order to leave things as they are with regard to this draft law.

As far as I know, this draft law may be put to vote again soon. If this draft law, which contains the provision allowing the representatives of the human rights organisations to visit the places of deprivation of liberty without any prior notification of the relevant authorities, had been adopted and enacted into law, it would have been a very serious step forward on the way towards improvement of the detention conditions of the Russian prisoners. In accordance with the draft law, the Human Rights Ombudsman of the President of the Russian Federation shall be entitled to appoint the members of the inspection team composed of the human rights advocates to be sent to any penitentiary institution, while the law will require to let them in and do the inspection work. Today, there is no such a provision.

There are the regions in Russia, where our work is well organized, but such regions are not many. For instance, in the Krasnodar Kray the regional organization works in a very close contact with the FSIN and it works well. We do not receive complaints from the prisoners,

who serve their sentences in this region. There, the work is done without any involvement of the personnel of the central office of the All-Russian Movement “For Human Rights”. It is certainly a positive experience. However, generally speaking, the current situation in the FSIN-controlled penitentiary institutions is very bad, which can be explained not only by the excesses made by the executors of punishment, but also by the actions of the federal authorities, including the actions by the FSIN Head Yury Kalinin, who has recently toughened the detention conditions in the penitentiary institutions all over Russia. Nowadays, they often practice the collective punishment of prisoners, when the executors of punishment subject to battery and humiliation one and all without any reason at all, just in case. The recent events in the Lgov prison are far from having happened by chance. Therefore, my favorable statement about the prisons, where Mikhail Khodorkovsky and Platon Lebedev are held should not be perceived as generalization of the situation in all the country’s penitentiary institutions. At present, we just do not have any alarming signals from these two prisons. However, even if all is quiet in a penitentiary institution, this does not mean that there are no problems there.

Ej.ru

*The author: Olga Chernenkaya*

## **We are not slaves**

*In the Central House of Businessmen, the film director Vladimir Gherchikov has shown his new film “Reaction” dedicated to the public’s reaction to the legal process involving Mikhail Khodorkovsky. There have not been many viewers.*

I would like to give my praises to the great Russian language for its being so capacious! It is a pity that the word “reaction” is not of the Russian origin. But it is not so important. The same can be said about the inaccuracy of the title of this film as such. As a matter of fact, all the four meanings of the word “reaction” cited in the dictionary – “interaction of elements”, “opposition”, “political regime, which strives to preserve the obsolete state of affairs”, and “response to any action or event” – actually all these meanings of the word “reaction” make up a single cumulative object of Vladimir Gherchikov’s attention as a film director. It is rather important that the story of Mikhail Khodorkovsky is eventually told in a sole possible and correct genre, which is the genre of a physiological sketch, meaning that his story is told objectively.

And it should be stated that this objectivity frightens one even more than the horrors of the medieval process and the eventual imprisonment of this man in a rather dangerous zone of the uranium mines. This story frightens one because the phase of the civil indignation and the reflections about the political reasons and consequences of what has happened is over.

The documentary entitled “Reaction” is not about Mikhail Khodorkovsky. We know how this “alkali” has interacted with the “acid” and has been eventually neutralized resulting from such interaction. We can see, we are not blind, that the political regime in our country is turning towards the dark past of the Russian history. We see that Mikhail Khodorkovsky is a staunch fellow, which fact is quite obvious and needs no proof. Actually, the documentary “Reaction” is not about him, it is about us.

And we are the people, whose attitude towards all those talks about Russia’s joining the Council of Europe, about the civilization of the XXI century, about the special spirituality of Russians and about the role of great power that Russia still tries hard to play is very much like that towards the message sent to me by one of my acquaintances from a small town of Kratovo, who is almost off her head being under a constant pressure exerted on her by a dozen of kids she has given birth to and who has announced in her message that she is well

known in the Buckingham Palace, where she will go soon, since she is the only one to possess the secret of a special diet.

As Vladimir Gherchikov shows us, we are the people, who speak like those, whom he met and talked to right in the streets of different villages, towns and cities all over the country, who are the people to be better avoided in the street or elsewhere, and whose native land has no future being populated by such people.

The reaction of the people to the legal process involving Mikhail Khodorkovsky is clearly expressed in the words: "Such guys as him need to be shot". This is the reaction of the majority of the people. The reaction of some is as follows: "Mikhail Khodorkovsky? Who is the guy? Oligarch? And why have they put him in prison? Well, God be praised, at least one of these is in prison. And it would be much better to have them all there. Well, it would be even better still to have them all hung up on poles, so that the others learn a lesson and do not steal any more.

The people's ruthlessness to the larceny in the country, where everyone steals all and everything is, in itself, a charming phenomenon. It is certainly a more dreadful phenomenon when the people are joyfully willing to see "all these bastards", meaning the wealthy part of the country's population, "hung up on the telegraph poles". Today, they are willing to hang the rich, tomorrow – those, who are clever, next week – those, who refuse to drink vodka with them, and all the time they are willing to hang the Jews. The eternal – a la Pugachev – passion to exterminate the others, mainly the rich. "On 14 December of 1825, my dear papa with his friends went to the Senate Square in Saint Petersburg to demand that there should not be any poor people in the country..." We all know too well what resulted from these demands of the Decembrists. They sent "dear papa and his friends" to the "depth of the Siberian ore mines". In Russia, there is no place farther than this one.

Just three or four people of the dozens of those, who spoke in front of the camera, tried to make some reasoning. "Well, he is rich, while I am not. So, this is the way our life is. It is surely not the sufficient reason to reduce the man to his current status". "Khodorkovsky is a rich person. He could have left the country, just like many of his colleagues did in order to secure their lives. He, however, has remained here and has opened a Lyceum for the orphans". "Mikhail Khodorkovsky had lots of ambitions. He wanted to be the Prime Minister or even the President of this country. And he could have well succeeded in taking these high offices". "He has got into the politics. This is the main reason why they have removed him from the scene".

The man from the countryside, a combine operator, who had a smoke after he together with the cameraman had freed his vehicle from the captivity caused by the impassable and the seemingly eternal mud, this countryside man smiled a bitter smile and said with certainty of the person, who knows precisely what he is talking about: "The guy was too independent. He wanted to turn things his own way. Now you tell me, can the people like him stand any chance of being free in this country?"

Independent. Free. Rich. It is sure not our way of living. It is not this goal that we have struggled for and shed our blood for and eaten, by the way, the same skilly ...

"We are not the slaves, the slaves we are not". They just wrote this mantra on the blackboard, learned it and believed it. The authors of the concept for the universal schooling were right, indeed. "The communism is when there is no money". Just dreams and dreams instead of money. What?! You want money, bastard? You'd better kiss your ass!

The reaction of the people to Mikhail Khodorkovsky's drama has no relation to this man at all. As it turned out, the majority of the people who spoke in front of the camera do not actually know this person. This reaction is actually the result of the changes, which have taken place in Russia in the XX, as well as in the XIX centuries. And even much earlier. Just read "Captain's Daughter" by Alexander Pushkin. It is not a novel by Dickens. It is really about us. About the absolute horror of poverty and power. Since those remote times nothing has

changed in the minds of the Russian people, who still dream of the poles, on which there should be hung the blood-suckers. One blood-sucker at least.

As for the documentary “Reaction” made by Vladimir Gherchikov, you will hardly ever see it. It is already known that all the television channels have refused to show it. Instead, on a Sunday evening, the NTV has fed its viewers with a documentary about the modern Russian cannibals.

*The author: Alla Bossart,  
Source: NOVAYA GAZETA*

### **The verses by the priest Gleb Yakunin dedicated to Mikhail Khodorkovsky**

Khodorkovsky !  
How beautifully he walks!

Along the slope of GUIN\*  
Down the GULAG\*\* cascade  
They have thrown him down the drain,  
And let him flow to the East.  
Beyond the line of settlement,  
Beyond the city of Chita,  
In order to humiliate him.  
So that he could never escape,  
So that he could never convince anyone!

The convict is just a subject,  
The sponsored object of robbery,  
He has flowed down to the Nerchinsk,

His way is a ribbed one  
As the way of the Decembrists,  
As the way of Volkonsky and Trubetskoy  
(It is not as humane, as that of Ruts koy),

Although even beyond Chita  
They were given a chance  
To live with their wives,  
Who were close to them  
The dear wives of the Decembrists.

Your deeds are really glorious, my God!  
The horses of the fatal chariot  
Have kicked over the traces  
Without any particular effort  
They gallop as fast as they can.

I cannot tell for sure,  
Whether it is a dream,  
Whether it is a reality,  
The hand of God  
Has closed up the bitter pages

And opened the New Chapter for him.

\* Main Department for Execution of Punishments (GUIN)

\*\* The network of the penitentiary institutions (labour camps) in the former Soviet Union

*The priest Gleb Yakunin*

*7 November 2005.*

### **The court resulting from the complaint by the defence lawyers of Alexey Pichughin will study the telecasts**

In the Basmany District Court of the City of Moscow, there has been continued the process of consideration of the complaint filed by the lawyers of the former employee of the security service of the OAO «NK «Yukos» Alexey Pichughin against the actions of the investigation bodies within the framework of a new case relating to the charges of murders brought against their client. The defense has requested that the court should recognize as unlawful the actions of the representatives of the investigation, who, according to the lawyers, “tell in various telecasts about the case in such a way as to present Alexey Pichughin as a criminal, despite the fact that the case has not reached the court yet”. However, according to Georgy Kaganer, the defence lawyer of Alexey Pichughin, the complaint has not been considered on the merits yet. The defense has filed the motion demanding that the footage of the telecast under the heading “Moment of Truth” hosted by Andrey Karaulov should be given to the defense team. In this telecast dated 11 September, the journalist interviewed Yury Burtovoi, the investigator working in Alexey Pichughin’s case.

