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THE INSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENCY

AUTHOR: EUGENE HUSKEY, Stetson University

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1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
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CONTRACTOR: Stetson University
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Eugene Huskey
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Russian presidency is more than Boris Yeltsin—it is a complex bureaucracy where "rival chief administrators,...united by no common political opinion,...are in continual opposition to one another." Even during Yeltsin's first term, when the president was healthier and the chemistry between his lieutenants less volatile, the presidency was the scene of constant intrigue and what one observer called "self-destructive competition." Now that Yeltsin has appointed to his inner circle two immensely energetic and ambitious officials, Alexander Lebed and Anatolii Chubais, the institutional presidency will almost certainly eclipse the individual president as the driving force in the day-to-day governance of Russia. Whenever and however Boris Yeltsin leaves the political stage, the succession struggle is likely to be centered in the institutional presidency.

Personnel come and go, offices are created, renamed, merged, and at times abolished, but amid this organizational change the Russian presidency has retained certain basic features since its formation in 1991. These include a corps of policy assistants, an administrative support staff, the Executive Office of the Presidency, a security apparatus, presidential committees, and what might be termed "near-presidential" structures. These divisions form the subject of separate sections below, which explore the number and backgrounds of officials, the work they perform, and their sources of authority. The chapter concludes with observations about electoral politics and the state of the institutional presidency at the beginning of Yeltsin's second term.
CHAPTER THREE  

THE INSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENCY

Whether in Russia, the United States, or France, the presidency evokes three images: a leader, a set of formal and informal powers, and an administration assigned to shape and oversee the implementation of presidential programs. This third dimension—the institutional presidency—has attracted only scant attention from students of mature democracies, most of whom regard presidential staffs as faithful agents of the leader and therefore unworthy of study as political actors in their own right. Whatever the validity of this approach in stable democracies, it is inappropriate for states in transition, such as Russia. There, the structure, personnel and internal dynamics of the presidency may have a decisive effect on the use and distribution of power throughout the political system.

Turf battles, of course, are the stuff of bureaucratic politics in all states, witness the conflict in the Nixon administration between Henry Kissinger, the national security advisor, and Herb Klein, the president's communications chief. Out of the capital for a few days, Klein returned to the White House to find that a portion of his office had been appropriated— as a bathroom—by Kissinger. But in Russia conflict within the presidency has not been limited to the usual jockeying for personal and political advantage by lieutenants. Officials in the Kremlin have squared off over the most fundamental issues of state, such as the relationship between executive and legislative authority and the pace and direction of economic reform.

Even more disturbing than the lack of a basic policy consensus has been the absence of a minimal political etiquette within the presidency. Executive institutions cannot function properly without a measure of discipline and discretion, two of the finer cultural points of politics that enable the grand constitutional mechanisms to function. When disagreements arise within the Russian presidency, officials have been all too ready to pursue their own narrow agenda by mobilizing the press or interested political and economic elites. By dividing the Kremlin against itself, the president's men have diminished the authority and efficacy of the president and the presidency as actors in Russian politics.

The culture of discretion and loyalty among Russian officials, which had been a hallmark of the communist regime, seemed to vanish with the old order. During the Yeltsin presidency, many aides insisted on an autonomy unthinkable in the Western, never mind the communist, political tradition. It is easy to forget that democratic politics in the West presupposes more than individual freedom and
government accountability. There must also be a strong, efficient, and cohesive executive. Russia has yet to construct such an executive. The current crisis in Russia, then, has its roots in the inadequacies of fledgling state institutions as well as in the strains generated by an ambitious policy agenda and an unfavorable political environment. Weak states always rest on weak institutions.

One of the many ironies of Russian politics in transition is that state institutions have grown larger and weaker a la fois. One might have imagined that a shift in property ownership from public to private hands and a scaling back of the ideological and repressive machinery—all on a smaller territory—would have reduced considerably the scale and costs of government. But not so in Russia. Spending on the state bureaucracy increased from .23% of GDP in 1992 to .58% in 1994. Although approximately two-thirds of that expansion came in regional and local government, the uncontrolled growth of the state has been most visible, and troubling, in the Russian presidency.³

This chapter assesses the rise of a presidential leviathan by offering a brief historical survey of the institution and then a more detailed analysis of its several functional divisions during Yeltsin's first term. Personnel come and go, offices are created, renamed, merged, and at times abolished, but amid this organizational change the Russian presidency has retained certain basic features. These include a corps of policy assistants, an administrative support staff, the Executive Office of the Presidency, a security apparatus, presidential committees, and what might be termed "near-presidential" structures. These divisions form the subject of separate sections below, which explore the number and backgrounds of officials, the work they perform, and their sources of authority. The chapter concludes with observations about electoral politics and the state of the presidency at the beginning of Yeltsin's second term.

The Development of a Presidential Apparatus

Among the many crises experienced by Russia at its inception in late 1991, none was more pressing than the crisis of administration. Who would coordinate the vast state bureaucracy in the center and the provinces? The Communist Party, the "central nervous system" of the old regime, had collapsed without an heir apparent.⁴ The absence of a strong center allowed the heads of ministries and regions to expand their own domains at the expense of the state. It was a pattern familiar to students of Russian history. "At the first sign of weaker authority," as Gaidar observed, "the appointed governor starts to behave like an independent prince."⁵

The first and most important task of the Yeltsin administration was to contain the centrifugal forces unleashed by the fall of communism and to build a new Russian state. To do this it was necessary to substitute a new "vertical" for the Communist Party, an institution that could hold together increasingly diverse and demanding segments of the state and society.⁶ In Yeltsin's view, the presidency was to be the centerpiece of this new administrative structure, and the president the
personification of state authority. "To put it bluntly," Yeltsin remarked, "somebody had to be the boss in the country."  

The Russian presidency began its development, then, as a functional substitute for the Communist Party Central Committee. But the replication of certain party offices and practices within the presidency also followed from the migration of Central Committee apparatchiki into presidential structures. Officials socialized for decades in a communist administrative environment could not be expected to function like British civil servants overnight, especially when alternative methods of public administration were as yet undeveloped.

Ironically, it was communists and other conservatives who complained most bitterly about the parallels between party and presidency. But the case for institutional continuity has its limits. A number of presidential structures did shadow or duplicate Government agencies in ways that recalled party supervision under the old regime. The presidency, however, operated in a very different political environment: there was no longer a single ideology, iron discipline, the cult of the general secretary, or what T.H. Rigby has called a mono-organizational society. That institutional redundancy was a shared characteristic of Soviet and post-Soviet politics does not signify the congruence of party and presidential rule.

If the first goal of the Yeltsin presidency was maintaining the integrity of the Russian state, the second was the construction of a new economic order. Both projects encouraged Yeltsin and his entourage to arrogate for themselves extraordinary powers and institutional resources. Yeltsin faced a classic dilemma of collective action when he launched economic reform at the end of 1991. With little support for the policy in the nation, and even less in the parliament and the ministerial bureaucracies, the president could not carry through the reforms using traditional democratic means. He insisted, therefore, on the acquisition of special powers, first for one year, beginning in the fall of 1991, and then on a permanent basis, with the adoption of the December 1993 Constitution. Critics, including disingenuous communists, accused the president of employing neo-bolshevik methods of rule. But the state forcing change on a recalcitrant nation was a Russian, and not just a communist, tradition. In earlier centuries, Russian tsars had led revolutions from above. It was now the turn of a president.

As an agent of reform, however, the Russian presidency under Yeltsin exhibited numerous weaknesses. Perhaps the most important of these was the schism within the presidential apparatus between the friends and foes of radical change. On one wing of the presidency was a group of young, reform-minded policy advisors who favored a clean break with the old regime. The central figure in this camp was Gennadii Burbulis, a renegade ideologist from the higher party school in Yeltsin's home town of Sverdlovsk (now Ekaterinburg). Although he had not known Yeltsin during his Sverdlovsk days, Burbulis rose quickly in the summer and fall of 1991 to become the president's closest policy advisor. He was the chief architect of radical reform and a patron for many like-minded
younger officials in the executive, such as Egor Gaidar, Andrei Kozyrev, and Sergei Shakhrai. Where Gaidar assumed responsibility for the transformation of the economy, and Kozyrev foreign policy, Shakhrai oversaw the reform of the legal system.

Set against this group of highly-placed Westernizing experts were traditionally-minded presidential officials with more intimate ties to Yeltsin and to the old party and state machinery. If the reformists dominated policy positions in the early Yeltsin presidency, the traditionalists occupied security portfolios and key administrative posts, which governed access to the president and shaped the flow of internal communications. Yurii Petrov, the president's first chief of staff, was one such official. Petrov had worked under Yeltsin in the Sverdlovsk region and succeeded him as first secretary of the regional party organization when Yeltsin was called to Moscow in 1985. Six years later, Petrov followed his patron to the capital, where he acquired a reputation as an old-style party bureaucrat intent on limiting the influence of radical reformers on the president. Oleg Lobov was another Yeltsin protge from Sverdlovsk and influential traditionalist in the presidency. The two first met on a trip to Scandinavia in the late 1960s, and in the early 1970s Lobov served as Yeltsin's deputy in the construction department of the Sverdlovsk regional party organization. Although Lobov nurtured a public persona as a committed democrat in the early Yeltsin presidency, he soon abandoned this mask. In his work as minister of economics and then as chair of the presidential Security Council, Lobov revealed his reluctance to dismantle important elements of the old order.

Because the president was continually tinkering with the mixture of radical and conservatives in his entourage, the relations between the two camps was in constant flux. Although presidential advisors were not constitutional officers, and therefore were not subject to interpellation or removal by the parliament, Yeltsin used personnel changes in the presidency as a means of currying favor with blocs of deputies and important regional and economic elites. Like Government ministers, presidential officials could be sacrificed at critical junctures to enhance the authority of the president among select constituencies. At some moments, such as the beginning of 1993, Yeltsin would lean to the side of reform, dismissing Petrov as chief of staff and appointing Filatov to the post of head of the Executive Office of the Presidency. On other occasions, the president purged radicals from key posts, whether Burbulis or Yurii Boldyrev, the head of the president's Monitoring Administration.

