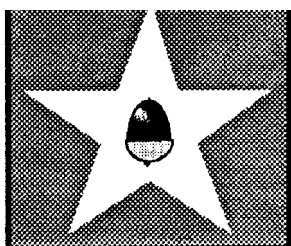


Conflict Studies Research Centre

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Putin's Power Bases

June 2001



E109

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Putin's Power Bases

Dr M A Smith

This paper gives a brief factual overview of Putin's main power bases. By power base is meant either an organ of state power, which performs the role of a formulator and/or implementer of policy, or an element within an organ of state power. The president appoints key figures to these organs as support for him is crucial.

There are three key power bases in the Russian political system. They are:

- The Presidential Administration
- The Security Council
- The Cabinet of Ministers (the government).

The Presidential Administration (AP) and Security Council (SC) have in the past acted very much as organs for the deliberation and formulation of policy, with the cabinet of ministers playing very much an administrative role as an implementer of policy.

To the above power bases one can arguably add the following:

- The Plenipotentiary representatives to the federal districts
- The Yedinstvo political party.

The AP and SC stand out as the two main power bases for Putin. During Sergey Ivanov's secretaryship the SC became increasingly important as a forum for the discussion of policy and for the coordination of policy implementation by the relevant ministries and state committees.

In the main power bases Putin appears to be keen to promote personnel from two main circles.¹ These are, firstly, the St Petersburg circle, and secondly the power structures. Many of the latter also originate from the security structures in St Petersburg. Individuals from these circles have been brought into the presidential administration and the cabinet of ministers. Notable St Petersburgers in the cabinet of ministers are Aleksey Kudrin (minister of finance), German Gref (minister of the economy), deputy prime ministers Ilya Klebanov and Valentina Matviyenko. Boris Gryzlov also has strong links with St Petersburg. To a certain extent the influence of the St Petersburgers in the AP is counterbalanced by Aleksandr Voloshin and in the cabinet of ministers by Prime Minister Mikhail Kasyanov, both men being essentially appointees of the Yel'tsin era.

The Presidential Administration (*Administratsiya Prezidenta*)

This acts as the personal staff of the president, and can be compared to the US President's White House Staff or the personal staff of the French President.² The AP ensures that presidential decisions are carried out. It has several departments which deal with various areas of policy, and these departments "supervise and in some cases duplicate the work of government ministries and committees."³ However the AP often does more than simply oversee the implementation of presidential policy, it often also formulates policy, by drafting presidential decrees. Under Yel'tsin the AP was extremely powerful, particularly when it was headed by Anatoly Chubays.⁴

Its current head is Aleksander Stal'yevich Voloshin, who was appointed by Yel'tsin to his post in March 1999. He has worked in the AP since 1997. Voloshin was reappointed to this position by Putin in May 2000. There was some surprise that Putin did not remove Voloshin and appoint a Putin loyalist to this position. It may have been that Putin did not currently see anyone who would be sufficiently able, and so he therefore decided to stick with Voloshin for the time being.

The AP was reorganised in 2000 and this reduced the AP's power and significance and also that of Voloshin.⁵ In June 2000, Putin signed a directive that redistributed powers among deputy heads of the AP. This resulted in a reduction of Voloshin's power and enhanced that of the first deputy head of the AP, Dmitry Medvedev, who was appointed by Putin to this position on 3 June 2000 (Medvedev had been made a deputy head by Putin when he became acting president in December 1999).

Medvedev deputises for Voloshin when the latter is absent, and he also is responsible for drawing up and implementing Putin's daily schedule. Medvedev is seen as the most likely successor to Voloshin. He is part of Putin's St Petersburg circle. He is in his mid thirties, and was Putin's campaign manager in the 2000 presidential election. He graduated from the law faculty of St Petersburg University in 1990, and worked in the St Petersburg city soviet external affairs committee under Putin from 1991 until the mid-1990s.⁶

In June 2000 the duties of the deputy heads were changed as part of the AP's reorganisation. Dmitry Medvedev assumed responsibility for making and supervising the fulfilment of Putin's working schedule. This job was previously done by Igor Sechin. In Voloshin's absence, Medvedev coordinates steps with the government staff. Vladislav Surkov is in charge of the strategic home policy department and relations with the Duma, the Federation Council, the Central Electoral Commission and the Constitutional Court. He is responsible for the ideological component of the administration's operations.