*The author: Marina Lepina,*

*Source: KOMMERSANT*

### **The witness for the prosecution has supported Svetlana Bakhmina**

*The legal counsel of the «NK «Yukos» company has been put on trial for having allegedly misappropriated 9 billion roubles.*

*The Simonovsky District Court of the City of Moscow has started interrogation of witnesses in the criminal case of the former Deputy Head of the Legal Department of the «Yukos-Moscow» Svetlana Bakhmina charged with theft by way of fraud of the property of «VNK «Tomskneft» company in the amount of over 9 billion roubles.*

For a period of over two hours the questions were answered by the former Chairman of the Board of the «VNK «Tomskneft» company Leonid Filimonov, who was the first of 60 witnesses stated for questioning by the investigation ...

Mr. Filimonov explained that before his transfer to Moscow he used to be the President of the Eastern Oil Company (VNK), which also included the «Tomskneft» company. “It is precisely for this reason that the issue of economic well-being of the «Tomskneft» company was my issue”, said Leonid Filimonov. “In the company, there worked 28000 people, while this company provided 50 % of the budget revenue for the Tomsk Oblast, and, therefore, the destruction of the «VNK «Tomskneft» company was a catastrophe for the Oblast”.

According to Leonid Filimonov, following the purchase of «VNK «Tomskneft» by the «NK «Yukos», the purchased company was managed by the affiliated structure of the «NK

«Yukos» by name of «Yukos EP» (in which Leonid Filimonov was given the position of the Vice President. — *GAZETA*).

“What functions did Svetlana Bakhmina exercise on the Board of Directors?”, the state prosecutor asked the main question.

“She was an ordinary member of the Board. In a number of cases we used her services as those of a legal counsel”, stated the witness. “The majority of the Board members were industrialists, and they needed legal explanations. We contacted Svetlana Bakhmina on rare occasions. She did not have any additional functions and rights”.

“And who prepared the drafts of the decisions?”, asked the state prosecutor.

“The drafts were prepared by the Business Management Department of the «Yukos EP», while a relevant conclusion on a draft decision was made by the Legal Department. In case if Mrs. Bakhmina said that the draft decisions had been coordinated with the Legal Department, it was enough for me, since as a lawyer she was more proficient in these issues than I was”, said Leonid Filimonov.

“And who made the acts of evaluation of the alienated property of the «Tomskneft» company?”, asked the state prosecutor Vlasov.

“For this purpose, there was established the special evaluation commission”, explained Leonid Filimonov. “At the Board meeting, the relevant report was presented by the Chief Economist of the «VНК «Tomskneft». We agreed with his report”.

“Did Svetlana Bakhmina take part in the discussion of the report?”, questioned the state prosecutor.

“I do not remember for sure. This meeting took place seven years ago. Probably, we need to look up the minutes of that meeting”, said the witness.

“Did she have a hand in the drawing up of the agenda of the Board meeting?”, asked the state prosecutor Vlasov.

“She had nothing to do with that”, answered Leonid Filimonov calmly.

“And who of the Board members coordinated the issues with the Legal Department?”, asked Mr. Vlasov.

“I do not know, this was of no interest to me”, answered Leonid Filimonov. “In case we wanted to know anything related to the legal matters, we addressed Svetlana Bakhmina right at the meeting asking her the relevant questions”.

Then came the turn of the defense to question the witness.

“Please tell us the following. Were the employees of both the planning and financial departments subordinated to Mrs. Bakhmina in any way?”, Alexander Gofstein, the lawyer of the defendant asked the witness.

“Certainly, not”, was the answer.

“Did Svetlana Bakhmina try to persuade anyone of the Board of Directors to take certain decisions?”, questioned the lawyer.

“Certainly, not!”, Leonid Filimonov almost lost his temper.

“Please, just do not react so emotionally”, said the lawyer. “Were you under Svetlana Bakhmina’s control?”

“No, I was not”, Leonid Filimonov’s answer sounded firmly. “As a matter of fact, we did not alienate any property. This could be done exclusively by the general meeting of the shareholders”...

Then, Svetlana Bakhmina stood up. She said: “Can you just imagine the situation when anyone of the Board members (which also included the representatives of the other units of the «NK «Yukos» company) could have stated the opinion, which could be in any way different from the opinion of the company’s heads?”, she asked Leonid Filimonov.

“I am 46 years in the oil business, and I know too well the position difference between myself and the minister. So, I think that the agenda proposed by the heads was practically always approved”, said Leonid Filimonov.

The court hearing has finished. At the request of the state prosecutor, there will be read out the evidence given by Leonid Filimonov during the preliminary investigation. In the opinion of the state prosecutor, this evidence contains some contradictions.

*The author: Mariya Lokotetskaya,  
Source: GAZETA*

**The member of the State Duma of the Russian Federation Galina Khovanskaya has come to the defense of Svetlana Bakhmina, the legal counsel of the «Yukos-Moscow» company**

The independent deputy of the State Duma of the RF Galina Khovanskaya has signed the personal guarantee for Svetlana Bakhmina, the legal counsel of the «Yukos-Moscow» company, who is charged with having misappropriated the property owned by the other legal entity. She requests that Svetlana Bakhmina should be released from under guard for a period of the legal proceedings.

“I think that this person should be immediately released and this violation of her dignity should be stopped”, stated the member of the Russian parliament in the air of the radio station “Ekho Moskvyy”. In the opinion of Mrs. Khovanskaya, the detention of Svetlana Bakhmina is a “completely immoral action”.

“If they want to settle scores, there is no need to come to the end of their tether”, she said. “Does Svetlana Bakhmina have anything to do with it? The men have a fight, while a woman is in prison”.

Gazeta.ru

**Beware of nazism!**

*The exhibition of the international contest of posters “Beware of nazism!”*

The nazism once again becomes a real threat to the world peace. The problems of social inequality, the disproportion of the demographic processes taking place in the developing and in the aging developed countries, the rivalry for the vital resources – all these factors get the mankind to a dangerous tether. The ideology of hatred based on the interracial, interethnic, and interconfessional differences is being stirred up and used by the political adventurers.

This trouble has not bypassed Russia either. While the number of victims of the nazism is already counted by the hundreds, the society still hesitates to recognize that the nazism in Russia has become a reality, and the Russian authorities continue to ignore this problem.

In this environment, the Saint Petersburg Anti-Nazism Centre, the Fellowship “Free Culture”, the Museum of Nonconformist Arts, the ROU NITs “Memorial” have organized the international contest of political posters and caricatures with the motto “Beware of nazism!”

Over 300 works from 26 countries were sent by the relevant authors to participate in this contest. The jury was comprised of the well known artists, journalists, and public figures from Russia, Estonia and Italy. In the process of selection of works for the exhibition the jury tried to encourage the civil activity of the authors. For this reason, the exhibition participants were represented by both the recognized masters and the beginners, and even by very young artists. The representatives of six countries were awarded the prizes for their works.

For the first time, the exhibition was held in the Museum of Nonconformist Art in Saint Petersburg. Now, these works will be exhibited in the Museum and Public Centre named after Andrei Sakharov.

### **Professor Kaibyshev's case**

*Radio Presenter: Alexander Plushev*

*The visitor: Ernst Cherny, the Responsible Secretary of the Public Committee "Protection of Scientists"*

*A. Plushev:* The occasion for today's interview are the legal proceedings involving Academician Oskar Kaibyshev, who is accused of the espionage activities. If our visitor does not object to it, I would like to ask him to briefly state the essence of this case, since, in the first place, it is by far not the first case involving the scientists, who are accused of the espionage; however, on the other hand, this case is as widely known as the other similar cases. Therefore, probably, it will not be irrelevant to tell our listeners about this process in more detail.

*E. Cherny:* I think, that, indeed, the general public fails to fully understand, what occurs in this sphere, that Oskar Kaibyshev is by far not the only person, who is currently charged with rather serious crimes. Professor Oskar Kaibyshev is a very well known scientist, whose name is respected in the world scientific community. But now I would like to name a large group of people, who are subjected to the persecution on the part of the FSB, and we, being engaged in these matters, we understand that all these cases, from A to Z, have been actually fabricated. I shall name the people, some of whom are known to the general public, but others are not known at all. These people are Alexander Nikitin, the ecologist, Nikolai Schur, the ecologist, Grigory Pasko, the journalist, Victor Kolyadin, the businessman (he died in prison on having been sentenced to 14 years in prison on the charges of the espionage activities), Vladimir Soifer, the scientist, Valentin Moiseyev, the diplomat and scientist, Igor Sutyaghin, the scientist, Valentin Danilov, the scientist, Anatoly Babkin, the scientist, Vladimir Schurov, the scientist, Yury Khvorostov, the scientist, Victor Akulichev, the scientist, Olga Tsepilova, the sociologist, Victor Kovalchuk, the inventor, Pavel Luzakov, the journalist, John Tobbins, the trainee, Mikhail Trepashkin, the lawyer, Sergei Brovchenko, the lawyer, Platon Lebedev, the businessman, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, the businessman, Svetlana Bakhmina, the legal counsel. Here also belong all the members of the ecological organization "Baikal Wave", the activists of the National Bolshevik Party, the total of 46 persons. In other words, speaking seriously, it is not just about 2 or 3 persons, it is about a great number of people, who are persecuted by the FSB, the charges range from the high treason to the disclosure of the state secrets, the illegal export of the technology of double purpose, including such economic crimes as the theft by way of fraud etc., which charges, as it would seem, are simply outside the FSB competence. The latter charges relating to the economic crimes, if they are brought against anyone, should be brought by the competent bodies other than the FSB, that is for sure.

<...>

*E. Cherny:* In general, we know, probably, that all cases are now of this nature, at least, the cases, which have been brought to our attention, and these are not only the cases from the field of science, I repeat, here we also have sociologists, although sociology is a science, too. Here, there are also the members of the National Bolshevik Party, that is there are the others, the representatives of other fields of activity.

*A. Plushev:* As far as the business sphere is concerned, you have mentioned Mikhail Khodorkovsky and Platon Lebedev.