Amid the frequent reshuffling of cadres in the first two years of post-communist Russia, the reform-oriented forces in the presidential apparatus generally enjoyed greater influence than their rivals in shaping state policy. But by the end of the 1993, the balance of power in the presidency had begun to shift decisively in favor of the traditionalists. Several factors lay behind this realignment, one of the most influential of which was the squeamishness of the liberals about the use of force and extraconstitutional measures in politics. In his decisions to attack the parliament in October 1993 and to launch the war in Chechnia in December 1994, the president relied heavily on the advice of traditionalists in his administration. The head of the Executive Office of the Presidency, and the
apparatus' leading democrat, Sergei Filatov, remained "blissfully ignorant" of the plans to dissolve the parliament until the eve of presidential action.\textsuperscript{12} And Yurii Baturin, the president's national security advisor, was excluded from the Security Council meetings that mounted the war in Chechnia. Baturin had written position papers that warned the president of the serious military and political complications that would follow the outbreak of hostilities in Chechnia.\textsuperscript{13}

The ascendance of the traditionalists in the presidency was of course part of a broader shift to the Right in Russian politics. The results of the parliamentary elections of December 1993 and December 1995, and a constant stream of public opinion polls, alerted Yeltsin to the growing gap between the conservative sentiment of the country and the radical views of one wing of his own administration. They also drove an increasingly embattled and disillusioned president into an ever tighter circle of advisors, some of whom were fierce loyalists but political neophytes. Yeltsin took refuge, for example, in his relationship with his personal security chief, General Alexander Korzhakov, and his tennis coach, and head of the president's committee on sports, Shamil Tarpishchev. Although these officials had no fixed ideological loyalties, they were clearly not committed to a democratic vision of Russia's future.

The decline of the reformist wing of the presidency after 1993 was also due to the dearth of political skills among the radicals themselves. Most of the reformists in the presidency had risen to their high posts quickly from technocratic backgrounds, where public speaking, coalition building, and administrative competence were not highly prized. They lacked an attractive public persona as well as an ability to work constructively with officials who did not share their views. With the exception of Sergei Filatov, most exhibited the whiny and uncompromising tenor of revolutionaries. They made enemies everywhere, enemies who then encouraged the president to marginalize or dismiss the radicals.

The most prominent example of this hapless political type was Gennadii Burbulis. Possessing a high-pitched voice and arrogant manner, Burbulis put together an impressive team of reformers in the presidency and Government. But he was ill-suited to the tasks of public political life. The combination of driving ambition and a tendency to alienate parliament and the public led eventually to his dismissal from the Kremlin staff.\textsuperscript{14} Another archetype of the revolutionary ascetic was Sergei Pashin. As head of the presidency's Department for Court Reform, Pashin led the struggle to modernize and democratize the Russian judiciary, which had served as little more than an extension of the executive in the Soviet era. Perhaps his best-known achievement was the implementation of the law on the jury, which sought to revive an institution that had played an important role in Russian justice in the decades leading up to the Bolshevik revolution. Twenty-nine years old at the time of his appointment to a presidential post in 1992, Pashin showed little patience in working with legal officials and law scholars, even those who had been the leading advocates of legal reform in the late Soviet era. His tirades against senior judges and august legal scholars divided the reformist camp.
while uniting the opposition to radical change in the legal system. An increasingly isolated figure, Pashin lost his position in the presidency in the summer of 1995.  

A few observers view the undulations in the intra-presidential struggle as part of a grand strategy designed by Yeltsin to give the diverse constituencies in the country a sense that their interests were represented in the presidency and to keep his lieutenants off-guard, and thus incapable of coalescing against him. According to one Russian commentator, Yeltsin replaced divide and rule with "promote, dismiss, and rule." It was a pattern of leadership that recalled the Stalin years, when the general secretary continually rotated factions in the Politburo in order to prevent any single group or individual from consolidating power. If this analysis is correct, then the politics of the presidential apparatus is merely an extension of the leadership style of Yeltsin. The president worked as puppeteer, pulling the strings of subordinates to advance his own, clearly defined agenda.

There is little evidence, however, to support a portrayal of Yeltsin as a guileful and engaged politician who carefully manipulated relations among subordinates. Indeed, his leadership at most points was anything but cunning and energetic. With the exception of a few moments of high political drama—the coup of August 1991, the parliamentary assault of October 1993, and the last weeks of the 1996 presidential election campaign—Yeltsin was a remarkably passive president. His leadership style was far closer to that of Reagan than Stalin. In favoring a hands-off approach to management, Yeltsin accorded his aides and advisors wide latitude in the operation of the presidential apparatus.

Rather than actively controlling the bureaucracy, Yeltsin tended to react to the supplications of officials in the presidency, the Government, and beyond. It was a style of rule associated more with traditional monarchs than modern chief executives. Whether through established or back channel lines of communications, the president received a steady stream of requests for favors: tax breaks from factory managers, decrees on crime-fighting from law enforcement organs, and an expansion of office staff and responsibilities from presidential aides. Yeltsin's generosity in granting such requests deepened the country's financial crisis, undermined the integrity of the laws, and encouraged unhealthy rivalry within the presidential administration. Instead of a presidency with a clear division of labor between offices, Yeltsin permitted the development of competing centers of presidential power, each with pretensions to expertise and influence on a wide range of policy. Thus, not only did presidential structures duplicate the functions of Government, they duplicated each other. Institutional redundancy extended to the presidential administration itself.

**Administrative Support Staff**

Within the president's immediate support staff in the Kremlin were several personal aides, the chancellery, and the business office. The chancellery, a Russian institution since tsarist times, managed the flow of paper into and out of the president's office. It employed 22 persons, who
processed approximately 2500-3000 documents a day. Before reaching the president's desk, many of these documents traversed innumerable bureaus in the executive branch, receiving the required approval (viza) in each office. In most cases, the last office to issue a viza to a document before it entered the chancellery was the secretariat of the Executive Office of the Presidency. Highly classified materials, however, passed through the First Section of the president's administrator of affairs before reaching the chancellery.

According to the chief of the chancellery, Valerii Semenchenko, a former head of the Letter Department of the Moscow City Party Committee under Victor Grishin, incoming documents and outgoing presidential assignments sit in a special order on the president's desk. Once the president signs or acknowledges the documents--Yeltsin's custom was to place a simple checkmark to signify approval, an exclamation point to note disagreement--they return to the chancellery and then back to the Executive Office. In the case of presidential decrees, the Executive Office's Administration of Business Correspondence issued each a number and date of issuance before they received the official stamp of the Chancellery of the President, formalizing their status as law.18

The Kremlin business office, known as the Administration of Affairs, has no parallel in Western public administration. Overseeing the expenditure of roughly half of the budget for the presidency, five trillion rubles in 1994, the Administration of Affairs used these funds in part to pay salaries. President Yeltsin, for example, received his pay--26 million rubles in 1995, or approximately $5,000--from the Administration of Affairs.19 The Administration of Affairs maintained for official use more than 300 buildings and 3000 cars in Moscow.20 It oversaw the reconstruction of the White House after the violent confrontations of October 1993. And it carried out most of the mundane tasks associated with day-to-day life in the Kremlin. In the words of the administrator of affairs, Pavel Borodin, "we put flowers and mineral water on meeting tables, and if protocol calls for it, stronger stuff."21 But it was also the responsibility of this business office to create "appropriate living conditions for officials." For top-ranking Russian officials, the Administration of Affairs made clothing and footwear, provided medical services, and built apartments. Despite moves toward a market economy, officials of state continued to rely primarily on the goods and services provided by the Administration of Affairs rather than on their salaries. Just like the old nomenklatura class in the Soviet era, the Russian political elite lived off the state in a very immediate sense. Unable to afford a comfortable life on their salaries alone, members of the presidential apparatus, parliament, Government and the courts depended on the presidency's business office to supply the accoutrements of modern life. In an astute political move, Yeltsin centralized in the presidency the distribution of scarce housing, summer cottages (dachas), cars, and telephones. Whether a leading official got one of the 20 dachas with a chef and security, one of the 150 year-round dachas without these amenities, or one of the 200 summer season dachas, could depend as much on his or her standing with the president as rank in office.22 Dacha politics was therefore a potent weapon in the president's arsenal.
In many respects the Administration of Affairs was not a business office but a business empire. It brought under one roof several business offices inherited from the old regime, those attached to the Communist Party Central Committee, the USSR and Russian Supreme Soviets, and the USSR and Russian Councils of Ministers. These offices not only disbursed funds, they maintained a network of factories throughout the country—a testament to the old regime's obsession with economic autarky and to the ambition of the last administrator of affairs for the Central Committee, Nikolai Kruchina. In a secret internal memorandum of the Central Committee's Administration of Affairs in 1990, Kruchina advised the Communist Party to create its own firms and companies, which would form part of an invisible party economy.23 A year later, in the wake of the August 1991 coup, Kruchina committed suicide, apparently fearful that his dealings as administrator of affairs would prompt criminal prosecution. Whatever Yeltsin's and Borodin's attitudes were toward Kruchina and his office, they did not hesitate to accept the legacy of the old order. In addition to its responsibilities in the capital, where it employed a staff of 350, the Administration of Affairs ran 75 factories throughout the country by the mid-1990s.24 It also operated a network of state-owned hotels and dachas, in Russia and the near abroad, which were rented out at times on a private basis. In all, more than 30,000 persons worked in the various divisions of the Administration of Affairs in the mid-1990s.25

The Administration of Affairs in the presidency was an example of a widespread phenomenon in post-communist Russia: a state institution engaged in private business. In the budgetary crises of the early 1990s, locating a supplemental source of revenue was for some state organizations a matter of survival. At the most modest level, this meant that the Institute of Linguistics in Moscow let its basement to a Chinese restaurant, for which it received not only highly subsidized meals for its members but also rent payments that covered the salaries of scholars and staff. Most ministries and agencies—and even many individual bureaus—established extrabudgetary funds to enhance their revenues and therefore their independence from bureaucratic superiors. Such funds protected institutions from regular shortfalls from the central budget and enabled them to outbid their competitors for personnel. Income flowed directly to the agency and not through the state treasury.26

The business operations of Yeltsin's Administration of Affairs also offered the presidency a measure of security from attempts by the parliament to limit its expenditures. In addition, it created a slush fund that could be used by Yeltsin and Borodin to advance institutional or personal interests outside of public scrutiny. Hard evidence on such activity is understandably difficult to obtain, but it is clear that the president at times accorded special tax and export privileges to factories owned by the Administration of Affairs.27

Pavel Borodin followed an unorthodox route to his post as administrator of affairs. He was the rare outsider without ties to Yeltsin's home region of Sverdlovsk. Born in the Siberian republic of Tuva, he worked as a carpenter and mechanic before receiving training in economics. After completing his higher education, Borodin moved to Yakutsk, where he was a member of parliament
and mayor of the city at the end of the Soviet era. Yeltsin discovered Borodin in Yakutsk in early 1990, while on a tour of Siberia. Borodin's organizational skills on a harsh winter day in Yakutsk—it was 57 below zero—so impressed Yeltsin that he brought the mayor to Moscow two years later to serve as the first head of the precursor to the Administration of Affairs, the Main Socio-Production Administration in the Executive Office of the President. In January 1994, this business office became an independent agency answering directly to the president—an indication of Borodin's rising authority. Only four other offices in the presidential bureaucracy—the leader of the Executive Office, the chief presidential counsellor, the head of the Security Council, and the head of the Security Guard—enjoyed a similar service rank, B-101, to the administrator of affairs. 