Sechin now heads the presidential office. He submits decrees, instructions and documents for Putin's approval and monitors document turnover. Deputy chiefs of staff Viktor Ivanov and Yevgeny Lisov maintain their previous functions. Viktor Ivanov is in charge of the personnel department and personnel questions. Yevgeny Lisov is in charge of the state control department. Dmitry Kozak is responsible for concerted efforts to adjust local laws to federal legislation and the constitution as the head of the main legal department. Aleksandr Popov headed the home policy department set up on the basis of three liquidated divisions - the home policy department, the political planning department and the PR department; he was

replaced in February 2001 by Aleksandr Kosopkin, and took over the Main Territorial Directorate.

Aleksandr Abramov is in charge of the territorial department and drafting proposals on relations with the provinces. Sergey Prikhodko oversees international affairs, the foreign policy department and is responsible for working contacts with the foreign minister. Dzhakhan Pollyyeva is in charge of speechwriters and experts. This department was set up to draft the president's speeches, messages to the Federal Assembly and other fundamental documents. Pollyyeva is also in charge of matters of culture, science and the arts.

Many of these appointees are part of Putin's St Petersburg circle. Both Dmitry Medvedev and Aleksandr Abramov were part of Putin's presidential campaign team for the March 2000 presidential election.

In addition to measures aimed at counterbalancing the influence of Voloshin with members of the St Petersburg circle, Putin also embarked in December 2000 on measures to reduce some of the powers of the AP.⁷ On 25 December 2000, Putin demanded the preparation of a decree that would authorise the transfer of seven departments of the Main Territorial Directorate, each of which is in charge of one federal district, to the plenipotentiary representatives of the federal districts. About two-thirds of the staff of the Main Territorial Directorate were to be transferred to the plenipotentiary representatives. This decree was issued in January 2001.

Security Council (SC)

It should be noted that the SC apparatus is actually part of the AP. However, in practice the SC apparatus can be regarded as a separate body from the AP. The SC secretary would appear at the very least to be equal in status to the head of the AP.

Before considering the role of the SC under Putin, a brief overview will be given of the main aspects of the SC's evolution since 1997. Several presidential decrees and statutes have been issued reorganising the SC. The most important developments were:

- The decision to merge the Defence Council and State Military Inspectorate with the SC on 3 March 1998.
- Yel'tsin's decree of 28 March 1998 reorganising the SC. This reduced the staff of the SC to 200. The secretary had six deputies, one of which was a first deputy. The number of department chiefs and senior officials was reduced from 21 to 10. Two divisions were especially set up to deal with the armed forces. These were the military development and military inspection departments. A department was also set up for defence industry security and another department for domestic and public security.
- On 16 March 1999 another decree was issued which reduced the number of SC personnel to 175. On 2 August 1999, a statute was issued which outlined the functions of the SC and its secretary. It appeared to be little different from a similar statute issued in July 1996.
- In March 1999, Yel'tsin appointed Federal Security Service (FSS) director Vladimir Putin as SC secretary. He remained FSS director. When Putin was appointed prime minister in August 1999 he relinquished both posts. In

November 1999 Sergey Ivanov, then a deputy head of the FSS, was appointed as secretary. He held this post until March 2001, when he was appointed defence minister.⁸ He was replaced by Vladimir Rushaylo, who had served as interior minister since May 1999. Although Yel'tsin had appointed Ivanov to this post, it is likely that the appointment of Ivanov was made with Putin's consent.

The SC has been one of the most important decision-making organs in the Russian political system since its creation in 1992.⁹ It plays a central role in the formulation of policy in the sphere of security. The range of issues it covers is extremely broad. In 2000 for example, it has discussed and made decisions on military reform, on arms exports, on Chechnya, economic security, banking, food security, the development of Siberia, centre-regional relations. All key doctrines relating to security policy are discussed and to a large extent formulated in the SC. Russia's military doctrine, security concept, information security doctrine, foreign policy concept all received final approval in the SC. The President of the Russian Federation is the chairman of the SC and he approves SC decisions by means of presidential decree.