*E. Cherny*: Yes, the science, as you understand, is the most defenceless field of activity. The thing is that it is very easy to deal with the scientists for the FSB officers, while it is not that easy to deal with the terrorists, since it is quite possible to get shot by the latter, and there may also happen other unpleasant things when these guys deal with the terrorists. While in case of the scientists, it is easy and none of these dangerous things. You arrest, for instance, Igor Sutyaghin, who is eventually sentenced 15 years in prison, and that's it.

<...>

*The radio station "Ekho Moskv"*

*To the Chairman of the Supreme Court  
of the Russian Federation  
V.M. Lebedev*

Dear Vyacheslav Mikhailovich,

On 31 October, 2005, in Ufa, at the Supreme Court of the Republic of Bashkortostan, there started the legal process relating to the case of Professor Oskar Kaibyshev. Taking into account the fact that Oskar Kaibyshev had spent a long time in a hospital and had actually no time to familiarize himself with the case materials, the Court, at the request of the defendant, transferred the beginning of consideration of the case to a later date of 9 November, 2005.

However, in the evening of 31 October Oskar Kaibyshev and his lawyers were informed by the Court that the beginning of the hearing would take place on 2 November, which meant that only one day was given to the defendant by the Court for the purpose of getting familiar with the materials of the case. In this connection, we think that the above-mentioned decision taken by the Supreme Court of the Republic of Bashkortostan is actually a travesty of justice and of the common sense. Moreover, the case of Oskar Kaibyshev is subject to hearing in camera, although the case does not contain any classified materials.

We demand that the arbitrariness, which has nothing to do with the administration of justice, should be stopped. We think it necessary that this process should be transferred to the other region of the Russian Federation taking into account the atmosphere of fear, which is deliberately created by General Chernokov, the Head of the FSB Department of the Republic of Bashkortostan, who has announced long before the court proceedings that Oskar Kaibyshev will be sentenced to 10 years in prison.

*L.M. Alexeyeva,  
Chairman of the Moscow Helsinki Group,  
Member of the Council for Promotion of Development of  
Civil Society and Human Rights  
under the President of the Russian Federation*

*L.A. Ponomaryev  
Executive Director  
of the All-Russian Nongovernmental Movement  
"For Human Rights"*

*Yu.V. Samodurov,  
Director of the Museum and Centre named after Andrei Sakharov  
E.I. Cherny*

*Responsible Secretary  
of the Public Committee for Protection of Scientists  
G.P. Yakunin,  
Public Committee  
for Protection of Freedom of Conscience*

**Probably, they need the hurricane Katrina to hit them real hard for them to understand things better**

*Victor Geraschenko, the expert of the international level in the field of banking activities, the current chairman of the Board of Directors of the persecuted OAO «NK «Yukos» company shares with our readers his reflections on the country and the events occurring in it, on the economy and politics, on the leaders, banks and money, on the life and on his own person.*

<...>

“The so-called proficit of the budget has been created artificially, at the expense of the restrained expenses. The accumulation of a reserve by way of the Stabilization Fund looks as a measure economically unjustified, although, maybe, it can be explained politically. In my understanding, the guys currently in power made a kind of thriftbox for them to spend this money for the purpose of winning the next elections so that they could ensure for themselves the constitutional majority in parliament, which would agree to anything proposed by the Kremlin. This money will be also used to elect, if we can trust the present statements made by the President, the “worthy” candidate, his successor.

However, taking into account the fact that in the country there is a huge gap in the level of incomes between a rather narrow group of the wealthy citizens and the majority of the people, which are just poor or beyond the poverty line, under such circumstances it is very inexpedient to have the budget proficit without using this money for the purpose of payment wages and salaries, pensions, or it is, at least, unwise to behave this way.

The proficit is actually nonsense. Why should we have it? We do not have any plans to fly to the Moon, as far as I know. The sciences in this country are completely neglected, while the scientists and teachers are paid miserable salaries, humiliating these professionals. Many young capable scientists, and not only young researchers, leave for the West, or, if they do not leave the country, they, nonetheless, frequently work for the western firms fulfilling the tasks, which they receive from them. And it is not the stealing of the state secrets, but the work aimed at development of the technological potentials of the foreign firms, while the Russian authorities do not pay any attention to this phenomenon at all. Those currently in power do not have any tasks for the Russian scientists, and they have no money to pay them for the work our scientists could do to benefit their native land. There are the talents in Russia, they are given birth to, but they have no chance to develop the way they should. As far as the budget proficit is concerned, it is just absurd to be proud of it... I can hardly put it any other way.

They do not allocate any financial means for development or, at least, for maintenance of the existing infrastructure. Let us take, for instance, the electrical failure, which happened on 25 May of this year in Moscow. Now, they try to explain this technical failure by their own failure to replace the old failing generator with a new one. They admit that they have failed to do it in good time. But I think that in this particular case we can see their real attitude to the existing life-support systems. Just think about the appalling housing conditions our people have to live in. Thousands live in the collapsing houses... These wretched people do not care for this notorious proficit, since it is of no avail to them.

<...>

*“Who feels good in the market economy environment?”*

“In the first place, we have, in fact, a pseudo-market economy in this country. The way our “market economists” work reminds me of the present-day weather forecasts. When the meteorologists promise no rain it means that there will be rain for sure.

In this country, the corruption is everywhere. The forms are diverse. In some cases, it is lunch together, in the other cases it may be “assistance”, “contribution” to some foundation etc. These kinds of things are considered as a matter of course in this country. And not only in this country. Everywhere else these things are done in a similar way, but still differently. One cannot do without these things in business. But there should be the clear-cut guiding lines at

the level of the economy management. In my opinion, our economists lack these guiding lines.

Why does the oil production fall? In 2005, it has fallen, and in 2006 it will continue to fall. Why? Just because these bastards, I apologize, that is the oil extraction companies refuse to invest in the production. Not a single one of them!..

There is a need for orientation to the technological goods, to the processing of the raw oil, instead of just extracting it, in order to export abroad the petrol and black oil, which is currently in demand. But we cannot do the deep processing of black oil, the one we have is more saturated than the western type of black oil. So the western companies purchase the black oil from us and subject it to the further processing.

We do not have such an economic policy, which would ask the top management of our country what kind of aircraft we are going to use in the nearest future to fly over our vast territory. I understand that not only the foreign, but also the internal flights should be used for the purpose of communication between the regions. The European countries have managed to make the airbus as a counter to the American “Boeing” planes. And we do not make planes even for ourselves. Well, these planes will not be let out of the country abroad because the company “Perm Motors” has failed to produce the engines, which comply with the world standards for the noise and exhaust. They can certainly improve these characteristics of their products making both the exhaust and noise lesser to meet the world requirements. However, the problem remains. What aircraft are we going to use for flying in our own country? Will we use the “Boeing” planes for the purpose instead of the Russian-made planes? It is really a bad policy!

<...>

These pensions are just ridiculous? My pension is 2500 roubles, including the addition paid by the Moscow mayor Yury Luzhkov. If I did not work, it would be problematic for me to live on this money.

Such a pension was prepared for me by the decree issued by the ex-president Boris Yeltsin. It is written in this document that the right to the state pension have those civil servants, who received their salaries from the state budget. But the Chairman of the State Bank or the Central Bank received his salary not from the state budget, because the Central Bank was always a self-financed organisation, where the salaries were paid at the expense of the estimate. This is how this legal obstacle has emerged.

The issue of my pension emerged after 2002, when I announced that I would leave. I did not want to remain in the Central Bank any more, following the establishment of the National Banking Council (which is such an absurdity) in the Central Bank... It was Mr. Shokhin who took care of it.

When I became a pensioner, they decided to pay my pension to me from the Pension Fund. However, I told them that I would not take my pension from the Pension Fund, since it was not my source. It was not my money. I told them to revise all the laws. I told them that if they failed to make a correct decision with regard to my pension, I would go to Strasbourg. But meanwhile they keep silent. When they close the «NK «Yukos» company for good, I will initiate the legal proceedings against them...

*“Is there any way out after all?”*

“The people in our country should start thinking. Probably, we would need our own hurricane “Katrina” to make people start thinking... After that hurricane it turned out that the US President George Bush was not as good as people used to think he was.

<...>

*The author: Galina Platova,  
Source: SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA*

## **In Russia, the opposition is being formed amidst the sharp criticism of the style of management of Vladimir Putin**

In Russia, the resistance directed against the President Vladimir Putin is growing. On the eve of the forthcoming elections to the Duma of the city of Moscow, the liberal opposition parties, – including the reformist block within the “Yabloko” party, the Union of the Right-Wing Forces, the Green Party of Russia, and the United People’s Party of Soldiers’ Mothers – has announced their decision on joining together their forces for the purpose of rebuffing the powerful political block of Vladimir Putin – at first in Moscow, and then in the regions of the country.

The former Head of the OAO «NK «Yukos» Mikhail Khodorkovsky, who is currently serving his sentence in one of the prisons near the city of Chita, has joined the united forces of opposition. In the announcement on the entire page published in the newspaper “Financial Times” he has declared the need for the “new political elite”. “They want us to reconcile with the domination of the Russian bureaucrats pursuing their own interests”. The struggle has just started.

Several hundred people have responded to the appeal by Garry Kasparov, the former world chess champion, and have held in Moscow the demonstration directed against Vladimir Putin. In connection with the Day of Memory of Victims of Political Reprisals in the USSR the demonstrators stigmatized a new wave of political arrests in Russia.

“In today's Russia, Mr. Putin revives the most horrible pages of our past”, stated Garry Kasparov in his speech. “The Government pursues the policy of destroying any democratic freedom”. They say that Garry Kasparov also claims the office of the Russian president.