Like many other high-ranking officials in the Russian presidency, and very much unlike business officers in most Western countries, Borodin could not resist the temptation to combine political and administrative careers. He allowed his name to be put forward by the Duma speaker, Ivan Rybkin, as the number four candidate on Rybkin's party list for the December 1995 parliamentary elections. In the event, Rybkin's party failed to receive the five percent of the votes necessary for party list representation in the Duma. Borodin was left to realize his political ambitions within the presidency.

The other financial powerhouse in the Yeltsin presidency was the Center for Presidential Programs, headed by Nikolai Malyshev. The five trillion rubles allocated to the presidency in the 1994 budget was divided almost equally between the Administration of Affairs and the Center for Presidential Programs. Where Borodin's office spent its money on the presidency itself, Malyshev's center distributed its funds among outside applicants from the state and private sector. In some cases, the Center for Presidential Programs financed regular-scheduled events, such as holiday celebrations in Moscow, or competitions, such as book prizes. In 1995, the Center for the first time began to invest some of its funds in newly-privatized enterprises. But it also held money in reserve to respond to natural disasters or other catastrophes not foreseen by the annual federal budget. Although formally a part of the Executive Office of the President, the Center for Presidential Programs answered directly to the President.

Presidential Counsellors

By the middle of the 1990s, four divisions of the presidency had broad, and often overlapping, policy interests. These were the Counsellors' Service (Sluzhba pomoshchnikov), the Executive Office of the Presidency (Administratsiia Prezidenta), the Security Council (Sovet besopasnosti), and the Kremlin Security Guard (Sluzhba okhrany). The smallest, though most strategically positioned of these, was the Counsellors' Service. Located in the Kremlin, in close proximity to the president's office, the ten-odd members of the Counsellors' Service worked as Yeltsin's personal policy staff. Headed after 1992 by Victor Iliushin, the president's chief counsellor (pervyi pomoshchnik), the
Service included advisors in each of the major policy areas, much like the *conseillers techniques* who assist the French president. Each advisor had his own personal staff of several professional assistants, known as *konsultanty* or *referenty*, terms also used for staff specialists in the old Communist Party apparatus.

Although the chief counsellor presided over regular meetings of the Counsellors' Service and exercised broad supervision over its members, it would be a mistake to regard him as the president's chief policy advisor or as the commander of a tight-knit team of policy counsellors. The Counsellor's Service was not a neat institutional pyramid, with information always flowing to the president through the chief counsellor. In many instances, Iliushin did summarize, filter, or merely pass on information to the president from the diverse sectoral advisors. But in other cases, policy advisors communicated directly with the president, either in person or by memorandum. Although all advisors had direct telephone lines to Yeltsin's office for matters of great urgency, only a few enjoyed more than occasional access to the president. In general, the more important the sector and the more experienced the advisor, the more likely he was to be in direct contact with the president. Where Mikhail Krasnov, the young counsellor on legal affairs, had only rare meetings with Yeltsin, Georgii Satarov, the political counsellor, and Alexander Livshits, the economics counsellor, saw the president more frequently, though still sparingly.

Among the members of the Counsellors' Service, only Iliushin met with the president daily. After absorbing about two dozen reports that arrived on his desk early each weekday morning, Iliushin reported to the president at 9:00 am. He was usually the last person to examine documents before they moved to the president's desk for his review or signature. He also recommended new members of the Counsellors' Service to the president. This unparalleled access and responsibility reflected not only Iliushin's position in the apparatus but his long personal service to the president. After an early career in the Young Communist League, the Komsomol, Iliushin worked for 15 years as Yeltsin's personal assistant in Sverdlovsk before following him to Moscow. When Gorbachev unceremoniously removed Yeltsin as head of the Moscow party organization in early 1988, Iliushin also spent time in the political wilderness, more precisely in Afghanistan, advising the local Communist Party. During the critical moments of the Yeltsin presidency, such as the August coup, the Belovezhskaya Pushcha accords, and the dissolution of parliament, Iliushin was at Yeltsin's side, helping him to craft key presidential speeches and decrees. Despite his title as chief policy counsellor, Iliushin served as de facto chief of staff in the Yeltsin presidency.

The other members of the Counsellors' Service rose to their positions based on policy expertise rather than personal ties to the president. Indeed, Yurii Baturin, the counsellor for national security affairs, assumed his post in spite of his earlier association with Mikhail Gorbachev. After initial hesitation, Yeltsin put aside his reservations and appointed Baturin, who, with degrees in physics, law, and journalism, had one of the most astute minds in the presidency. Like Baturin, who came to
the presidency from the Institute of State and Law, most other advisors had held impressive posts in Moscow in policy-oriented institutes or think-tanks before their appointment. Krasnov followed Baturin, his supervisor, from the Institute of State and Law. From 1993 to 1995, while Baturin held both the law and national security portfolios in the Counsellors' Service, Krasnov worked as a referent for his patron. When a separate post of counsellor for legal affairs was created, Krasnov ascended to this position with the support of Baturin and Iliushin.36 Previously an economics professor in the Institute of World Economy, Alexander Livshits began his service in the presidency in the Group of Experts, an analytical division of the Executive Office of the Presidency. After rising to the chairmanship of this body, he transferred in November 1994 to the Counsellors' Service, where he became Yeltsin's counsellor on economics.37 Before his appointment to the Kremlin staff, the president's political counsellor, Georgii Satarov, had worked as a political science professor, director of Moscow's Public and Political Center, and television journalist on the popular public affairs show, Itogi.38

The major task of the presidential counsellors was to filter the deluge of information and requests directed to the president from other state institutions, whether in Moscow or the provinces. In the words of Mikhail Krasnov, Yeltsin expected his counsellors "to decide which questions required the immediate attention of the president."39 But if the gatekeeper function was the most time-consuming for the counsellors, it was by no means their sole responsibility. They offered analyses of current issues in their respective fields and reviewed—and in some cases helped to draft—legislative proposals and presidential speeches. Early each year, Satarov, Livshits, and other counsellors devoted considerable time to preparing the president's State of the Union address, required under the 1993 Constitution.40 Depending on sector and personality, some counsellors also served as spokesman and public representative for the president in their area of expertise. Where Dmitrii Riurikov, the president's foreign affairs counsellor, shunned the public eye, other advisors, most notably Satarov and Livshits, actively courted the press. At times, however, it was not altogether clear whose position the counsellor was espousing, his own or the president's. This independent streak was especially evident in the behavior of Satarov and Livshits. Queried by a reporter about the widely-held perspective that relations in the presidency were chaotic, Satarov agreed with his interlocutor. Yeltsin has not yet introduced an effective "technology of decisionmaking," he lamented.41 For his part, Livshits confided to an interviewer the limits of Yeltsin's competence in economics. Unfortunately, in Livshits' words, Yeltsin "doesn't know a lot [about the economy] and tries to help everyone....but some people need to be imprisoned rather than helped."42

The political orientation of the Counsellors' Service was, at best, cautiously reformist. Reflecting the tone set by its head, Victor Iliushin, most counsellors avoided taking resolutely conservative or radical positions on matters of policy. The philosophical tenor of this division of the
presidency owes something as well to the period of its formation. Most of the members serving at the end of the first term of the Yeltsin presidency had been recruited during the early part of 1994, when revolutionary romanticism had passed but the hardline policies of the Chechen war era had not yet taken hold. This "middle generation" of officials appeared more interested in the accommodation of competing interests than in aggressively advancing their own agenda.

The political moderation of the Counsellors' Service did not diminish its institutional ambitions within the presidency. Beginning in the late summer of 1993, Victor Iliushin launched an assault on his major rival in the presidency, Sergei Filatov, the head of the Executive Office of the Presidency, which dwarfed the Counsellors' Service in size. Iliushin sought to eliminate the duplication between their two divisions by merging their operations into a single institution, with himself at the apex of the new pyramid and his counsellors in charge of all offices within their area of policy competence. As part of this campaign, there appeared a highly critical article on Filatov in February 1994 in the influential Moscow newspaper, Izvestiia. Only after a protracted bureaucratic struggle was Filatov able to beat back Iliushin's initiative and maintain the integrity of the Executive Office of the Presidency.43

The Executive Office of the Presidency

If the Counsellors' Service has counterparts in most presidential or semi-presidential systems, the Executive Office of the Presidency is an institution unique to Russia. Officially established in early 1993, the Executive Office sought to bring under one organizational roof a disparate group of presidential agencies, ranging from the State-Legal Administration and Monitoring Administration to the analytical centers of the president. But at least during the Yeltsin presidency, the Executive Office never succeeded in establishing clear vertical lines of authority or horizontal lines of jurisdiction between offices. Its many subdivisions enjoyed different degrees of autonomy and access to the president. In part a hierarchical bureaucracy, in part a loose confederation of offices, the Executive Office of the Presidency defies traditional categories of organizational analysis.