The SC is thus a body largely concerned with discussion of policy and the making of policy recommendations. If the President accepts these recommendations, and confirms them by decree, then it can be said that the SC has made policy. It is an important body, as it brings together key office holders to deliberate possible security policy measures within the framework of one organ. By doing so, it is hoped that the danger of departmentalism will be avoided. The SC secretary's role is very important, as he determines the agenda of SC meetings, and his apparat carries out the necessary research for the agenda and in preparing draft policies. The secretary is appointed by the President, and can be summarily dismissed by him, as happened to several secretaries during Yel'tsin's presidency.

There is speculation that the importance of the SC has grown under the Putin presidency.¹⁰ It has been claimed that the SC has been transformed from being a purely consultative-technical organ into a more directive organ. This is alleged to stem from Putin's personal experience as SC secretary in 1999, where he saw the value of the SC in formulating policy towards the Northern Caucasus. The SC played a major role in the reform of centre-regional relations in 2000 that saw the creation of federal districts headed by plenipotentiary representatives appointed by the president. The SC apparat prepared the presidential decree on the powers of the plenipotentiary representatives. Ministerial bureaucrats are now commenting that they have to take drafts of documents to the SC for reconciliation. The SC is therefore becoming a key policy making body under Putin. However, this was the case when Sergey Ivanov was secretary; Ivanov is extremely close to Putin. Whether the SC will continue to play this role under Rushaylo remains to be seen.

The 175 strong apparat is currently supervised by the secretary, who has under him a first deputy secretary and five deputy secretaries. They are:¹¹

Vladislav Sherstyuk - First deputy secretary
Nikolay Solov'yev
Vyacheslav Soltaganov
Vladimir Potapov
Oleg Chernov
Valentin Sobolev.

Many of these secretaries originate from the power structures. Vladimir Potapov is an army lieutenant general. Oleg Chernov is a career intelligence officer who worked in the KGB central apparat in the late 1980s. Valentin Sobolev is the first deputy director of the FSS. Vladislav Sherstyuk is a former director of the Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information. Nikolay Solov'yev worked in the Interior Ministry's investigation committee. Soltaganov was head of the tax police.

The Cabinet Of Ministers

The cabinet of ministers (ie the government) has always occupied a subordinate position in the Russian political system. It has been more concerned with the carrying out of policy than with its formulation. This role has continued under Putin. It is therefore the least important of the three key power bases.

Its head (ie the prime minister) is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Duma.¹² The prime minister's power thus stems from the president. From 1998 until 1999 Yel'tsin appointed five and dismissed four prime ministers: Viktor Chernomyrdin, Sergey Kiriyenko, Yevgenny Primakov and Sergey Stepashin. The fifth, Vladimir Putin, succeeded Yel'tsin as president. The prime minister is thus very much the creature of the president. The most important aspect of the prime minister's position is that if the president is incapacitated and has to resign, then the prime minister takes over as acting president and presidential elections have to take place within three months. This is prescribed in Article 92 of the 1993 Russian constitution. It was in this way that Putin replaced Yel'tsin in December 1999. The prime minister is therefore potentially an important figure. Furthermore, in 1996, when Yel'tsin underwent heart surgery he temporarily transferred some of his presidential powers to the then prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.¹³

A prime minister can acquire considerable authority and stature if the president permits it. This was the case with both Chernomyrdin and Putin during their premierships. However, his position is ultimately dependent on the president. A president may well use a prime minister as a lightning rod to deflect criticism away from the presidency for poor economic performance, and therefore the prime minister's position is a vulnerable one. Both Chernomyrdin and Kiriyenko were summarily dismissed from office, in March and August 1998 respectively. Where a prime minister's position becomes important is towards the end of a president's period in office, when presidential elections loom.¹⁴ As the prime minister is the individual who would be acting president if the president steps down, he is likely to be the main contender for the presidency from the ruling establishment. This was the case with Putin in 1999.