*inoSMI  
Wiener Zeitung*

## **Fascist Russia: pogrom in the penitentiary institution YaO No. 100/1. The prisoners keep the hunger strike for a week already**

*According to Oksana Dzera, the representative of the Public Commission of the human rights advocates engaged in the investigation of violations of the rights of prisoners, the events in the penitentiary institution YaO No. 100/1 (Smolensk Oblast, Safonov Rayon, the village of Anokhovo) have taken a dramatic turn.*

As it has been reported, in this prison, there continues the hunger-strike, in which there take part around 60 prisoners held in the BUR and SUS (special detention conditions) units of the prison. The prisoners went on a hunger strike thus expressing their protest against the introduction in this prison of the special police units of the Ministry of Justice a week ago, which subjected to battery the prisoners, mainly those born in 1980-1982.

The special forces were introduced in this penitentiary institution, which used to be a quiet place until these events, as a measure of punishment. In the city of Smolensk, someone burnt the car belonging to one of the top officers of the Department of the Federal Service of Execution of Punishments (UFSIN) of the Smolensk Oblast, and the Head of the UFSIN by name of Konovalov said that he was going “to crush this zone” until the prisoners let him know the name of the guy who burnt the UFSIN officer’s car.

*Sobinform*

## **March of the northerners**

### *The comment*

Despite all the preceding fuss, the march the right-wing and left-wing, of the ultra and moderate nationalists, the fighters of the “southern menace” has taken place in Moscow. All the appeals on the part of the human rights advocates addressed to the Mayor’s Office, as well as to the Procuracy General of the Russian Federation remained unheeded, and it just could not be otherwise. The Prefecture of the Central Administrative Okrug, which normally forbids the pickets in defence of animals, and the natural desire to bring a violin to a place of the picketing, the same Prefecture says O.K. to the march of the domestic chauvinists. Hundreds of fascist thugs, together with the aged orthodox monarchic radicals, will march along the central streets of the Russian capital city. The “Movement Against the Illegal Immigration” (<http://www.dpni.org/>) and other “Eurasians” (<http://www.rossia3.ru/>), freely and unrestricted, demanded that the “occupants” should be removed from Moscow. This march is dedicated to the centennial anniversary (18 (31) October, 1905) of the first appearance of the so-called “black hundred” on the Russian political stage.

Once again we have received the confirmation of the conclusions made years ago by the great Russian philosophers Vladimir Solovyev and Nikolai Berdyaev that there cannot be any “good” nationalism just like there cannot be any “good” egotism. Once again there has been confirmed the “lemma” of the historian Alexander Yanov about the inevitable, impetuous, and violent degradation of the most “educated” nationalism towards the lowest level of the cannibal-like style of nationalism. Last year, the current authorities of the KGB origin decided to replace the “birthday” of their easily lost red empire with the “white” day of birth of the Russian autocracy (tainted with the topical anti-Polish atmosphere), while the Black-Hundred masses have understood the hint well enough, and, straining every nerve with a pride in their own lily-whiteness, they have decided to scare, as they put it in their statement, “the districts of the compact residence of the southerners”, that is the Tverskaya and Maroseyka Streets.

And you see, probably, one – and unarmed – platoon from the “Yarmuk” would be enough to transform this proud formation of marchers into a panic-stricken fleeing crowd.

*Yevgheny Ikhlov*  
*Information Agency “For Human Rights”*

## **Was it the same Barayev at the Dubrovka Theatre, who was presented to the public as Mavsar Barayev?**

When being held under guard in the investigative isolator No. 1 “Matrosskaya Tishina” (in 2004) I met several times a person named Labazanov, who introduced himself as a former security guard of the now late president of the Chechen Republic Akhmad Kadyrov. He told me that in the “Nord-Ost” events there participated not Mavsar Barayev, as was officially announced, but his nephew.

Mr. Labazanov said that he had known well Mavsar Barayev and his relatives, who used to live in the village of Yermolovka near the city of Grozny. Mr. Yastrzhemsky, the aid of the Russian President, was Mavsar Barayev’s friend. Judging by the movements in the house of the Barayevs, the inhabitants of the Yermolovka could tell when the so-called “cleaning operations” were to be carried out by the special forces. If the Barayevs started to get ready for leaving and eventually left the village, all the other residents followed suit. And soon after their departure the “cleanings” really began to take place in the village.

According to Mr. Labazanov, Mavsar Barayev was killed in 2001 by the FSB colonel of the Chechen origin (he has named the man; however, I am not going to announce his name at this moment). Anyway, approximately in one year, the colonel himself was killed.

Mr. Labazanov had an apartment in one of the houses in the Kutuzov Avenue, in the so-called “Chechen house”, where he repeatedly saw (until the year of 2001) how a car with a license plate of the Administration of the President of Russia came to take Mavsar Barayev.

Besides this, Mr. Labazanov stated that a number of persons, who found themselves at the Dubrovka Theatre among the terrorists, 3 or 4 months prior to the events in Moscow, were collected in Chechnya and in the refugee camps in Ingushetya by the automobile vehicles like those used by the GRU (Main Intelligence Department) and FSB officers. He said that such vehicles are provided for the GRU and FSB units in Chechnya in the first place, and people know whom these special vehicles belong to. Mr. Labazanov asked me to find the list of the terrorists who were taking part in the events at the Dubrovka Theatre, promising to indicate, who of these persons and where exactly were collected in Chechnya and Ingushetya prior to the terrorist act in Moscow by the special vehicles used by the GRU and FSB officers of the Russian Federation.

Mr. Labazanov looked for an opportunity to meet Anna Stepanovna Politkovskaya, the correspondent of the newspaper *NOVAYA GAZETA*, wishing to tell her a lot about the brutal murders in Chechnya. However, the relatives of Mr. Labazanov and his lawyer advised him “to keep silent for a while”, fearing for the safety of his life.

The more detailed records of the evidence provided by Mr. Labazanov are kept in a safe place in Moscow, and I am going to publish these records if such a need may occur.

I should like to point out to the fact that Mr. Labazanov was arrested before the act of assassination of Akhmad Kadyrov in Chechnya, the cause for his arrest being the fact that in his Moscow apartment in the Kutuzov Avenue there were discovered the fake US dollars. Mr. Labazanov categorically denied his being related in any way to these dollars and he declared this stuff had been deliberately and stealthily placed in his apartment. According to him, as well as to many of his inmates, in the investigative isolator “Matrosskaya Tishina”, Mr. Labazanov was subjected to humiliation and victimization, and he was afraid that he would not be able to stay alive until his release from that place, and, therefore, he asked me to tell at least part of the true story about the “Nord-Ost” events.

I had no intention to write down everything that Mr. Labazanov told me, because I just wanted to find for him the right person, who was more keen on the “Nord-Ost” topic than myself and could set forth his evidence in a more professional, objective and competent way.

I hope that the people, who are interested in the investigation of all the circumstances of the bloody “Nord-Ost” tragedy will verify and assess this thesis-like information and will eventually meet Mr. Labazanov himself as an original source of this information.

I have made this information known to the general public in accordance with the will and personal request of Mr. Labazanov himself.

*Mikhail Trepashkin*  
*23 October, 2005*  
*City of Nizhni Taghil*

### **The “well-wishers”**

The “well-wishers” warn some of the convicts that they should not communicate with me, since quite soon I am bound to be “blipped off” anyway, and together with me those who mix with me may be also eliminated.

I know about this conspiracy from the two fellow convicts. For instance, the convict Dmitry Rozhin, the resident of the city of Ekaterinburg, who has acquaintances among the top officers of the Main Department of the Federal Service for Execution of Punishments (GU FSIN) for the Sverdlovsk Oblast (Tkachev, Magherramov etc.), more than once let me know about these well-wishing messages from the chiefs of the GU FSIN meant to warn me against any disagreeable surprises.

Recently, another convict Aidyn Ismailov, who used to serve in the city of Lesnoi of the Sverdlovsk Oblast, told me a similar story. The similar warning, like the one told to Dmitry Rozhin, was shared with Mr. Ismailov by the familiar officers of the Federal Security Bureau (FSB) of the Russian Federation, supervising the military unit in the city of Lesnoi.

Since, on the whole, my relations with the convicts are good, they have established a kind of their own security service in order to learn beforehand about the possible threats to my life and, consequently, to arrange my protection. I should say frankly that I have a hundred times more trust in these guys, who are the former employees of the law-enforcement bodies, the police detectives convicted arbitrarily to long terms in prison, than I do in the employees of the administration of the penitentiary institution IK-13, whose duty is to ensure the safety of the convicts.

*Mikhail Trepashkin  
25 October, 2005  
City of Nizhni Taghil*

As it has been recently reported to us, Mikhail Trepashkin is currently in the cell of the penal isolator (ShIZO) under the medicine dropper. Unfortunately, we have no news about the reasons behind his having been put in the cell of the penal isolator, as well as about the state of his health.

*Information Agency "For Human Rights"*

**Those guilty of the criminal negligence which has resulted in death of over a hundred of people trapped by the terrorists at the Dubrovka Theatre should be held responsible under the law**

The All-Russian Movement "For Human Rights" has issued a statement in connection with the publication of the information to the effect that the leaders of the antiterrorist action headquarters established in order to handle the events at the Dubrovka Theatre have concealed from the medical staff involved in the events the information on the gas used by the special forces in the course of the hostage rescue operation. This fact is regarded as still another proof of the criminal negligence on the part of the special services and those top officers, who were in charge of the operation. In this statement, the attention of the Procuracy of Moscow is drawn towards the necessity of taking into account the new facts within the framework of investigation of the criminal case relating to the events of 23-26 October, 2002.

Below is the complete text of the appeal:

"On 31 October, the mass media reported that in his speech at the All-Russian Congress of Ambulance Doctors, S.F. Goncharov, the Director of the All-Russian Centre of Medicine of Accidents "Zaschita", confirmed that "the medical staff learned about the application of gas, which was dangerous to the state of health of the hostages, during the storming by the special forces of the Dubrovka Theatre in Moscow seized by the terrorists, only at the moment when the first freed hostages were carried out of the theatre building... The doctors, including those from the All-Russian Center "Zaschita" "did not know that during the storming operation the certain special substances" were used. It should be reminded that earlier, in 2003, the Head of the Department of the FSB for the city of Moscow and for the Moscow Oblast Mr. Zakharov in reply to the inquiry made by the All-Russian Nongovernmental Movement "For Human Rights" officially stated the fact of application on 26 October, 2002 of the gas prepared based on the narcotic substance named "fentanil", while in March of 2004 the Deputy Head of the All-Russia Centre of Medicine of Accidents (its division "Zaschita") B.V. Grebenuka gave a more complete name of the narcotic substance

used for making the gas applied in the course of the rescue operation. The name of the substance is “trimetilfentanil”.