Two features of the Executive Office are undisputed, however. The first is its mammoth size and complexity. From a small set of presidential agencies, the Executive Office developed into an institution with 43 bureaus and 2,000 professional staff members, most of whom work on Old Square in the former headquarters of the Communist Party Central Committee, only a few hundred yards from the Kremlin.44 In a purely presidential system, such as the United States, a presidential apparatus of this size would appear large, though unremarkable. The current White House staff in Washington, for example, includes more than 1,500 officials. But in the United States, there is not a separate executive leader--the prime minister--with his own extensive apparatus. The more fitting comparison, then, is France, where the Elysee Palace--home to the president--employs less than 100 officials.
The unchecked growth of the Executive Office in the early 1990s attracted numerous critics in other divisions of the presidency and on both poles of the Russian political spectrum. At one point, a parliamentary committee explicitly attacked the duplication of offices within the presidency and the executive. Bending to this pressure, Yeltsin ordered a reduction in the size of the institution at the end of 1993. However, the head of the Executive Office, Sergei Filatov, blunted this initiative by scaling back positions that had no occupants, an old Soviet administrative maneuver. Only on the eve of the 1996 presidential elections, with the removal of Filatov, did a serious downsizing begin, affecting an estimated one-quarter of the personnel in the Executive Office of the Presidency.

The second undisputed feature of the Executive Office was its structural similarity to the Communist Party Central Committee. If the Central Committee had maintained approximately 20 sectoral departments [otdely] to oversee state institutions in areas as diverse as law, economics, and the media, the Executive Office had similar subdivisions, the larger ones known as administrations [upravlenia], the smaller ones departments. Although the presidential administrations and departments did not command the same attention and respect in the state bureaucracy as their Central Committee predecessors, they performed many of the same functions. The various subdivisions of the Executive Office of the President supervised and in some cases duplicated the work of Government ministries and committees, behavior that will be examined in detail in the next chapter. According to one observer, the Executive Office was involved in creating "an ideology of reform, in developing an economic strategy, in monitoring the implementation of presidential decisions, and in cadres policy."

Among the leading political institutions in the transition from communism--presidency, Government, judiciary, and parliament--it was the most reform-oriented, the presidency, that began to revive instruments of rule associated with the Communist Party. How does one explain this seeming paradox? Both party and presidency shared a belief in the inertness and backwardness of the state and society and therefore the legitimacy of imposing change from above. Reform in the Russian political tradition was viewed as a general moral imperative and not as one possible outcome of democratic political procedures. In a word, substantive justice meant more than procedural justice. For this reason, the Executive Office of the President was willing to borrow what it regarded as effective techniques of administration from the Communist Party.

Directing the Executive Office during much of Yeltsin's first term was Sergei Filatov, a prominent reformer who, in the words of one conservative critic, advanced "abstract market ideas." Filatov had first attracted Yeltsin's attention in the late Gorbachev era, when the two served together in the Russian parliament. When Yeltsin departed the parliament for the presidency in June 1991, he left behind Filatov as a deputy speaker. Increasingly marginalized in the first year of the post-Soviet era by the conservative speaker, Ruslan Khasbulatov, Filatov--like many other reformist deputies--
found refuge in the presidency, becoming head of the newly-formed Executive Office in January 1993.

At its founding, the Executive Office included within its bounds virtually all presidential agencies except the Counsellors' Service. Maintaining the unity of an institution of this size and complexity challenged Filatov throughout his tenure. In some cases he lost the battle, either through offices breaking away to attain independent status within the presidency, such as the financially-powerful business office [upravlaiushchii delami], or through their circumvention of Filatov's authority on important administrative or public policy issues. In general, the offices carrying the label "administrations" operated with greater autonomy than the "departments", which tended to be concerned with support services rather than with policy matters.

At the apex of the Executive Office was a secretariat, which housed Filatov's personal apparatus and his deputies. In all, approximately 100 officials worked on this central staff of the Executive Office of the Presidency. The formal powers of the leader of the Executive Office enabled Filatov to appoint the heads of departments and the deputy heads of administrations and to recommend to the president candidates for heads of administrations. The leader of the Executive Office also confirmed the budget and staffing levels for each office as well as hiring and firing lower-level personnel within the administrations and departments. However, the formal titles and powers of officials were not always reliable measures of their authority. Much depended on political ambition, skills, and connections, especially with the central leader, in this case the president. Although Filatov exercised considerable influence within the presidency and beyond, his contacts with Yeltsin were never frequent or intimate enough to allow him to realize the full potential of his office. With weak ties to the president and limited control over important administrations within the Executive Office itself, Filatov remained largely a symbol of democratic aspirations in the Yeltsin presidency rather than an efficient administrator directing the engine of reform.

Immediately subordinate to Filatov and his secretariat were several offices with responsibility for providing administrative support to the Executive Office or to the president himself. These included agencies such as the Administration for Official Correspondence and the General Department. Formed in March 1993, the General Department employed 14 officials who coordinated schedules and assignments within the Executive Office and between presidential agencies and their Government counterparts. The department bore the same name and performed some of the same functions as an office in the old Central Committee apparatus. But according to the head of the General Department in the presidency, Valerii Chernov—a Komsomol activist from St. Petersburg whose previous job was in the State Standards Committee—the two offices were not comparable. "Our people don't lead [nikovodiat]," he argued, "they just monitor [kuriruiut]." Chernov added that cadres questions—a central concern of the Central Committee General Department—were beyond the purview of his department.
As products of the communist regime, officials in the presidency understood well the central role of patronage in politics. The question was how to develop in a democratizing state what the party had called a cadres policy. To insure the selection and promotion of loyal and competent personnel in the Russian executive, Yeltsin authorized the creation of a Cadres Administration within the Executive Office of the Presidency. Headed by Dmitrii Rumiantsev, this office provided technical support, such as maintaining files on eligible personnel, to a newly-created Council on Cadres Policy. This small council, chaired by Filatov and Shumeiko, included leading figures from the presidency, Government, and parliament. According to the deputy leader of the Executive Office, Viacheslav Volkov, the task of the council was to revive the positive elements of the old nomenklatura system, which had guaranteed a large pool of trained personnel for key political and administrative posts in the Soviet era.51

The Council on Cadres Policy, working in tandem with the Cadres Administration, began to form a "reserve" of personnel, to develop policies for periodic performance reviews, and to prepare draft legislation on the civil service. In the mid-1990s the Council on Cadres Policy was still developing mechanisms for the selection and promotion of personnel.52 In specialized fields, for example, separate subcommittees of the Council on Cadres Policy operated with considerably autonomy. A Commission on Higher Military Ranks [Komissiia po vysshim voinskim dolzhnostiam] reviewed appointments and promotions in the armed forces, while a commission on judicial cadres worked in conjunction with leading judges to make regular recommendations to the president for appointments to the bench. These commissions at times encountered serious resistance from other state institutions, with regional and republican governments asserting their own appointment privileges in the local judiciary and the armed forces objecting to certain promotions and dismissals emanating from the presidency.53

One of the most serious weaknesses in the new Russian political system was the absence of professional civil servants, with loyalties to laws and not individual politicians. Like so many other presidential initiatives, the attempt to create fixed procedures for personnel appointments and promotions foundered on conflicts within the presidency and between the presidency and other state institutions. In early 1994, the president issued a decree on the civil service that promised administrative personnel job security and an impressive array of privileges--arguably too impressive for a country with Russia's financial constraints. A subsequent presidential decree established an intricate service ranking [reestr], which separated officials into political personnel who served at the pleasure of their superiors and administrative officials who enjoyed permanent tenure.54 But these new laws did little to create a professional civil service, a fact admitted in the president's electoral program of June 1996, which called for revised legislation, better pay and conditions, and improved training for civil servants.55

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Following the example of the Communist Party, the presidency was deeply involved in the training as well as the selection of bureaucratic personnel. Instead of dismantling the vast network of party training schools inherited from the old regime, Yeltsin used it as the base for a new Academy of Civil Service, created in the presidency in the summer of 1994. The Academy's Moscow headquarters and nine regional centers offered to state officials two-year programs as well as short courses, using the same facilities and often the same instructors as in the communist era, especially in the provinces. While the curriculum had changed, emphasizing such topics as Western theories of management and what Filatov called "theoretical training in democracy," there was still an attempt to inculcate loyalty toward the country's leading institution, now the presidency rather than the party.

According to the secretary of the Council on Cadres Policy, Alexander Kurbatov, one of principles undergirding an efficient Russian civil service was strong presidential power. In his words, "the civil service should serve to an important degree as a continuation of presidential power at the various levels" of government. The Russian model was clearly closer to the French example of reformist fonctionnaires than to the British idea of disinterested civil servants. The "civil service," Filatov argued, "has a special role in the strategy and tactics of reform."

Although the president received information from all segments of the Executive Office, several subdivisions of the presidency were concerned exclusively with its collection, storage, or dissemination. This sector was to the 1990s what the chemical industry was to the Khrushchev era--the key to greater efficiency, or so the leadership believed. If information was power in all political eras, it was touted as a virtual panacea for problems at the end of the 20th century. Among the more traditional information-related subdivisions of the presidency were the library and the archives. Inheriting the library resources of the Communist Party's Central Committee, the Secretariat of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Council of Ministers, the Russian presidency possessed one of the largest collection of books and periodicals in the country, some 2 million volumes. Presidential librarians not only maintained the collection, including over 75 newspapers and 1000 current periodicals, they produced regular digests and analyses of the foreign and domestic press for executive officials. Besides members of the executive, justices and staff of the constitutional court were among the users of the presidential library.

The Russian presidency also became the guardian for the vast, and politically sensitive, archives of the Communist Party general secretary. The past can stir controversy in any country, but especially in Russia, where the party's insistence on a single historical orthodoxy required it to keep much of the workings of state from public view. Among the holdings in the presidential archive were 50 folders containing the complete records of Politburo meetings. If in the early years 1990s Yeltsin approved the transfer of large sections of the presidential archives to Rosarkhiv, the main state depository, which was open to the public, he began to adopt a less liberal approach to the archives later in his first term. Archival information, therefore, was more than a curiosity; it was a potential weapon in the
hands of the political leadership, which could selectively reveal its treasures to serve its own ends. On the eve of the presidential election of 1996, for example, Yeltsin released new information from the archives designed to undermine support for the Russian Communist Party of Gennadii Ziuganov. Georgii Satarov, the president's political counsellor, had pressed for the declassification of these documents as a key element in the anti-communist campaign strategy of the president.