The first prime minister of the Putin era is Mikhail Kasyanov, who was appointed the Minister of Finance in May 1999. In January 2000, Putin made him first deputy prime minister (Putin was at this point still prime minister, although he was acting president). Putin altered the structure of the government in January 2000. Previously there had been two first deputy prime ministers, now there was only one, making Kasyanov the most important member of the government after Putin. After Putin was elected President, Kasyanov was appointed as prime minister. Further changes in the structure of the government are expected in mid-2001.

As he was in the government prior to Putin's appointment as prime minister, Kasyanov is not likely to be a "Putinite", and it may well be that he will be replaced

by someone closer to Putin. However, at this stage of his presidency, the prime minister is unlikely to be someone whom Putin would consider as heir to the presidential throne. It remains to be seen whether any future prime minister will be allowed to develop the sort of stature that Chernomyrdin had for a while or that Putin had during his premiership.

The Plenipotentiary Representatives

Enhancing the control of the federal centre over Russia's 89 regions has been one of the main features of Putin's presidency. In 1990 Yel'tsin told the regions to take as much sovereignty as they could swallow. Since then power has haemorrhaged from the centre, and the federal government has found it difficult to enforce its will on regional leaderships. Putin has set about reversing this process, by ensuring that regional leaderships conform with federal legislation. To this end he created in May 2000 a system of seven federal districts covering the entire country. Each federal district is headed by a plenipotentiary representative appointed directly by the president. The plenipotentiary representative's task is to ensure that federal law is enforced throughout their districts. They are responsible for appointing personnel to some federal government positions in their respective districts. As they ensure that federal policy is carried out in the regions, they are an important part of the presidential system of power, and hence an important power base for the president and both the plenipotentiary representatives and their appointees are a likely "cadre reserve" for Putin when he makes future appointments at the central federal level.

The current seven plenipotentiary representatives are:¹⁵

Northwestern Federal District: Viktor Cherkesov

Cherkesov was born in 1950. He graduated in law from Leningrad University in 1973. In 1975 he joined the KGB. In 1988 he became head of the Leningrad KGB's investigative department. From 1992-98 he headed the FSS in St Petersburg and Leningrad oblast. In 1998, he was appointed first deputy director of the FSS.

Siberian Federal District: Leonid Drachevskiy

Drachevskiy was born in 1942. From 1986-90 he was deputy head of the RSFSR State Committee for physical education and sport. He was first deputy head, 1990-91. In 1992 he served as consul general in Barcelona. 1993-94 he was head of the Foreign Ministry department for the CIS. In 1996 he served as ambassador to Poland. In 1998 he became a deputy foreign minister, in charge of CIS relations. In 1999 he was minister for CIS affairs.

Ural Federal District: Petr Latyshev

Latyshev was born in 1948. He was educated at the Omsk Academy of the Ministry of the Interior (MIA) and then at the Academy of the USSR MIA. In 1986 he was appointed head of the Perm City MIA. In 1991 he became head of the Krasnodar MIA. From 1990-93 he was a first deputy interior minister.

Central Federal District: Georgy Poltavchenko

Poltavchenko was born in 1953. He joined the KGB in 1979, and worked in the KGB Leningrad oblast 1980-92. From 1992-99 he headed the St Petersburg branch of the Federal Tax Police. In 1999 he was named presidential representative in Leningrad oblast.

Far East Federal District: Konstantin Pulikovskiy

Pulikovskiy is a Lieutenant General in the Russian Army. He served as deputy commander in the North Caucasus Military District. In July-August 1996 he was acting commander of the federal troops in Chechnya.

Volga Federal District: Sergey Kiriyenko

Kiriyenko was born in 1962. He graduated in 1984 from the Gorky Institute of River Transport. He served in the late 1980s as secretary and then first secretary of the Gorky Komsomol organisation. In 1993 he graduated from the government academy of economics. In 1994 he founded the Guarantiya Bank in Nizhny Novgorod oblast. From 1996-7 he headed the Nizhny Novgorod oil refinery of Norski Oil. In 1997 he was appointed first deputy minister of fuel and energy in the Russian government, and became the minister of fuel and energy in November 1997. In 1998 he was appointed acting prime minister by Yel'tsin and was confirmed in this post by the Duma in April. He was dismissed from this position in August 1998.