The All-Russian Nongovernmental Movement “For Human Rights” is of the opinion that this specific information once again confirms that on 26 October, 2002, the leaders of the antiterrorist headquarters manifested, at least, their criminal negligence by having failed to ensure all the necessary measures for rescuing the trapped hostages. As a matter of fact, at the Dubrovka Theatre, during the special operation, they have tested directly on the people the strong chemical substance, which is dangerous to human life.

Therefore, the statement made by the Russian President Vladimir Putin regarding the “harmless” nature of the applied gas should be considered as untrue to the real state of affairs.

Therefore, the hostages, human rights advocates and the members of the Union of the Right-Wing Forces Party were absolutely right in demanding, during the period of two years already, to call to account the leaders of the antiterrorist headquarters, including, those who were responsible for the organization of the medical aid and whose lack of professionalism resulted in death of many hostages numbering from 120 to 170 dead, while the state of health of another several hundreds was very seriously damaged. The impunity of those guilty of application of gas during the storming operation in Moscow has opened a gate to application of heavy armaments and flame throwers in the town of Beslan.

Since the investigation of the “Nord-Ost” events has been prolonged until 19 December, 2005, we request that the Procuracy of the City of Moscow should take into account the facts provided by the All-Russian Centre of Medicine of Accidents “Zaschita” and again consider the issue of the responsibility of the officials.

*Lev Ponomaryev,  
Executive Director of the All-Russian Nongovernmental Movement  
“For Human Rights”*

### **On the numerous and rough infringements on the human rights in Kabardino-Balkariya**

*To E.A. Pamfilova,  
the Chairwoman of the Council for  
Promotion of Development of the Institutes of  
Civil Society and Human Rights*

Dear Ella Alexandrovna:

According to the information received by the All-Russian Nongovernmental Movement “For Human Rights” from the human rights advocates and from its own experts, as well as from the mass media, at the moment all over the territory of Kabardino-Balkariya there take place the reprisals carried out under the pretext of a large-scale operation aimed at the search for the participants of the armed attacks on the objects in the city of Nalchik.

According to the information received from the reliable sources, at the moment there take place the house-to-house arrests and even kidnappings (detention without registration). The detained people are subjected to battery and tortures, aiming at making them to confess and, actually, to belie themselves. The current interrogations are carried out on the premises of Division 6 of the Security Department of the city of Nalchik. Near this ominous building, the relatives and lawyers of the detained people stand day and night, trying, although to no avail, to receive any information on the destiny of those kept inside the building. There comes the information about the traces of battery and other injuries on the faces and bodies of the detained people from the doctors of the ambulances.

The description of the events currently occurring in the city of Nalchik makes up a very unattractive picture. For instance, only after a whole day of victimization and mockery there was let out from the above-mentioned Division 6 Ramazan Tembotov, the deputy of the body of local self-government of the suburb Khasanya, the member of the party "United Russia", who was detained on 23 October. On that day, the special police forces detained him without any explanations and brought him to the building of Division 6 of the Security Department of the city of Nalchik. The man had just time enough to make a telephone call reaching some of his acquaintances from among the employees of FSB, and now he believes that this call has actually saved him, states GAZETA GZT.ru. "The people, with their faces covered by masks, attacked me, kicked me down, my face to the ground, they treated me like a criminal using a mean, base language with lots of f-words. It is really a shame for me, since, you see, being a deputy of the local self-government body, I am supposed to defend the interests of the people, everyone in the village knows me", – said Ramazan Tembotov. "Unlike the other detained people, they did not beat me, but they took me to the basement in that building and showed me how they treated the others: the people were tortured like at the time of the Hitlerite secret police", - continued his story Ramazan Tembotov. – There are actually neither the lawyers, nor the interrogations as such, they just beat you to death, until a person chooses to "confess" rather than to die, and he will also point to the other would-be offenders... – The former detainee of the Guantanamo prison, the disabled person Kudayev has already "confessed" ... At the police station, they tortured the local imam, beating a "confession" out of him regarding the attack on Nalchik".

It is necessary to note that today the world-wide human rights protection organization the "Amnesty International" issued the statement saying that "it is concerned with the news of the former detainee of the Guantanamo prison Rasul Kudayev being detained since 25 October in the city of Nalchik, where he has been subjected to severe beating and tortures, and, despite the deterioration of his state of health, the authorities do not let him take the needed medicines. According to the recently received information, the employees of the Security Department of the city of Nalchik made him confess to his participation in the attack on the city of Nalchik on 13 October. As was reported earlier, the local authorities refused to issue a passport in the name of Rasul Kudayev, which fact did not allow him to receive the duly medical aid and has eventually resulted in the serious problems related to the state of his health. At this particular moment, nothing is known about the whereabouts of Rasul Kudayev. There are serious fears with regard to his further destiny, his state of health and the possible resumption of tortures". In this connection the "Amnesty International" has issued the appeal for the urgent help addressed to the international public requesting the human rights advocates all over the world to respond to the existing concern with the destiny Rasul Kudayev. The participants of the network of the actions for the urgent help of the "Amnesty International", comprising the numerous activists in more than 70 countries, are sending their appeals in the name of the procurator of Kabardino-Balkariya Yuri Ketov, of the Procurator General of the Russian Federation Vladimir Ustinov and the Minister of the Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation Rashid Nurgaliyev, expressing concern with the possible application of tortures to Rasul Kudayev and the refusal by the authorities to give him the necessary medical aid.

According to the information received from Ramazan Tembotov, to this day the number of the arrested people is not less than 2000, which is also the number of the applications from the mothers of the arrested men sent to the procuracy of this republic. These applications are not considered by anyone, thinks Ramazan Tembotov. The arrests are made in accordance with the so-called lists. In the opinion of the Ramazan Tembotov, these list include both the "vakhabits" and those who just visited the mosques, and also those who were once marked by the law enforcement bodies on different occasions. Among those arrested are also the so-called Moslem "otkazniks", that is the Moslems who, because of the pressure exerted on them over their religious beliefs, refuse to live in their own country asking for a political asylum abroad).

It is known for a fact that during this year about 1000 Moslems of Kabardino-Balkariya addressed to the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin with the request to allow them to go abroad. In September 2005, around 400 Moslems in their appeal to the world community asked to grant them a political asylum in any country of the world, accusing the bodies of the state power of this republic of exerting a long-lasting pressure on them. Today, approximately 600 of these “otkazniks”, according to Ramazan Tembotov and to the local human rights advocates, are to be found among those arrested. In the opinion of Ramazan Tembotov, the law enforcement bodies are especially irritated by anything, which is related in any way to the Islam. “When the fasting period was already over, and at around nine o’clock in the evening I asked for some water, they promised me in reply that I will soon drink the blood of my Moslem friends instead of water”, said Tembotov. “The employee of the Security Department Mukhzhoyev threw my party and deputy certificates and he sneered openly, with mockery, using the cursing language, when I promised to him that everything what they did and said here will eventually reach the ears of Mr. Nurgaliyev, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation”. To this day, Ramazan Tembotov knows absolutely nothing about the whereabouts of the residents of his native village Khasanya: Rasul Nogherov, Zeitun Sultanov, Zeitun Gayev, Tsuras Etezov, Rasul Khalaikhanov, Anatoliy Gazhonov, who were also arrested on Sunday. Ramazan Tembotov knows well Rasul Kudayev, the most famous resident of Khasanya, now a disabled person, the former prisoner of the US detention camp in Guantanamo, as well as his family. The man was also detained on Sunday, and later he was sent to the investigative isolator. The law enforcement bodies refused to give any information on the destiny of Rasul Kudayev, while the man’s brother and mother managed to find out that he is currently held in the investigative isolator and that he has been accused of making an attack on a road police post in the village of Khasanya.

Ramazan Tembotov is sure that this version of the investigation cannot have the legal confirmation. “The neighbours and the relatives saw him, we all visit each other, there is a shop near his house. They probably think that Rasul is like that flying creature batman: now he is in his house, now he flies over to the road police post to do some shooting there, and in a moment he is back home, behaving himself as if nothing really happened”, said Ramazan Tembotov. It is known that they have arrested Rasul Kudayev based on the tip received from the trust telephone caller. Rasul’s mother is not allowed to hand over the medicines to her son. Ramazan Tembotov thinks that the local law enforcement bodies are convinced of their own impunity, while they are in a hurry to use this opportunity for the purpose of apple-polishing their bosses and through the application of such barbarian methods they want “to improve the crime exposure statistics”.

In the republic, the human rights advocates raise the alarm with regard to the numerous arrests and tortures at the local police stations. Based on the results of polls carried out in the city of Nalchik involving the witnesses of the events of 13 and 14 October, the human rights organization “Memorial” has come to a conclusion that the main reason behind these events in Nalchik were the police-related abuse of discretion and impunity. Recently, the police units of Kabardino-Balkariya conducted a large scale “preventive operation” accompanied by the numerous infringements on the human rights, including such as illegal detentions, battery, tortures, states the “Memorial”. In the opinion of the experts of this human rights centre, “the struggle with the vakhabism has been actually transformed into the prosecution of the Moslems in general”. “The police in Kabardino-Balkariya has become an odious institute not only for the extremists, not only for the local Moslems, but also for a considerable part of the republic’s population”, it is stated in the message of the “Memorial”.