The Russian presidency also supported two important publishing ventures as a means of influencing the flow of information to the nation. The Executive Office owned and operated one of the country's leading newspapers, Rossiiskie vesti, which was published in Moscow and 11 other cities. Although the paper at times published material mildly critical of the president, its mission was clearly to enhance support for the president and his program. On the eve of the first round of the presidential elections, Rossiiskie vesti led with the banner headline: "VOTE FOR BORIS YELTSIN." Outside of the Executive Office, the presidency also operated its own publishing house, "Legal Literature," which had also been a state-owned enterprise in the Soviet era. As the publishers of official digests, in addition to legal treatises, "Legal Literature" was somewhat akin to the Government Printing Office in the United States.

Numerous presidential bureaus had responsibility for the collection and dissemination of current information. Some of these were in the Executive Office, such as the Information Support Administration, the successor to two smaller offices, the Urgent Information Service [Sluzhba operativnoi informatsii] and the Department of Information Resources [Otdel po informatsionnym resursam]. But in this, as in many other sectors, the Executive Office was in competition with other presidential structures. Until 1995, daily liaison with the media was the responsibility of the press service, headed by Anatolii Krasikov, and the office of the press secretary, Viacheslav Kostikov, the latter a member of the Counsellors' Service. With the dismissal of Krasikov and Kostikov in May 1995, the two offices were combined into a single Federal Press Service, employing a staff of 17 persons, within the Executive Office of the President. The new head of the Federal Press Service was Sergei Medvedev, a respected television journalist who moved to the presidency from his post as anchor of the nightly news.

For a time, an even more serious rival to the authority of Filatov in the information arena was Mikhail Poltoranin, the head of the Federal Information Center and a close confidant of the president. After the August coup, when he had been at Yeltsin's side at the White House, Poltoranin worked closely with Gaidar and Burbulis in the launching of radical economic reform. Occupying the post of minister of the press in the Russian Government, Poltoranin attracted the wrath of the increasingly conservative parliament in early 1992. In April, Yeltsin removed him from the Government to deflect parliamentary criticism, but then immediately appointed him to head a new Federal Information Service in the presidency. Poltoranin sought to transform his office into a research and planning division of the presidency, an analytical center in language of the new Russian bureaucracy. From
this post, he made numerous unsuccessful forays into policy issues, including a memorable attempt to negotiate a settlement with the Japanese over the Kurile Islands. The Federal Information Service did not survive Poltoranin's unceremonious departure from the presidency in late 1993. Like many others who had stood with Yeltsin at the fall of the old order, Poltoranin became an implacable critic of the president by the mid-1990s.

In the struggle for political advantage in the presidency, access to information was not enough. One also needed specialists who could synthesize and analyze information and then link it to specific policy proposals. This was the role of the analytical centers, which drew heavily on experts in fields such as economics and public opinion research. During Yeltsin's first term, these brain trusts sprung up throughout the presidential apparatus, including in the Executive Office of the President. At the beginning of 1994, three analytical centers co-existed in the Executive Office: the Group of Experts, headed by the economist--and future presidential counsellor--Alexander Livshits, an Expert-Analytical Council, which brought together outside specialists for periodic seminars, and the Analytical Center for Socio-Economic Policy, headed by Petr Filippov. In May 1994, the three separate bureaus were integrated into a new Analytical Service, led by the economist--and future minister of economics--Evgenii Iasin. According to Iasin, there was a rough division of labor within this new institution, with the officials inherited from Group of Experts focusing on current problems and speechwriting while those from the old Expert-Analytical Council and Analytical Center engaged in strategic planning. Much of the information from this newly-expanded Analytical Center flowed to Filatov through yet another addition to the Executive Office, the Administration on Information Support, to which Petr Filippov had ascended as head.

The Analytical Center was not the only major employer of economists in the Executive Office of the Presidency. A separate Finance and Budget Administration reviewed the country's annual budgets and oversaw the work of numerous Government agencies, most notably the Ministry of Finance. Just as economic specialists in the Soviet period had moved back and forth between the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, their post-communist counterparts enjoyed similar mobility between presidential and Government institutions. The first head of the Finance and Budget Administration, Igor' Moskovskii, had previously been head of a similarly named department in the Government. Vladimir Panskov, a deputy to Moskovskii in the presidential administration, became minister of finance in 1994. And Evgenii Iasin, the economist in charge of the Analytical Center, shifted to the Government at approximately the same time to become minister of economics. As we shall argue in the next chapter, the contacts between economic officials in the presidential and Government apparatuses were closer and more fruitful than between other policy specialists in the executive.

There were two subdivisions of the Executive Office of the Presidency with explicitly political profiles. The first was the awkwardly titled Administration for Cooperation with Political Parties,
Public Organizations, and Factions and Deputies of the Chambers of the Federal Assembly. Created in August 1994, this administration combined into a single organization two existing departments. Headed by Andrei Loginov, the office sought to expand the social base of support for the president among the growing number of parties and associations that emerged in post-communist Russia.71 Indeed, the original departments emerged in early 1993 as part of a plan to establish a single presidential bloc of parties in the parliament.72 Although this effort was later abandoned, the office continued to cultivate parliamentary factions and selected groups in Russian society, carrying out the charge to "provide information to the president about political forces in parliament and society and to portray presidential policy to the latter in a favorable light."73 Among the groups most actively recruited to the side of the president were the Cossacks, traditional defenders of Russian tsars and Russian borderlands.74 The Administration for Cooperation with Political Parties is an excellent example of how lines of authority within the presidency often disregard normal organizational patterns. Although a part of the Executive Office, and subordinate to Filatov on housekeeping matters, this administration took its direction from the president's political counsellor, Georgii Satarov. Set out explicitly in the presidential decree forming the administration, this exception to the normal rules undoubtedly reflected the ongoing struggle for bureaucratic pre-eminence between the Executive Office and the Counsellors' Service.75

The second overtly political subdivision of the Executive Office was the Administration for Work with Territories, the presidential office for liaison with the country's 89 subject territories. The administration was led by Nikolai Medvedev, who had previously served as the head of a parliamentary committee on nationalities and the structure of the Russian state. A comparatively small bureau, with less than 20 full time specialists, the Administration for Work with Territories prepared analyses of trends in regional affairs and responded to socio-economic issues arising in Russia's territories. In Medvedev's words, the president himself handled the purely political questions.76 The administration also served as an intermediary between the president and local authorities, especially the president's personal representatives in each of the subject territories.77 Much like the Bolshevik plenipotentiaries sent from Moscow to oversee the work of local authorities in the revolutionary era, presidential representatives operated in post-communist Russia's regions and republics as the eyes of Yeltsin. When Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin organized his own party, Our Home is Russia, to contest the December 1995 parliamentary elections, the Administration for Work with Territories was instrumental in recruiting regional leaders to the cause.78

The Administration for Work with Territories was one of several state institutions involved in the endless negotiations between center and periphery over the nature of Russian federalism. Because Russia, unlike the United States, pursued a policy of asymmetrical federalism, where some territories enjoyed special legal--and not just financial--privileges, it was not possible to develop a single presidential stance on relations between center and periphery.79 The primary sources of this
asymmetrical federalism—a policy championed by Nikolai Medvedev—lay in the extraordinary ethnic and cultural diversity of Russia, which created different political demands in Tatarstan and Chechnia than in the historically Russian regions of Orel or Tambov. Relations between Moscow and the ethnic republics occupied much of the energies of the Administration for Work with Territories, several of whose members had backgrounds as ethnologists. This concern with the interface between ethnic politics and federalism mirrored that in the Government’s own Ministry of Nationalities, and at one point the minister protested loudly that the president’s staff was duplicating functions performed in the Government.

Much of the activity of the Executive Office was devoted to legal affairs, broadly defined. Even in the Administration for Citizen Relations, whose 99 employees were responsible for processing the torrent of correspondence received from the public, a large proportion of the letters concerned current criminal cases or the behavior of law enforcement organs. According to Mikhail Mironov, the head of the administration, formerly known as the Letters Department, President Yeltsin received approximately 1,000 pieces of mail a day in early 1994, with criticism of law enforcement personnel second only to attacks on state policies. Sergei Filatov noted that the same year every fourth letter of complaint concerned a court decision. Those most likely to write to the president were pensioners, whose correspondence accounted for 72 percent of the total of 94,000 letters reviewed by the Executive Office during 1994.

Citizens also brought their complaints to the presidency in person, continuing a tradition with roots in the tsarist and communist periods. With little faith in the courts as a source of remedies, the people of Russia turned directly to the leader in search of justice. On a side street near Old Square, opposite the Constitutional Court, the Reception Bureau (priemnaia) of the president greeted a steady stream of supplicants. Together with a similar office in the Government, the Reception Bureau in 1994 saw 33,000 Russians, who came from all parts of the country to place their requests before the president.

On some matters, the president was indeed the final legal authority and the logical target of petitions. Like chief executives in most states, the president possessed the power of the pardon, which he used liberally. Recommendations for pardons came to the president from a Pardons Commission inside the Executive Office of the Presidency. Comprised primarily of leading intellectuals, believed to be among the least corruptible segments of Russian society, the Pardons Commission met periodically to review voluminous files on prisoners seeking pardons or commutation of sentences. Assisting the Commission in its work was a full-time support staff in the Executive Office’s Department of Pardons [Otdel po voprosam pomilovaniia], which was headed by Evgenii Ivanushkin.

There was also a separate Citizenship Department in the Executive Office, led by Abdulakh Mikitaev, which reviewed the large number of requests for Russian Federation citizenship. By law,
the more than 20 million ethnic Russians living outside the borders of the Russian Federation at the
time of the collapse of the Soviet Union had an automatic right to citizenship in their ancestral
homeland. But many non-Russians from the former Soviet republics also saw the Russian Federation
as a political or economic haven, and sought to flee, or remain, there.