North Caucasus Federal District: Colonel-General Viktor Kazantsev

Kazantsev was born in 1946. He has served in the Transcaucasus, Turkmenistan, Central Asian and Transbaykal Military Districts. He graduated from the Frunze Academy in 1979 and the Military Academy of the General Staff in 1988. From 1991-93 he was the deputy head of staff of the Transbaykal Military District. From 1993-96 he was the chief of staff of the Transbaykal Military District and first deputy commander of forces of this military district. From 1996-97 he was head of staff and first deputy commander of the forces of the North Caucasus Military District. In July 1997 he was appointed commander of the forces of the North Caucasus Military District. In 1999 he became commander of the unified group of forces in the North Caucasus.

It will be noted that all of the plenipotentiary representatives with the exception of Kiriyenko and Drachevskiy come from either the armed forces or internal power structures.

The Yedinstvo Party¹⁶

The Yedinstvo (Unity) party provides Putin with a power base in the Duma. Although Putin is not a member of Yedinstvo, he is a strong supporter of it, and the movement is unambiguous in its support for the president. Yedinstvo is the second biggest faction in the Duma (84 seats), and claims to be the second largest political party in Russia, with 120,000 members. It is headed by Sergey Shoygu, the minister for emergency situations and its Duma faction head until March 2001 was Boris Gryzlov, who was also chairman of the presidium of Yedinstvo's political council.¹⁷ The deputy chairmen are: Nikolay Loktionov, Yury Medvedev, Sergey Popov, and Yevgenny Trofimov. Other leading figures in Yedinstvo are Aleksandr Gurov and Aleksandr Karelin.

In February 2001, Yedinstvo deputies from regional and city legislatures held a congress in Moscow. Its purpose was to improve coordination between Yedinstvo representatives at all levels in order to enhance the movement's potential as a pro-Putin organisation.¹⁸ It is possible that Yedinstvo may form another "cadre reserve" for Putin. Putin has also been developing close ties with the Duma faction Narodny Deputat, led by Gennady Raikov. The establishment of a quasi-merger between Yedinstvo and Otechestvo, and a Coordination Committee between the Duma

factions Yedinstvo, Otechestvo, Narodny Deputat and Regiony Rossii should ensure Putin a secure base of support in the Duma.

In March 2001 Boris Gryzlov replaced Vladimir Rushaylo as minister of the interior. Vladimir Pekhtin became leader of the Yedinstvo Duma faction in April 2001.

Endnotes

- ¹ See Segodnya, 26 April 2000.
- ² Eugene Huskey, Presidential power in Russia, Armonk, NY, London, M E Sharpe, 1999, p59. He argues that the comparison with the French Presidency is more appropriate than with the US Presidency, as the French political system, like the Russian, has both a president and a prime minister.
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Lilia Shevtsova, Yel'tsin's Russia: Myths and Reality, Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999, p196. Huskey, op cit, p86-87. Tatyana Koshkareva, 'Anatoly Chubays creates his own power structure,' Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 10 October 1996.
- ⁵ Segodnya, 21 June 2000; Interfax, 20 June 2000.
- ⁶ http://www.sptimes.ru/archive/times/582/news/n_putin.htm
- ⁷ Kommersant, 26 December 2000.
- ⁸ For a profile of Sergey Ivanov, and discussion of his future as defence minister, see Gordon Bennett, S B Ivanov, The New Russian Defence Minister, Conflict Studies Research Centre, RMA Sandhurst, Occasional Brief No 81, 30 March 2001.
- ⁹ There have been several studies of the Security Council. See William J Derleth, 'The Evolution of the Russian Polity: The Case of the Security Council', Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 29, (1, 1996), Mark A Smith, The Security Council, RMA Sandhurst CSRC, C94, 1997. See also Huskey op cit, p74-80, p126-129. See also the article by Carolina Vendil in European Security forthcoming.
- ¹⁰ Aleksandr Golovkov, 'Third pillar of the hierarchy', Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 29 June 2000, Ilya Bulavinov & Yelena Tregubova, 'Friends, our Security Council is wonderful!', Kommersant Vlast, 22 June 2000.
- ¹¹ <http://www.scrf.gov.ru/Personnels/Staff.htm>, last accessed on 31 May 2001.
- ¹² For a discussion of the President-Prime Minister relationship, see Huskey, op cit, p98-124.
- ¹³ Chernomyrdin only enjoyed these powers for a short period. The head of the Presidential Administration Anatoly Chubays probably had greater *de facto* power than Chernomyrdin at this time.
- ¹⁴ This refers to either the end of a president's second consecutive term, when he is constitutionally required to step down, or at the end of a first term, if the president has indicated that he will not run again.
- ¹⁵ See the biographies provided by the NUPI Centre for Russian Studies at <http://www.nupi.no> For further information on the plenipotentiaries see: Profiles in the following issues of Nezavisimaya Gazeta:
 Viktor Cherkesov - 11 April 2001
 Leonid Drachevskiy - 14 March 2001
 Viktor Kazantsev - 19 April 2001
 Sergey Kiriyyenko - 12 March 2001
 Petr Latyshev - 22 March 2001
 Georgy Poltavchenko - 25 April 2001
 Konstantin Pulikovskiy - 24 March 2001;
 Interviews in Nezavisimaya Gazeta:
 Viktor Cherkesov - 12 October 2000
 Leonid Drachevskiy - 2 June 2000
 Viktor Kazantsev - 20 October 2000
 Sergey Kiriyyenko - 25 October 2000
 Petr Latyshev - 18 August 2000
 Georgy Poltavenko - 8 June 2000