The police of the neighbouring republic Adygheya subjected to tortures both imam and the mosquegoers in the city of Maikop making the detained people “confess” to their being related to the events in Nalchik. Following the events in Nalchik, within the framework of the operation aimed at disclosure of the “extremist clandestine organisations”, right after the night namaz, the employees of the Security Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the

republic of Adygheya arrested a group of six Moslems at the moment when these people were leaving the cathedral mosque in the city of Maikop.

The Internet site Ingushetiya.ru informs that among the suspected “undergrounders” there were the employees of the Islam Management Department, which is responsible for the Moslems of the republic of Adygheya and of the Krasnodar Kray, including the imam of the cathedral mosque Ruslan Khakirov and his deputy Asker Bogus. Jointly with them there was also arrested Mr. Ristov, the well known sambo wrestler, the member of the republican team.

The detained were brought to the republican Security Department, where they were kept all night, subjected to tortures, which were applied to them for the purpose of making them “confess” to their involvement in the extremist criminal activities. The detained people were stripped to the buff and beaten and, thus, subjected to humiliation. The main charge brought against the Moslems seized in the mosque was actually limited to their observing the Moslem norms of hygiene and permitting themselves to be heavy-bearded. In the morning, the police officers filed “the protocols of administrative detention” in respect of the detained men on the pretext that these people allegedly committed the hooligan actions against the police. Next morning, the Adygheya Moslems (jointly with the two young Chechen students detained that same evening) were brought to the building of the court in the city of Maikop. During the court hearing the judge Ruslan Matyzhev established the absence in the actions of the arrested men of the corpus delicti regarding the administrative offence. Now, the former “offenders” try to lodge a complaint in the local procuracy. They all underwent the medical examination, which confirmed the fact of the battery that they were subjected to. Under the circumstances, it would be hardly possible to write off everything that happened to these people just making reference to the usual acts of outrage made by the police arbitrarily. It should be noted that the police officers, who arrested the Moslems and subjected them to battery and tortures, frankly said that they had carried out this operation following the direct instructions, which had come right from the top “in connection with the events in Nalchik”.

Simultaneously, we consider it very important to pay attention to the dramatic situation, which has formed around the so-called “issue of the refusal by the authorities to hand over the bodies of the killed men to their relatives for the burial purpose”. The procuracy refuses to give for the burial purpose the dead bodies of those considered as terrorists. At the same time, the specific guilt of the involvement in the armed attack on the objects in the city of Nalchik of the majority those, whose bodies are currently dumped in heaps, has not been proved and cannot be proved at all. At this stage, the whole picture looks already like the action of the intimidation, like the collective punishment of the relatives of the killed, whose religious and ethical feelings are thus severely offended. Moreover, it also appears that everyone, whose body has not been yet given over to the relatives, is actually recognized as being guilty of the terrorist activities.

We are convinced that in this case there takes place the roughest infringement on the constitutional and international and legal norms, which require that the religious feelings of the relatives of the killed should be respected. The fundamental principle of justice, which is the presumption of innocence, has been actually violated in this case, since any doubt should be interpreted in favour of the defense. Therefore, since there are no direct proofs of these people’s being guilty of having committed the crime specified as the terrorism, all the dead, - and it should be noted that many of them are not even the figurants of a criminal case, - should be immediately handed over to their relatives, who, under the existing legislation, are entitled to protect the rights and the honour of the deceased.

As a matter of fact, the refusal by the authorities to hand over the bodies of the killed people, who are suspected of terrorism, for the purpose of burial is the violation of another fundamental principle of justice, which reads that nobody may be found guilty outside the court proceedings. The terrorism under the Russian legislation is a specific criminal offence, but it is not a mere declaration of a charge. The sanctions applied to a person found guilty of this criminal offence (including the deprivation of the right to be buried by his relatives in

conformity with the religion professed by him), may be imposed only after the court sentence in respect of him comes into legal force. If otherwise, like in this particular case, then we have an obvious out-of-court reprisal.

Taking account of the above, we are convinced that all the bodies of the killed in the city of Nalchik, including the genuine rebels, who, without doubt, participated in the attack on the objects in Nalchik, must be immediately handed over to their relatives for the burial purpose. We ask you to do everything in your power in order to stop immediately the current shameful and barbaric - in a true meaning of this word - practice of “punishment” of the dead human bodies. The modern state, which considers itself to be a legal and a democratic one, ought not to sink to the level of taking revenge on the bodies of its enemies, because the obvious and cynical lack of morality deprives those, who claim to be the true defenders of justice, of their righteousness.

We beat the alarm, the reason being that now in the territory of Northern Caucasus the civil rights are actually eliminated. We regard it as a dangerous attempt on the constitutional order of this country. The actions of the law enforcement bodies, which have thrown aside all restraint, actually push the people into the arms of the radicals and thus start a bloody cycle of revenge. A provocative plan for transformation of Kabardino-Balkariya into a new war zone is thereby implemented.

***We ask you to urgently address to the President of the Russian Federation, as well as to the top management of the Procuracy General, Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) and the Federal Security Bureau (FSB) with an appeal to stop the machine of the state terror, which is started now to a full capacity in the Northern Caucasus, to immediately stop the unlawful reprisals, and to give an opportunity to the relatives to bury all the dead bodies.***

Yours faithfully,  
L.A. Ponomaryev,  
the Executive Director  
of the All-Russian Nongovernmental Movement  
“For Human Rights”

### **Mr. Kasyanov washes the orangeade off his face and body**

The Russian ex-Primier Mikhail Kasyanov, on his having left the big politics stage, has changed the strategy and tactics of his struggle for power. While as early as yesterday he used to be a staunch opposition member, today he presents himself as just a constructive opponent to the Kremlin. As far as it can be assumed, Mikhail Kasyanov has started to wear the clothes of a “peace-maker” on the advice of his comrades from the Russian oligarch circle. It seems that the plan “Dodge – 2008”, the presentation of which has been recently made in the city of Samara, has been set agoing. However, this shift of clothes trick is not going to misguide anyone.

<...>

Recently, Mikhail Kasyanov seems to have dramatically changed his political image. His former revolutionary spirit seems to have almost vanished. Just think! The ex-Primier has started to make profound curtseys to please the guys currently in power, speaking now of just small “mistakes” of the authorities and stating that the President, just very recently (after the Yukos affair), has deviated a bit from the correct course, and hinting at the same time that he himself, Mikhail Kasyanov and no other person, is actually the successor of that “former” and “correct” Putin (before the Yukos affair). The statements made by Mikhail Kasyanov in the city of Samara have contributed to the consolidation of his current one hundred eighty degrees political turn.

**Apart from the Editor-in- Chief, nothing is changed in the newspaper “Izvestiya”**

*Under the guidance of the new Editor-in-Chief the oldest newspaper of the country will not turn yellow but it will rather acquire the red brick colour to match the Kremlin wall.*

The oldest national newspaper is currently experiencing the change of its Editor-in-Chief, the third one over the last two years. We would like to remind our readers that Mikhail Kozhokin, who had headed the newspaper for a period of over 5 years, left his post in the autumn of 2003, then the office of the Editor-in-Chief was taken by Raf Shakirov. In one year, on 6 September, 2004, he also left, the reason for his stepping down being the Kremlin’s discontent over the publication of the “too emotional” photos featuring the events in the city of Beslan. Incidentally, this reason has never been denied neither by the shareholders of the “Prof-Media” (by Vladimir Potanin and Vaghit Alekperov) nor by the authorities.

<...>

***Raf Shakirov: The "Izvestiya" will be transformed into the "Pravda"-like newspaper***

The predecessor of Mr. Borodin, who has been recently dismissed from the position of the Editor-in-Chief, thinks the man had to step down for political reasons.

*“What did you feel when you learned about the resignation of your successor?”*

“To tell the truth, I congratulated him on the excellent work. Lately, the newspaper has reached the European level: it is published in colours, it has new headings, now it has a Friday supplement, it has also a Monday “New York Times” inset... But if the Editor-in-Chief is dismissed like this, that is not for his professional activity (which is all right), it means that the Editor-in-Chief was just doing his work well and he was dismissed for the right things he should not be ashamed of. It goes without saying that the team, which was responsible for the business aspects in the newspaper “Izvestiya”, could certainly be more successful, however, the issues of distribution, circulation, advertising were not the issues, for which Mr Borodin was responsible, these issues were separated from him.

However, quite a number of the publications of the newspaper “Izvestiya”, was, to put it mildly, out of its general line. Remember, the TV cast featuring the President talking live to the people of Russia, and how they complained of the absence of water in one village, which fact actually led to postponement of approval of the local governor by the President. As was reported by the television channels, the governor in question did his best to provide the water supply for the villagers, and resulting from this good deed he was eventually approved by the President. This is the story reported by the TV channels. As for the newspaper “Izvestiya”, it reported a different story. Some time later, after the approval of the governor, the “Izvestiya” learned that those villagers, despite the governor’s report, still had no water supply. Moreover, as for the holiday of the national unity, the “Izvestiya” displeased its bosses a great deal. While the television channels were full of joyful praises, the attitude of the newspaper “Izvestiya” towards this new national holiday was more than skeptical. And, consequently, the relevant reaction of the Kremlin was extremely negative. In the Soviet times, this was referred to as a “failure to stay the course”. Actually, there are lots of such examples. For instance, the way the newspaper “Izvestiya” featured the Yukos case.

It so happened historically that the newspaper “Izvestiya” is the newspaper number one in the country and, unfortunately, it is the hostage of this specific situation. As in the Soviet times, the General Secretary should not be surprised by the publications he sees on the front page of the newspaper “Pravda”. It seems we are currently heading towards this end.

### **The opposition develops the whipcord muscles**

*The Chairman of the Moscow Regional Branch of "Yabloko" Party Serghei Mitrokhin has denied the statements, which have recently appeared in the mass media, that the "Yabloko" Party can merge with the National Bolshevik Party.*

Nothing of the kind: "We cannot, in any form, cooperate with a party, whose name and symbols relate to the national bolsheviks, because the Nazis and bolsheviks are the two largest evils of the XX century", said Mr. Mitrokhin. According to him, the recent occurrence of such conjectures is actually "the black PR stuff, which becomes more and more inessential from year to year".