As important as the bureaus above were for the lives of individuals, as institutions of state they
paled in comparison to the two largest legal departments in Executive Office, the State-Legal
Administration and the Monitoring Administration. The State-Legal Administration was created on
December 7, 1991, to advise the Russian president on legal matters and to facilitate the establishment
of a "single legal space" in Russia.88 The latter function seemed especially urgent at the end of 1991,
when, in the wake of the war of laws between Soviet central authority and the republics, Russia was
beginning to assert legal and political hegemony over its more than fourscore subject territories. The
fledgling state in Moscow sought to ensure that it would win the second round in the war of laws, this
one between Russia and its provinces.

The origins of the State-Legal Administration also lie in the political ambitions of its founder
and "ideologist,"89 Sergei Shakhrai. No other subdivision of the Executive Office has been so closely
associated with a major political figure. Shakhrai transformed a small personal staff of legal advisors
into an institution that could rival established ministries. Although Shakhrai departed the State-Legal
Administration in mid-1992, its organization, functions, and personnel continued to bear his mark. In
many respects, the profile of the State-Legal Administration was similar to that of a Central
Committee office of the same name, known before the Gorbachev era as the Administration Organs
Department. They both monitored the legal ministries and oversaw certain personnel and doctrinal
matters in the armed forces. But as we shall see in subsequent chapters, Yeltsin's State-Legal
Administration had greater influence on policy than its party counterpart. It was a key gatekeeper in
the legislative process, whether shepherding executive bills through parliament, advising the
president on the appropriate response to legislative vetoes, or drafting and reviewing decrees for the
president’s signature. In this role, the State-Legal Administration worked at times in cooperation, at
times in competition, with the president’s counsellor for legal affairs, Mikhail Krasnov. The State-
Legal Administration, or more precisely its Department for Judicial Reform, was also the prime
mover behind the radical reform of the Russian court system in the early 1990s. With its expansive
legal and political jurisdiction and as many as 200 officials on staff, the State-Legal Administration
was arguably the most prominent and influential bureau in the Executive Office during Filatov’s
tenure.

Located in the same building as the State-Legal Administration, between the Kremlin and Old
Square, was the Monitoring Administration. With a staffing level of 230 officials, the Monitoring
Administration was the largest subdivision of the Executive Office of the President. Like many other
presidential structures, it also replicated functions that had been carried out by a Communist Party
organ, in this case, the Party Control Committee. The Monitoring Administration even occupied the same physical premisses as its party predecessor. Among the many administrations and departments within the Executive Office of the President, the Monitoring Administration was one of the most autonomous. While it continued to work closely with Filatov, after the spring of 1994 the Monitoring Administration answered directly to the president.  

Perhaps the closest Western equivalent of the Monitoring Administration would be a national inspector general's office, which continually reviews the adherence of officials and agencies to the law. Because Russia still lacks many basic elements of a developed legal system, such as smoothly functioning administrative courts and respect for legal norms among officials, it relies instead on cruder methods to encourage central and local bureaucrats to implement the laws and policies enacted by president and parliament. One of these is the checking mechanism, of which the Monitoring Administration is the leading example. Just as the Bolsheviks sought to impose order on an ill-disciplined state bureaucracy by creating a host of checking mechanisms, from the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate to the Party Control Committee, so the Yeltsin administration has attempted to use the Monitoring Administration as an instrument in the establishment of an effective executive "vertical". To carry out its charge, the Monitoring Administration conducts periodic on-site inspections of state institutions, from central ministries to local agencies, reviews complaints about bureaucratic malfeasance from citizens and businesses, and compiles information from in-house inspectors' in federal agencies. Like other subdivisions of the presidency, however, the Monitoring Administration does not have enforcement powers of its own. On the basis of its inspections and analyses, it submits recommendations for action to the president, the leader of the Executive Office, or appropriate law enforcement bodies. 

The Security Apparatus

One of the striking features of the Russian presidency has been the virtual absence of officials with portfolios in foreign affairs. Besides the office of Dmitrii Riurikov, the president's foreign policy counsellor, a small part of the Security Council, and a Protocol Administration in the Executive Office, whose staff of 20 handles overseas travel and the reception of foreign dignitaries, the subdivisions of the presidency throughout most of Yeltsin's first term were focused on domestic affairs. In this sense, the Russian presidency was fundamentally different from the Communist Party, whose Central Committee had three separate bureaus with foreign interests: the International Department, the International Information Department, and the Cadres Abroad Departments.

But if the foreign policy staff of the Russian president was meager in Yeltsin's first term, the same could not be said of the domestic security bureaucracy. As a land-based, multi-ethnic empire, Russia had always maintained an expansive internal security apparatus to insure order among its diverse, and often newly acquired, populations. While the image of Russians under arms is most
frequently associated with foreign conflicts—the Napoleonic wars, World War II, and the Cold War—there has been no shortage of domestic wars, whether against peasants in the Pugachev rebellion of the 18th century and collectivization of the 1930s or with non-Russian populations, such as the Poles in the 1860s or the Chechens in the 1990s. At a time of political crisis and resurgent nationalism, Boris Yeltsin sanctioned the creation within the presidency of a network of agencies concerned with internal security.93

Perhaps the most secretive security agency in the presidency was FAPSI, the Federal Agency for the Protection of Government Communications. FAPSI was in charge of information security, ranging from the black box for nuclear weapons and domestic wiretaps to the encryption of bank transfers.94 All leading state officials used a telephone system—the vertushka—designed and maintained by FAPSI. As in the Soviet era, the number of telephones on a desk was a rough measure of an official's standing, and it was not unusual for a high-ranking Kremlin aide to have ten telephones. Where ordinary phones could be dialed to reach a variety of internal or external lines, phones in the vertushka were connected directly to a single superior or subordinate. Merely lifting the receiver put the caller in touch with a designated office. Which of the two secure telephone networks an official used was also an indicator of political status, and apparently a matter for FAPSI to decide in consultation with the highest-ranking presidential aides.

In a country where the expression, "that's not a conversation for the telephone," has not lost its resonance among those in power, FAPSI naturally aroused suspicion. Many believed that it fed surveillance information to political allies as a means of influencing the intra-elite struggle. Two democratically-oriented leaders, Sergei Filatov and Ramazan Abdulatipov, complained that their home phones were bugged by FAPSI, and a leading Russian journalist asserted that while the more visible power institutions, such as the Ministry of Internal Affairs, sought court permission for wiretaps in criminal cases, FAPSI violated the new anti-wiretap law in the name of national security.95

The origins of FAPSI lie in the breakup of the Committee on State Security, the KGB, in the wake of the August 1991 coup. The Twelfth Section of the KGB was reborn as FAPSI, an agency that migrated first to the Council of Ministers before finding a home in the more powerful presidency. The total number of officials working in the agency is not known, though it employs at least 300 scholars working in technical fields such as encryption. Like almost all presidential institutions, FAPSI has been reluctant to limit its activity to its primary mission of government communications. Under the leadership of General A. Starovoitov, FAPSI has maintained a vast database in its Main Administration for Information Resources and it has recruited a growing number of armed personnel.96

Although the role of FAPSI in Kremlin politics remains murky, it is clear that the agency has allied at times with other presidential security officials in order to limit the influence of the Executive
Office of the President and its head, Sergei Filatov. In a series of complicated bureaucratic maneuvers in 1994 and 1995, Filatov and Starovoitov struggled for supremacy in the field of information security. In the opening gambit, FAPSI wrestled from the Executive Office of the President its Administration of Information Resources, absorbing its buildings, technology and 400 officials. But several months later, apparently under pressure from Filatov, Yeltsin sanctioned yet another bureaucratic reorganization, this time reducing the control of FAPSI over information resources. In the spring of 1995, Filatov sought to reclaim more power in this sector by creating a new Administration for Information and Documentation Support in the Executive Office, an office that asserted the right to review all proposals by FAPSI regarding the introduction of new technology.97

FAPSI’s closest political allies in the presidency were the Main Security Administration (Glavnoe upravlenie okhrany, or GUO) of General Barsukov and the Security Guard of General Alexander Korzhakov. Like FAPSI, the GUO was an offshoot of the KGB, more specifically its Ninth Administration.98 With 44,000 personnel, the Main Security Administration was primarily responsible for protecting state buildings and leading state officials.99 Among its troops were the elite Alpha and Vympel units, which played key roles in the events of August 1991 and October 1993. But the GUO’s interests were not limited to Moscow or even to matters of security. It also managed an array of former Communist Party compounds and nature preserves that had served as vacation spots for high-ranking communist officials, among which were two hunting parks in the Black Sea resort of Sochi.100 Like all Russian state institutions, it was loathe to part with its inheritance; its far-flung holdings were a matter of institutional pride and a potential source of income at a time of budgetary austerity. In 1994, Barsukov approached the president’s business office with a request for several billion rubles to maintain rare wildlife on its properties and an additional billion rubles to introduce new species there.101

No subdivision of the Russian presidency was more controversial than General Korzhakov’s Security Guard (Sluzhba okhrany). The Security Guard was not a relic from the old regime but an institution created especially for Korzhakov, a former KGB officer who served as Yeltsin’s personal bodyguard in the Gorbachev era. Korzhakov risked his career in 1988 by staying with Yeltsin when the latter lost his post as Moscow party chief; he then risked his life in August 1991 by standing with Yeltsin during the abortive coup attempt. By all accounts, he was Yeltsin’s most intimate and trusted associate. Yeltsin rewarded Korzhakov’s loyalty by granting him wide latitude in the development of his Kremlin security detachment, which grew to some 1500 troops. In the summer of 1995, Korzhakov brought the Main Security Service of Barsukov under his supervision.102

Korzhakov was unwilling to limit his interests to security matters. The Weberian ideal of clearly defined offices, jurisdictions, and careers had no place in the Russian presidency—everyone was interested in everything, whatever their current post or past training. Thus, Korzhakov, the former bodyguard, created an analytical center within the Security Guard to advise him on the full
range of the country's political and economic affairs. The center, employing from 60 to 100 persons, was led by another veteran of the KGB, General Georgii Rogozin, who had worked for part of his career in military counter-intelligence. Dubbed a modern-day Rasputin by one Russian journalist, Rogozin sought to apply his interest in para-psychology and the abnormal to the Yeltsin presidency. He ensured, for example, that the president's bed was aligned on a north-south axis.