Konstantin Pulikovskiy -15 June 2000

In Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 8 February 2000, FIGURY I LITSA, Supplement No 3, profile of Petr Latyshev, plenipotentiary representative of the Urals Federal District.

There are profiles of all seven appointees in Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 8 June 2000, FIGURY I LITSA, No 11. Similar coverage appears in Izvestiya, 12 October 2000 to 17 November 2000.

¹⁶ For more information about Yedinstvo see its website, <http://www.edin.ru>

¹⁷ For biographical information on Boris Gryzlov, see Appendix 4. For a profile of Sergey Shoygu, see Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 25 May 2000, FIGURY I LITSA, No 10.

¹⁸ Olga Tropkina "'Yedinstvo" builds a power vertical', Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 13 February 2001.

Appendix 1

The Current Composition Of The Security Council

This is the composition of the Security Council according to a presidential decree of 27 May 2000, updated to take account of the new personnel appointments made in March 2001.¹

Permanent members of the Security Council:

Chairman	President Vladimir Putin
Prime Minister	Mikhail Kasyanov
Secretary of the Security Council	Vladimir Rushaylo
Foreign Minister	Igor Ivanov
Defence Minister	Sergey Ivanov
Director of the Federal Security Service	Nikolay Patrushev

Also made members of the Council:

Head of the Presidential Administration	Aleksandr Voloshin
Minister of the Interior	Boris Gryzlov
Chairman of the State Duma	Gennady Seleznev
Chairman of the Federation Council	Yegor Stroyev
Prosecutor General	Vladimir Ustinov
Minister of Justice	Yury Chayka
Minister for Emergency Situations	Sergey Shoygu
Head of the Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information	Vladimir Matyukhin
Director of the Foreign Intelligence Service	Sergey Lebedev
Director of the Federal Border Service	Konstantin Totskiy
President of the Russian Academy of Sciences	Yuriy Osipov

The president's representatives in Russia's seven federal districts are also members of the Security Council. They are:

Georgiy Poltavchenko
Viktor Kazantsev
Leonid Drachevskiy
Viktor Cherkesov
Konstantin Pulikovskiy
Sergey Kiriyyenko
Petr Latyshev

Chief of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces Anatoly Kvashnin was appointed to the Security Council on 10 June 2000.

¹ This list is taken from <http://www.scrf.gov.ru/Personnels/Members.htm>, which gives all members of the Security Council as confirmed by Presidential decree (No 486) on 26 April 2001.