Meanwhile the newspaper "Komsomolskaya Pravda", which analyzed the activities of both political structures, has come to a conclusion that certain preconditions for such a union really exist. On the one hand, the members of the National Bolshevik Party can improve their political image due to their relationship and cooperation with the members of the "Yabloko" Party, while, on the other hand, the "Yabloko" Party, which needs badly some revolutionary colouring, can use its relationship with the National Bolshevik Party for the purpose.

The ordinary members of the National Bolshevik Party are also of the opinion that the alliance of some kind with the democrats can help the NBP to become legalized, and this is the reason why the regional branches of the NBP willingly support the meetings and other activities organized by the "Yabloko" Party and the Union of the Right-Wing Forces (SPS) in the regions. There is even an opinion that this friendship is actively sponsored by Leonid Nevzlin.

Despite the objections of the "Yabloko" Party, the similarity of its values and those of the NBP can be really seen. Once again, this could be observed during the recent campaign of the national bolsheviks in the reception room of the Council of Federation and the State Duma (at first, this activity by the national bolsheviks was characterized by the information agencies as the "seizure"; however, later it turned out that there was no seizure and that the national bolsheviks acted very quietly and very correctly, they just came in and tried to hand over their requests to the officials). Incidentally, the petitions of the national bolsheviks often contain the statements, which frequently sound very much like those made by the "Yabloko" Party. Vladimir Putin is accused of crimes against Russia and its citizens, including such as the "falsification of the election results", the "deprivation of the citizens of Russia of their rights to vote" by cancellation of the governor elections, the "robbery of the elderly people of Russia by way of compensation of their real privileges by payment of inadequate amounts of money" etc.

It goes without saying that the above-mentioned action carried out by the national bolsheviks has failed to remain unpunished. While in the above-mentioned reception room, the national bolsheviks managed to escape the beating, and their punishment was limited to preventive conversation at the police station, the actual reason being not the accusations of President Vladimir Putin, but their demand to release 39 comrades arrested for the seizure of the reception room in the building of the President's administration. That very evening, however, the national bolsheviks were subjected to the severe battery by the "unknown group of young people".

Alexander Averin, the press secretary of the National Bolshevik Party, informed the listeners of the radio station "Ekho Moskvyy" about this beating of the active members of the NBP. He said that among the attackers there were the people, who at the beginning of the year

participated in the attack on the headquarters of the National Bolshevik Party. “We think that in all probability the attackers belonged to the Movement “Nashi”, said Alexander Averin, having expressed his confidence that the incident was directly related to that day’s action.

The police, which came to a place of the incident, first detained some of the attackers. However, soon they were released. During the identification procedure at the police station, three of the detained young people said to the policemen that they were members of the National Bolshevik Party headed by Eduard Limonov.

In this context, it becomes clear that to be friends with the national bolsheviks – no matter how similar the ideals and values could be – is a rather risky affair. And not so much for one’s reputation, but mainly for the state of one’s health. In all probability, in the nearest future we will have to defend our political convictions, having in our hands at least a baseball bat. By the way, these very prospects were stated by Mr. Zuganov at the Congress of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. On having noted that the cases of physical violence with regard to the party activists increased in number and became rather frequent, he called upon the party members to establish the groups of self-defense. “For the purpose of reprisals the authorities used the groups of modern storm-troopers under the name of either “skinheads” or “nashi”. The organization of “black hundreds” and the beginning of reprisals carried out by these cut-throats is a clear manifestation of the forthcoming revolutionary situation”, said Gennady Zuganov in his speech at the Communist Party Congress. “However, if the similar events persist, then we will have the right to begin the formation of the groups of self-defense. I presume that among the communists there are many comrades who are skillful enough in a hand-to-hand fight”.

However, the very fact that the refined “Yabloko” Party is not in a hurry to join the club of fighters that the National Bolshevik Party belongs to, is certainly encouraging to some extent. It is when Mr. Yavlinsky ripens enough to be willing to use the methods of a hand-to-hand fight instead of the verbal arguments that it will be possible to say with confidence: “Here we are!”

*Arseniy Palkin*  
*Utro.ru*

### **The doomed elections**

*An extract from the Statement of the Regional Public Movement of the Chechen Committee for National Slavation in connection with the forthcoming (27 November, 2005) parliamentary elections in Chechnya.*

Each time, when the date of the forthcoming referendum and elections is announced, it becomes clear that it is just the next attempt by the authorities to distract the attention of the Russian and international public from a true situation in the Chechen Republic. Over the last six years, using the far-fetched pretext of struggle with the terrorism, the Russian military continues to exercise violence with regard to the civilian population of the republic, including the defenseless old men, women and children. Actually, over the period of these six years, the republic looks more like a concentration camp than a normal and free country. In the territory of this concentration camp, limiting the conditional liberty of the local residents, the Russian soldiers, drunk as a tinker, ride their armoured fighting vehicles hitting both cars and people and avoiding any punishment for their criminal deeds. Resulting from the military crimes committed by the representatives of the Russian armed forces thousands of people are killed, wounded, maimed, as well as illegally detained in prisons or missing.

It is immoral and blasphemous to speak about the democratic elections to the Chechen parliament against the background of continued practices of the state terrorism and genocide against the Chechen people in the form of the daily artillery and air bombardments, continued murders and kidnappings, violations of the rights and freedoms of citizens,

Moreover, there is no doubt that the results of these elections will be falsified, this time too. Similar falsification has occurred more than once already: at the time of the elections of the member of the State Duma; at the time of the elections of both the President of Russia and the President of Chechnya, and during the referendum on the Constitution of the Chechen Republic and the draft laws of the ChR on the elections of the President and Parliament of the Chechen Republic .

... The political parties participating in the parliamentary elections do more harm than good to the population of Chechnya. They do not only deceive the people and decoy them, - the deceived and intimidated people, - to the ballot boxes, but they also justify murders and complete disappearance of tens of thousands of their fellow citizens, and thus they give carte blanche to the Russian authorities for continuation of the genocide policy with respect to the Chechen people.

... However, the facts are stubborn things, and they speak clearly that the structure of the parliament in Chechnya is already known to the Kremlin, even before the elections have taken place. The elections scenario is already written and the one who has written it will not brook any deviations from the original scenario. The vivid example of this is the so-called republican party, one of whose leaders is Vladimir Ryzhkov, the independent deputy of the State Duma, who has refused to continue the struggle, after his party has been denied the registration for the elections to the parliament of Chechnya. Mr. Ryzhkov explains it by the fact that their party has taken a totally independent stand in these elections, not discussing, like the other parties did, the list of its candidates with the current Kremlin authorities. While Irina Khakamada, the leader of the party "Our Choice", has declared that the authorities both in the Kremlin and in Chechnya do not want to let the opposition parties work with the society, because they are afraid of the opposition. Now the following question comes up: how could it possibly happen that such political heavyweights, the tested fighters of the pre-election battles have failed to understand that the results of these elections are actually predetermined, that in these elections all the issues are decided by those in power, who are preoccupied solely with serving their own interests, and, therefore, in these elections, there is no place for such guys as Mr. Ryzhkov and Mrs. Khakamada, as well as for the guys from the Union of the Right-Wing Forces and from the "Yabloko" Party, which deem themselves the parties of the democratic tack.

It is my firm belief that both the referendum and elections, which are carried at the point of bayonet in the environment of the officially not proclaimed martial law and the state of emergency, will not result in the long-awaited peace and in termination of the currently waged war thus benefiting the Chechen land. There is no doubt that the dialogue of the Kremlin with the leaders of Resistance forces is really needed. The number of these forces, according to the data of the Russian party, ranges from 800 to 1500 thousand people. Such a step on the part of the Russian authorities will trigger the start of the valid political process capable of settling the situation in Chechnya.

The forthcoming parliamentary elections are the last action of the Kremlin, after which the current quota of the people's trust in the Kremlin authorities will be exhausted, while the policy pursued hitherto in Chechnya, as the time shows, will be finally recognized as being an absolute failure. Willy-nilly the Kremlin will have to search for the new ways, which are able to dramatically change the situation in Chechnya. It seems that, here, the various festivals of the rock and pop music (which are deemed to be able to consolidate the Chechen society, but in reality are used by their organizers as still another tool for the money laundering), will be actually of no avail. One should not hold a feast during a plague time, the merry-making on the bones of the killed and disabled children, whose total number is more than forty thousand, just according to the incomplete data. It would be much more expedient to use this money for the purpose of purchasing the wheelchairs for the disabled children, the needed medicines for the purpose of their treatment and making expensive operations, as well as for supporting the orphans, etc.

By the way, I think immoral not only the issue of participation of the Russian military, deployed in the Chechen Republic, in the forthcoming parliamentary elections, but also the very fact of their voting. At this particular moment of the Chechnya's history, not a single Russian soldier should decide the destiny of the Chechen people, because, in the first place, he has absolutely no right to do that: neither the moral right, nor the human one. How could it be possible to trust the destiny of the Chechen people to those who put the Chechens to fire and sword, killing tens and hundreds of civilians on a daily basis, burning out the whole villages, kidnapping the people for the purpose of receiving the ransom money.

... Under the present circumstances, only the honest and fair elections, like those held in the territory of the Chechen Republic on 27 January 1997, are able to restore peace in the Chechnya. At that time, the independent observers from various countries representing over eighty international organizations, as well as representatives of the Western Europe, the Baltic states, and the Transcaucasia were witnesses to the genuinely free national will expressed by the Chechens in these elections.

It is certainly very significant that the elections of the President and Parliament of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeriya, held on 27 January, 1997, were conducted with the consent of Russia. They were held under the aegis of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and their results were recognized not only by the international community, but also by the authorities of the Russian Federation. It is the elections, which are in line with the code of democratic procedures of the Council of Europe, that are able to consolidate the society and to make a real step towards the achievement of peace and harmony not only in the Chechen Republic, but also in the whole of the Russian Federation. As far as our prognosis is concerned, it is its Majesty the time that will show whether it is correct or not.