On some weighty policy issues, Korzhakov took matters into his own hands, apparently without consulting the president. In November 1995, after Korzhakov and Moscow mayor Yurii Luzhkov had sparred over the boundaries of presidential and mayoral authority in the capital, Korzhakov dispatched an armed unit to the headquarters of the powerful MOST company in an attempt to intimidate its chairman, Gusinskii, and his political patron, Yurii Luzhkov. Gusinskii and Luzhkov shared the same building as well as broad political and economic interests. At the same time, Korzhakov was pressuring the prime minister, Victor Chernomyrdin, to alter Government policy on the use of oil pipelines in order to favor Russian companies over Western investors. If Korzhakov's widely-publicized lobbying on the pipeline issue led to his lampooning in the liberal press, it met with the approval of conservative figures such as Alexander Sterligov, the head of the Russian National Community.

In the presidency and the nation at large, Korzhakov acquired the reputation of an eminence grise by the middle of Yeltsin's first term. In a poll conducted at the beginning of 1995, Korzhakov was regarded as the fifth most influential person in the country. According to one report, he gained the right to review virtually every major presidential decision, including personnel appointments. He also contributed to the revival of an atmosphere of secrecy and suspicion in the apparatus. Analysts with academic backgrounds in the presidency complained that information had become so secretive that they were reduced to using only open sources. Even high-ranking officials in the presidency became more careful in their utterances. Reportedly, written notes were replacing oral communications when sensitive issues were under discussion. As the keeper of the Kremlin gates, Korzhakov could also limit access to the presidential staff. His men denied entrance, for example, to an Izvestia journalist who had arranged an interview with Sergei Filatov. The journalist, it seems, had written an article critical of Korzhakov's action in the MOST case.

In April 1996, as the presidential balloting approached, Korzhakov became the first official in the Kremlin to call openly for the postponement of the elections. Aware that Yeltsin's defeat would bring an end to his political career and perhaps to his own freedom--several opposition leaders had called for criminal prosecutions of leading officials in the Yeltsin administration--Korzhakov began to search with his allies for extraconstitutional ways of maintaining his patron in office. This contingency planning ended abruptly, however, after the first round of the election, in June 1996, when Yeltsin sacrificed Korzhakov in order to install fellow presidential candidate, General Alexander Lebed, as the head of the Security Council.
The Security Council was the most prominent division of the presidency concerned with national security. Formed in June 1992 with a staff of 80 persons, the Security Council doubled in size during the next two years. Besides the full-time staff, more than 300 persons performed contract work for the agency by mid-1995. Headquartered on Ilinka Street, which runs between Red Square and Old Square, the Security Council occupies three floors of a heavily-guarded building—three checkpoints must be cleared before entering. As the only section of the presidency mentioned in the 1993 Constitution, the Security Council was in theory accountable to the parliament and constitutional court as well as to the president. But in practice it answered directly and exclusively to the president, who served as its chair.

Like the National Security Council in the United States, Russia's Security Council had two identities: a permanent support staff that assisted the president, and a collection of senior political figures—a cabinet of sorts—that gathered to discuss policy. As a cabinet, the Security Council was comprised of several permanent members with formal voting rights—the president, prime minister, the secretary of the Security Council, and the speakers of both houses of parliament—and numerous members with a consultative voice, including the ministers of interior, armed forces, finance, justice, nuclear energy, and the heads of the various offshoots of the KGB, such as the border troops, the Federal Security Service (FSB), and the foreign intelligence and counter-intelligence services. Other officials, such as the Victor Iliushin and the president's counsellor on national security affairs, Yuri Baturin, were regular visitors to the meetings, which were usually held monthly, with a single major item on the agenda. There were also a dozen specialized Security Council commissions that drew members from throughout the executive branch. With profiles as diverse as information and economic security, the commissions worked with widely varying degrees of intensity. Some met as infrequently as every six months.

Especially in their formative stages, institutions bear the unmistakeable imprint of their leaders, who help to define their jurisdiction, to forge a pattern of relations with subordinates and superiors, and to establish the institution's culture and method of internal operation. Because the Security Council had very different secretaries during the Yeltsin presidency, it resists generalizations that extend much beyond its structure and formal mission. The first leader of the Security Council, Yuri Skokov, was an inscrutable middle-aged manager from the military-industrial complex, with conservative views and wide-ranging political ambitions. Skokov sought to create a Security Council staff that would serve as an intermediary between the president and the so-called power ministries in the Government, such as defense and internal affairs. He wanted the Security Council staff to supervise the operations of the power ministries and not just to advise the president on policy matters. One plan for achieving this involved transferring the General Staff from the Ministry of Defense to the Security Council. In essence, Skokov was reviving Sergei Shakhrai's bold attempt in early 1992 to create a superministry of security. That effort failed when the Constitutional Court ruled the initiative
unconstitutional. But Skokov's designs were not limited to the security field. In a controversial—and apparently hurriedly prepared—presidential decree issued in early July 1992, the Security Council received broad powers to impose its decisions on all federal and local agencies. These newly-won powers prompted some commentators to view Skokov's Security Council as a Politburo in the making.\textsuperscript{117}

That the Security Council did not develop into a new Politburo owes much to its many enemies in Moscow. In the words of one journalist, "...there are quite a few people who want to abolish the Security Council entirely or scrap the post of secretary—such ideas have been put forward a number of times by [Defense Minister] Grachev, [Foreign Minister] Kozyrev, and [Internal Affairs Minister] Yerin, not to mention...[privatization tsar] Chubais and Gaidar."\textsuperscript{118} Skokov's plans for the Security Council met with fierce and effective resistance from the power ministries, which were jealous of their autonomy and direct access to the president, and from the parliament, which feared any shift of decisionmaking authority from Government to presidential institutions. Unlike Government ministries, presidential structures operated outside the scrutiny of parliament.\textsuperscript{119} Skokov had adversaries within the presidency as well, most notably Sergei Filatov, who as head of the Executive Office sought to contain the development of the Security Council, to which he had been denied membership. In his struggle with Skokov, Filatov succeeded in transferring some of the Security Council's functions to the Executive Office of the President in early 1993.\textsuperscript{120}

Various institutions targeted by Skokov restricted the power of the Security Council by denying it full and fresh information on their areas of competence. A Security Council staff member revealed that Skokov received no materials from the Foreign Ministry, and very little from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He was forced to rely instead on information collected by FAPSI and the intelligence services, which limited his ability to develop policy positions in key areas.\textsuperscript{121} Although the Security Council had its own permanent staff, it also housed personnel seconded from Government ministries, especially the Defense Ministry. This rotation of cadres through the Security Council—a practice common to Western presidencies as well as the Communist Party Central Committee—was apparently designed to bring expertise to the Security Council and to enhance the coordination of policy among different security agencies. But these seconded officials may also have served as informants for their primary institutions, thus limiting further the autonomy and influence of the Security Council and its secretary.\textsuperscript{122}

Frustrated in his designs for the Security Council, and in his bid to succeed Gaidar as prime minister, Skokov began to distance himself from Yeltsin. On 10 May 1993, he lost his post as secretary of the Security Council and began a gradual political march toward the opposition, creating short-lived alliances and institutions in the quest for a new political base. He remained for a time at the edge of Yeltsin's entourage, and in early 1994 was appointed co-chair—with Filatov—of a new Council on Cadres Policy, yet another example of Yeltsin's strategy of balancing the competing wings
of his presidency. However, Skokov would later break completely with the president and form his own party, the Congress of Russian Communities, a peculiar mix of factory managers and nationalists. Despite attracting General Alexander Lebed to his ticket for the parliamentary elections of December 1995, Skokov was unable to win any seats in the Duma, thus joining the growing list of renegades from the president who were resigned to the political wilderness.\textsuperscript{123}

After an unsuccessful attempt to install General Evgenii Shaposhnikov as Skokov's successor, Yeltsin settled on Oleg Lobov as the new secretary of the Security Council. Lobov assumed the position in September 1993, on the heels of his dismissal from the Ministry of Economics. As economics minister, Lobov had incurred the wrath of reformers by calling for an increase in state control of the economy. Unlike Skokov, who casted about endlessly for bureaucratic alliances, Lobov--as Yeltsin's longtime protege--seemed content to remain dependent on the president alone.\textsuperscript{124} But while Lobov remained personally loyal to the president, the same could not always be said of the Security Council itself. According to one source, "the president thinks that the Security Council is primarily Lobov, 'his man.' But it is a collection of the most diverse politicians, seasoned, shrewd and calculating, who have their own interests and goals."\textsuperscript{125}

Under Lobov's leadership, the Security Council concentrated its energies almost exclusively on domestic affairs. To be sure, the Security Council did have a Strategic Security Department, headed by for a time by the deputy secretary, and professional diplomat, Yurii Nazarkin.\textsuperscript{126} At times the Security Council played a modest role in international affairs, receiving the Cuban ambassador or discussing the procedures for the ratification of the SALT II treaty. The minister of foreign affairs, Andrei Kozyrev, was a member of the body after January 1994, an appointment Kozyrev must have accepted with ambivalence--at one Security Council meeting, the defense minister, Pavel Grachev, bluntly criticized the foreign minister and demanded his resignation. But following Skokov's unsuccessful forays into foreign policy, the Security Council remained on the periphery of Russian foreign policy-making. In the words of an observer, "the belatedly established foreign policy structure in the Security Council all but collapsed..." after Skokov left office.\textsuperscript{127}

In his first year as secretary of the Security Council, Lobov focused on issues of economic security, such as trade and industrial policy and what he suspected was criminal manipulation of the ruble by currency speculators in October 1994.\textsuperscript{128} Five months earlier, in June 1994, Yeltsin had placed Lobov in charge of a broad-based effort to reduce crime and corruption, an initiative that appears to have originated in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This ministry stood to benefit most directly from presidential decrees that expanded dramatically the prerogatives of the police at the expense of criminal suspects. Yeltsin's crime-fighting decrees also revived other policies associated with the old regime. Within two months of the issuance of the decree, for example, all color copiers in the country were to be registered with the Ministry of Internal Affairs.\textsuperscript{129} Like many campaigns in the Soviet and post-Soviet eras, the fight against crime and corruption advanced narrow institutional
interests rather than sound public policy. A year earlier, there had been a serious attempt by the young head of the president's Monitoring Administration, Yurii Boldyrev, to attack official corruption. Yeltsin removed Boldyrev, however, before his investigations could lead to criminal charges against leading officials.