Appendix 2

Interdepartmental Commissions Of The Security Council

Problems of the Commonwealth of Independent States

Constitutional Security

Military Security

Public security, the struggle with crime and corruption

Military-industrial security

Economic security

Border policy

Information Security

Ecological security

Health care of the population

Mobilisational preparedness and mobilisation

Appendix 3

The Structure Of The Presidential Administration

The 3 June 2000 Presidential decree on the structure of the presidential administration reads as follows:

"Guided by paragraph "I" of Article 83 of the Russian constitution, I resolve:

1. That the administration of the Russian president be formed, which is to be made up of the president's chief of staff, his deputies and other officials, as well as the following independent subunits:

The Russian president's Main Territorial Directorate (on the basis of the Russian President's Territorial Directorate, the Russian President's Directorate for Coordinating the work of the Russian President's Plenipotentiary Representatives in the Russian regions and the President's Directorate for Local Government Issues, which are being wound up);

The Russian President's Main Home Policy Directorate (on the basis of the president's Home Policy Directorate, the Russian President's Political Planning Directorate, the Russian President's Public Relations and Culture Directorate, which are being wound up);

Russian Security Council staff:

The Russian President's Main Control Directorate;
 The Russian President's Main State Law Directorate;
 The Russian President's Chief of Staff Secretariat;
 The Russian President's Foreign Policy Directorate;
 The Russian President's Personnel Directorate;
 The Russian President's Economic Directorate;
 The Russian President's Expert Directorate;
 The Russian President's State Awards Directorate;
 The Russian President's Citizenship Directorate
 The Russian President's Pardons Directorate;
 The Russian President's Protocol Directorate;
 The President's Press Service Directorate;
 The Russian President's Organizational Work Directorate;
 The Office of the Russian President;
 The Russian President's Directorate for Information Supply and Documentation;
 The Russian President's Directorate for Dealing with Appeals by the Public;
 The Russian President's Information Research Service (with the status of a directorate) which is made up of the Russian president's information researchers;
 Directorate of the President of the Russian Federation for the Affairs of Cossacks; personnel of the Russian president's plenipotentiary representatives in federal districts.

2. That the Judicial Chamber for Information Disputes under the Russian president should be wound up.

3. that it be established that the Russian president's chief of staff has 10 deputies, including two first deputies.

4. that it be established that the Russian president's administration also includes the following officials:

plenipotentiary representatives of the Russian president in the Federation Council of the Russian Federal Assembly, in the State Duma of the Russian Federal Assembly and in the Russian Constitutional Court;

the Russian president's press secretary;

the head of the Russian President's Protocol;

the head of the Russian President's Office;

the Russian president's advisers;

the Russian president's senior information researcher (heads Russian President's Information Research Service).

5. that the Russian president's chief-of-staff should within a month approve the structure and staff numbers of independent subunits of the Russian president's administration enumerated in paragraph one of this decree; implement other organizational and staff measures ensuing from this decree.

6. that the Russian President's State Law Directorate should within two months submit proposals to bring the Russian president's regulations in line with this decree.

7. that this decree comes into force on the day it is signed."

Appendix 4

The Composition of the Presidential Administration

Aleksandr Stal'yevich **Voloshin** was re-appointed head of the presidential administration on 27 May 2000.

On 4 June 2000 Vladimir Putin decreed the following appointments to the AP:

Aleksandr Sergeyevich **Abramov** - deputy head of the Russian presidential administration

Viktor Petrovich **Ivanov** - deputy head of the Russian presidential administration

Dmitriy Nikolayevich **Kozak** - deputy head of the Russian presidential administration

Yevgeniy Kuzmich **Lisov** - deputy head of the Russian presidential administration, chief of the Main Monitoring Directorate of the president of the Russian Federation

Dzhakhan Redzhepovna **Pollyyeva** - deputy head of the Russian presidential administration

Sergey Eduardovich **Prihodko** - deputy head of the Russian presidential administration, chief of the Foreign Policy Directorate of the president of the Russian Federation;

Igor Ivanovich **Sechin** - deputy head of the Russian presidential administration

Vladislav Yuryevich **Surkov** - deputy head of the Russian presidential administration

Aleksey Alekseyevich **Gromov** - press secretary to the president of the Russian Federation

Vladimir Olegovich **Rakhmanin** - Russian president's head of protocol

Andrey Nikolayevich **Illarionov** - adviser to the president of the Russian Federation;