*Ruslan Badalov,  
Chairman of the Regional Public Movement of the  
Chechen Committee for National Salvation  
7 November, 2005.  
City of Nazran, Republic of Ingushetiya*

### **The outcry of mothers in Nalchik**

In Nalchik, the collection of signatures under the appeal to the Procurator General of the Russian Federation V.V. Ustinov, to the Procurator of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria Yu.M. Ketov, to the Head of the Investigation Group of the Procuracy General of the RF A.Yu. Sovrunin, to the President of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria A.B. Kanokov by the relatives of those who have lost their lives resulting from the events of 13 October, 2005, is under way. The appeal contains the following demands:

1. To hand over the bodies of our sons for the purpose of burial in accordance with the Islam religion procedure.
2. To investigate and to establish the true reason for their death.
3. To bring to justice Khachim Shoghenov, Anatoly Kyarov, Beslan Mukhozhev and other persons guilty, under the existing legislation, of the infringement on the rights of believers and of discrimination along the religious lines under Articles 136, 148, 282 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (CC RF), as well as of causing both the physical and moral injuries and murder of our sons.
4. To stop mass reprisals with regard to the remaining Moslems.
5. To return the mosques to the Moslems.

The Information Agency "For Human Rights" gives below the full text of the appeal.

*To the Procurator General of the Russian Federation V.V. Ustinov,  
to the Procurator of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria Yu.M. Ketov,  
to the Head of the Investigation Group  
of the Procuracy General of the RF A.Yu. Sovrunin,  
to the President of the Republican of Kabardino-Balkaria A.B. Kanokov  
From the mothers and relatives of those who have lost their lives resulting from the  
events of 13 October, 2005, in the city of Nalchik*

### **Application**

Article 28 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation gives every person the right to profess any religion, not fearing the persecutions on the part of the state. Why have our sons been forbidden to have collective prayers? Why have they been deprived of their mosques? Their souls were pure, they were sincere and unselfish in their beliefs meaning no harm to anyone. The true crimes are committed by those who make up the lists of the “vakhabits” and stage the persecutions of innocent people over their religious beliefs, who arrest the people and bring them to the basement of the Security Department building, where they are subjected to the battery, tortures, and even murder. These actions were sanctioned by three persons, who are Khachim Shoghenov, Anatoly Kyarov, and Beslan Mukhozhev with the approval of these actions by the Clerical Department of Moslems (DUM) of Kabardino-Balkaria. It is in line with their criminal policies with regard to the Moslem believers opposition that the reprisals were carried out. The masked men holding the submachine guns in their hands rushed at the Moslems right in their mosques driving them out, 50-60 person at a time, and escorted them to the security departments, where the detained people were severely beaten for no reason at all, just for the sake of beating.

In September of 2003, there was a case when at the Police Station No. 3 of the city of Nalchik they subjected to battery the Moslems, who were brought to the police station right from the mosque located in the Alexandrovka area. They placed the believers in front of the wall facing it and beat them all day hitting all parts of their bodies, as well as cut off their beards, and next morning the men were told of their having been detained for 10 days each. The Minister of Internal Affairs V.D. Shoghenov came personally to the Police Station No. 3 and enjoyed this show. The battery was so severe that its traces could be seen 10 days later. Many of those beaten at the police station were examined, they filed the relevant complaints. However, no measures were taken resulting from these complaints.

In the town of Baksan, the policemen have taken 15 Moslem believers from the local mosque. At the police station, the local police chief poured vodka into a glass in a pointed manner and announced: “The one who drinks it will be let out”. On having failed to make the Moslem believers drink the alcohol, the chief ordered to take them all to the yard of the police station, where they were thrown down on the asphalt surface of the yard area and booted by the policemen, who also used their rubber batons for the purpose. Moreover, the policemen cut off the men’s beards and clipped out crosses on the back of their heads.

In May of 2005, there was made an assault on the mosque located near the Kabardino-Balkarian State University in a private house in the Kirov Street, where basically the students prayed. During the obligatory Friday prayer, three buses came up to the mosque and, having interrupted the prayer, the police arrested all 150 believers, together with the owner of the house, and brought them to the Police Station No. 2, where the detained people were searched and interrogated. The interrogators wanted to know how they professed their religion and for how long. Then the police took their fingerprints, while the owner of the house was deprived of her mosque-related documents, which have never been returned to her since then.

Today, the Moslem believers who had nothing to do with the events of October 13, are being detained and subjected to the reprisals. Resulting from these mass cleaning operations the young and healthy men taken to the Security Department, if they are ever released, get out

disabled and sick. Some of them are taken out on a stretcher, while some of them get killed. Now ask yourself a question, whether these people are going to respect the law enforcement bodies after those evil things that have been done to them? The answer is quite obvious.

It is precisely in this way that they treated our sons, too. The answer to a question, why the Moslems decided to bear arms against the law enforcement bodies, is quite obvious. Yes, they are criminals under the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation. This conclusion is valid, if one takes into account only the events of 13 October. But if we return to the period of 10-15 years ago, and especially to a period of 2003, when the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria actually declared a war on us, starting the mass reprisals, then, from the point of view of these specific circumstances, our sons cannot be considered as the criminals, they are the rebels, protecting their rights and freedoms, including the right to life, health, peace, human dignity, and the right to profess their religion. They have tried many times to protect their rights by lawful and peaceful means, which can be proved by numerous materials: the complaints signed by the total of 1500 people; letters of attorney of about 400 persons, lists of the relevant signatures, forensic evidence, replies by the law enforcement bodies in the form of buck slips.

Nobody wanted to hear them. This tragedy could have been prevented and should have been prevented. The events of 13 October have become possible only because of the large scale corruption in the law-enforcement bodies involving also the government structures of Kabardino-Balkaria. We are convinced that it is not just our sons who are guilty of what has happened. Their actions have been provoked, in the first place, by the law enforcement bodies of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria. Our sons have been actually used for the personal, political and commercial purposes by those, whose interests are related to the destabilization of the situation in this republic. Among those interested in such state of affairs, the very first place belongs to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria.

Our sons have been killed for the purpose of having created the “beneficial” ground for the mass discontent of the Moslem believers. Their actions have been provoked, while they themselves have been used as “gun fodder”. The real criminals are at large, enjoying life, sitting back in their armchairs, while our sons are deemed terrorists. We demand that there should be a fair investigation of the relevant events and the real criminals guilty of murdering our sons should be punished.

Taking account of the above-stated, we request:

1. To hand over the bodies of our sons for the purpose of burial in accordance with the Islam religion procedure.
2. To investigate and to establish the true reason for their death.
3. To bring to justice Khachim Shoghenov, Anatoly Kyarov, Beslan Mukhozhev and other persons guilty, under the existing legislation, of the infringement on the rights of believers and of discrimination along the religious lines under Articles 136, 148, 282 of the Criminal Code of the RF, as well as of causing both the physical and moral injuries and murder of our sons.
4. To stop mass reprisals with regard to the remaining Moslems.
5. To return the mosques to the Moslems.

*Signatures of 62 persons  
07.11.2005  
City of Nalchik*

## **The human rights advocates demand that Khachim Shoghenov, the Minister of Internal Affairs of Kabardino-Balkariya, should step down**

The well known human rights advocates of Russia have prepared the appeal, in which they demand that:

- a) Khachim Shoghenov, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkariya, should be immediately dismissed;
- b) the most thorough investigation of the actions of the local police with respect to the religious dissidents should be carried out in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkariya;
- c) those guilty of violation of the human rights, as well as of the existing legislation should be brought to justice in accordance with law, including both the disciplinary and criminal liability.

The appeal has been signed by:

Ludmila Alexeyeva, the Chairman of the Moscow Helsinki Group;

Nina Tagankina, the Executive Director of the Moscow Helsinki Group;

Svetlana Gannushkina, the Committee "Civil Assistance";

Valentin Gefter, the Institute for Human Rights;

Lidiya Grafova, the Forum of Emigrant Organizations;

Lev Ponomaryev, Executive Director of All-Russian Movement "For Human Rights";

Yury Samodurov, Director of Museum and Public Centre named after A.D. Sakharov;

Ernst Cherny, the Secretary of the Public Committee "Protection of Scientists"

Priest Gleb Yakunin, the Public Committee for Freedom of Conscience;

Mark Kuperman, the Human Rights Centre of the Sakhalin Oblast.

The collection of signatures continues .

*The complete text of the appeal is as follows:*

***Khachim Shoghenov, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkariya, should be brought to justice.***

With every passing day more new details are brought into the open about the reprisals in Kabardino-Balkariya, first of all, in the city of Nalchik and in the nearby area. These reprisals are carried out under the colour of struggle with the religious radicals: numerous arrests and kidnappings, tortures with the purpose of obtaining confession.

There grows the number of evidence materials featuring the monstrous humiliations, battery and tortures, which were practised by the law enforcement bodies of the Republic of Kabardin-Balkariya on the plea of the struggle with the vakhbism prior to the tragic events of 13-14 October in the city of Nalchik.

We are convinced that without taking into account these persecutions on the part of the law enforcement bodies of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkariya, it is quite impossible to understand the very roots of what has happened.

The blunt punitive policy pursued by the local authorities provokes new flames of anger and indignation.

We demand that Khachim Shoghenov, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkariya, should immediately resign.

We demand that the most thorough investigation of the actions of the local police with respect to the religious dissidents should be carried out in Kabardino-Balkariya;

We demand that those guilty of violation of the human rights, as well as of the existing legislation should be brought to justice in accordance with law, including both the disciplinary and criminal liability.

The federal authorities should do all they can to restore the respect for law, otherwise there will follow the alienation of citizens from the state, eventually resulting in disintegration of the latter, and this negative process will have no chance to be ever stopped.

*8 November, 2005.*

*Dear friends, if you do not want to receive this newsreel, please inform us*