Sergey Vladimirovich **Yastrzhembskiy** - aide to the president of the Russian Federation

Larisa Igorevna **Brycheva** - chief of the Main State Law Directorate of the president of the Russian Federation

Andrey Anatol'yevich **Popov** - chief of the Main Domestic Policy Directorate of the president of the Russian Federation

Sergey Nikolayevich **Samoylov** - chief of the Main Territorial Directorate of the president of the Russian Federation

Mikhail Alekseyevich **Mityukov** - plenipotentiary representative of the president of the Russian Federation in the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation

Vyacheslav Fadeyevich **Khizhnyakov** - plenipotentiary representative of the president of the Russian Federation in the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation

Appendix 5

Biographical Profiles¹

Interior Minister Boris Gryzlov

Boris Vyacheslav Gryzlov was born in December 1950 in Vladivostok. His father was a military pilot. In 1954 the Gryzlov family moved to Leningrad. In 1968 Gryzlov graduated from a physics-mathematics middle school with a gold medal. Afterwards he studied at the Leningrad Bonch-Bruyevich electro-technical institute, where he studied radio engineering. He has a strong interest in the history of Russian statehood and culture. He headed the Foundation for the Development of the Regions in 1999.

After graduating from Bonch-Bruyevich he worked in the Comintern enterprise on space communications systems. In 1977 he transferred to Elektronpribor in Leningrad. In 1985 he was elected to the trade union committee of Elektronpribor. From 1996-98 he headed the scientific-methodical centre "New Technologies of Training" of the Baltic State Technical University. In 1998 he stood unsuccessfully for election to the St Petersburg legislative assembly. In August-September he headed the campaign HQ of Viktor Zubkov, who stood for the post of governor of Leningrad oblast, receiving 10% of the vote. In October 1999 he headed the St.Peterburg branch of Yedinstvo and was elected to the Duma as head of the Yedinstvo list in December 1999.

Security Council Secretary Vladimir Rushaylo

Vladimir Borisovich Rushaylo was born on 28 July 1952. He studied in the Moscow Machine Tool Construction Institute. In 1972 he joined the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA). In 1976 he graduated from the Omsk higher militia school, specialising in law. He then studied at the USSR MIA Academy. He reached the rank of Colonel-General in the militia. In 1976 he started working in the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department, first in the housebreaking department and then from 1981 in homicide.

From 1986 he worked in the MIA department dealing with group and recidivist crimes and became head of this department in 1988. For a while he controlled the Moscow branch of the Berezka hard currency shops.

In 1992 the MIA was reorganised and a structure of regional administrations dealing with organised crime (RUOP) was created. Rushaylo headed the Moscow RUOP. In 1995 the new interior minister Anatoly Kulikov proposed to reorganise the militia system. He proposed to remove Rushaylo as head of Moscow RUOP following corruption allegations (he had allegedly obtained a flat in Moscow by illegal means. There was, however, insufficient evidence to prosecute). In October 1996 Kulikov signed a decree transferring Rushaylo to the post of first deputy head of the main administration dealing with organised crime. However, Rushaylo refused to accept this transfer. He then left the MIA and worked in the apparat of

¹ See Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 12 April 2001, FIGURY I LITSA, No 7. For further articles on Vladimir Rushaylo, see Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 25 May 2000, FIGURY I LITSA, No 10, and on Boris Gryzlov, see Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 10 February 2000, FIGURY I LITSA, No 3.

the Federation Council as an adviser to Federation Council chairman Yegor Stroyev on juridicial and security questions. He remained there until the beginning of 1998. During this time he was able to form close associations with the Yel'tsin "Family."

In March 1998 when Sergey Stepashin became interior minister, Rushaylo was appointed first deputy minister. In this post Rushaylo supervised the main administration for organised crime and the MIA Criminal Investigation Department. He was also in charge of the Russian Interpol bureau. In May 1999, when Stepashin became prime minister, Rushaylo replaced him as interior minister.

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ISBN 1-903584-32-9

Published By:

**The Conflict Studies Research
Centre**

Directorate General Development and Doctrine
Royal Military Academy Sandhurst
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GU15 4PQ
England

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ISBN 1-903584-32-9