The development of the Security Council under Lobov took a decisive turn in December 1994, when it became the primary forum for decisionmaking on the conflict in Chechnia. Until that point, the Security Council had been an institution in search of a mission, dabbling in security issues as diverse as the brain drain of Russian scientists, defense conversion, the declining health of the Russian population, and relations with the former Soviet republics—the so-called near abroad. The war in Chechnia gave it a definite reason for being, though the decision to send in troops on a massive scale did not enjoy the full support of the Security Council. Indeed, the justice minister, Yurii Kalmykov, a native of the Caucasus, resigned over the Chechen war. He complained that several Security Council members, including himself, Shumeiko, and the head of the foreign intelligence services, Evgenii Primakov, favored alternatives to the military option. But Yeltsin allowed discussion of the matter only after a vote on the use of force had been taken at the fateful Security Council meeting.  

Responsible for launching and overseeing the hostilities in Chechnia, the Security Council became Russia's war cabinet, and in August 1995, Yeltsin designated Lobov as the president's representative in Chechnia. The fate of the Security Council, and of Lobov personally, was now tied inextricably to the conflict in the Caucasus. Despite the assurances of Defense Minister Pavel Grachev that Russian troops would regain control of the breakaway republic in a matter of days, the war dragged on with no resolution. The failure of the military option in Chechnia—taken together with brazen hostage-taking by Chechen guerrillas in neighboring regions—undermined the authority of the Russian army and the Russian president. The image of Yeltsin as war leader suffered immeasurable damage during the hostage crisis in Budennovsk, in October 1995, when it fell to the prime minister, Victor Chernomyrdin, to negotiate the release of a large number of Russian civilians held by Chechen fighters. The war also exacerbated the already tense relations between members of the presidential apparatus. In an outburst on Russian television, General Korzhakov noted that "Grachev dragged Yeltsin into the Chechen mess, and a man of integrity in Grachev's shoes would have shot himself."  

Responsible for over 30,000 deaths by the beginning of 1996, the Chechen conflict threatened to scuttle the president's re-election efforts. Recognizing at last the unpopularity of the war, Yeltsin committed himself in February 1996 to ending the conflict before the elections. It was a difficult promise to keep. Yeltsin pressured the Chechen leader into signing a ceasefire in Moscow in May, but the Russian president was unable—or unwilling—to restrain Russian forces on the ground, who seemed intent on presenting the president with a military victory in Chechnia before the elections. In
the usual dissonance characterizing Russian public life, media accounts of the war's end competed with stories about continuing hostilities in the region. But in one brilliant tactical stroke made between the first and second rounds of the presidential elections, Yeltsin calmed public fears about Chechnia. On 18 June 1996, he replaced Oleg Lobov--whose political authority and health had declined in the preceding months--with General Alexander Lebed, the Moldovan war hero and presidential candidate, who had garnered a surprising 15 percent of the vote in the first round. At the head of the Security Council was now a respected general who promised to end the Chechen war and to fight corruption aggressively. It was a measure of Lebed's bargaining power with Yeltsin that he also replaced Yurii Baturin as the president's counsellor for national security affairs. Baturin's office in the Counsellors' Service had long competed with the secretary of the Security Council for the president's attentions in security matters.

Presidential Representatives, Committees and "Near-Presidential" Structures

One of the peculiar features of the Russian state is the institution of the personal representative (predstavitel') of the president. The original representatives--appointed in the second half of 1991--operated in the country's regions as the eyes of the president in local government. When Marshal Evgenii Shaposhnikov lost his position as head of the armed forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Yeltsin found work for him as his personal representative to Russia's main arms supply company, Rosvooruzhenie. Presidential representatives to the parliament and the Constitutional Court were added in 1994 and 1995. Supported by a staff of less than ten persons, each representative was charged with advancing the presidential program in his particular region or institution. The representative in the Constitutional Court, for example, defended the president's interests during oral arguments before the Court, advised the president on the constitutionality of the drafts of presidential decrees, and formulated requests for review (zaposy) for the Constitutional Court. As important as these offices appear, they were in almost every case duplicating tasks already performed by Government ministries or other presidential agencies. The institution of the personal representative of the president was yet another example of institutional redundancy.

The presence of these representatives "in" (v) non-presidential structures illustrates that the Russian presidency refused to respect the idea of a separation of powers. Much like the tsar or other traditional monarchs, the president stood above Government, parliament, courts, and the regions and sent his emissaries to them. Thus, to identify the presidency as a "branch" of government, or to conflate the Government (pravitel'stvo) and presidency into a single executive branch, is to misunderstand the conceptual underpinnings of the Russian state in the post-communist era.

The presidential bureaucracy also contained a number of commissions that operated with boards of luminaries supported by small permanent staffs. Besides the Council on Cadres Policy and the Council on Pardons, which carried out important administrative functions, the presidency had
numerous advisory commissions touching virtually every area of Russian life. The most general of these was the Presidential Council, a think tank dominated by progressive officials and scholars. Like Gorbachev before him, Yeltsin seemed to have turned to this institution for advice only rarely. It operated in relative obscurity for almost all of Yeltsin's first term, until several of its 28 members resigned to protest the Chechen war at the beginning of the presidential election campaign. Other advisory bodies included the Commission on Relations with Religious Groups, the Commission on Women, the Family, and Demography, whose first chair, Ekaterina Lakhova, later became a deputy and head of the Women of Russia party, and the Commission for Physical Culture and Sport, chaired by Yeltsin's tennis coach, Shamil Tarpishchev. Reportedly, Tarpishchev exploited his personal contacts with the president to enrich himself and numerous colleagues in the sporting world, traditionally one of the most corrupt sectors of Russian society. With Tarpishchev's assistance, the National Sports Foundation received "a national monopoly over the tax-free import of spirits and tobacco into Russia," ostensibly as a means of financing the training of Russian sportsmen.

For Yeltsin, perhaps the most troubling commission was that on human rights. Headed by the human rights activist, Sergei Kovalev, this commission moved to the presidency from the parliament in the fall of 1993, in the wake of the legislature's dissolution. The change of venue did not restrain Kovalev's criticisms of what he perceived to be violations of human rights. He became a relentless critic of presidential crime-fighting decrees and of the war in Chechnia. In addition, he lobbied tirelessly to transform the commission into a wholly independent ombudsman's office. Kovalev ultimately became a casualty in the struggle between parliament and president over the new ombudsman's office, losing his post as head of the Commission on Human Rights at the end of 1995.

At the outer edges of the presidency lay a number of institutions that had migrated from the Government after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Many of these "near-presidential" institutions served as technical advisory bodies. Attached to the presidency (pri Prezidente), for example, were the Committee on Information Systems Policy, the Committee on Chemical and Biological Weapons, and the State Technological Commission. Employing over 300 officials, these three organizations had little in common with the core policy and administrative support offices of the presidency. But they stood as testimony to the unfettered growth of the Russian presidency during Yeltsin's first term.

The Presidency and Electoral Politics

As Yeltsin's first term drew to a close, the presidential apparatus began to devote less energy to wielding power and more to retaining it. To satisfy the formal requirements of the electoral law, the president formed an independent re-election committee. But this committee was little more than an extension of the presidential offices located in the Kremlin and on Old Square. As in the earlier parliamentary elections, executive institutions mobilized their considerable resources to support the
candidate of the "party of power." Thus, challengers for the presidency in 1996 found themselves running against the Russian state and not just Boris Yeltsin.

Nowhere was the power of incumbency more evident than in the media's role in the election. To ensure the support of the broadcast media, Yeltsin installed a loyal client as head of the largest television network, ORT. He then coopted the director of the more independently-minded network, NTV, Igor Malashenko, by appointing him as one of the 12 members of the president's re-election committee. Fearful of the threat that a communist victory would pose to press freedoms, most Russian journalists joined what was in effect a media conspiracy to promote Yeltsin and ignore or smear his opponents. In the selection and presentation of stories—even in the tone of the delivery on radio and TV—Russian journalists came to the aid of the president.

Although Yeltsin, with rare exceptions, enjoyed the support of the national media outlets based in Moscow, he was less popular among journalists in conservative regions, especially those in the so-called Red Belt south of the capital. To combat the opposition press in these areas, the presidential apparatus formed the Agency of the Regional Press, which sought to leapfrog the hostile regional authorities by making direct contact with journalists working on local newspapers. By accrediting these small-town journalists to the presidential apparatus and offering them exclusive interviews with the country's leading politicians, the president's apparatus was taking the political fight to the communist heartland. In the official explanation proffered by the Executive Office of the President, the Agency was formed "to help the media come closer to an adequate reflection of Russian reality."

During the election campaign, the presidency's own newspaper, Rossiiskie vesti, suddenly exhibited unusual interest in the views of its readers and other Russian citizens. There were weekly articles analyzing letters received by the presidential apparatus. Front page insets, entitled "Ask the President, Tell the President," invited readers to contact Yeltsin with their concerns, and many of those writing in response found their names listed under this rubric in subsequent issues. During the spring of 1996, page after page of Rossiiskie vesti was devoted to persons honored with various presidential awards. By publicly recognizing as many of the country's 100 million voters as possible before the election, Yeltsin sought to convince the electorate of his concern for their welfare.

Yeltsin's largesse during the election campaign was not restricted to the symbols of state. Through a series of decrees, the Russian president raided the treasury to pay wage arrears to workers, to raise payments to those on state assistance, to reward regional governments loyal to the president, and to reimburse the oldest members of Russian society for losses in their inflation-ravaged saving accounts. Businesses benefitted, too, from the politics of generosity. During the electoral campaign, they were often able to reduce or forgo tax payments to the state, thus contributing to a volatile financial mixture—rising expenditures and declining revenues.
Besides being an instrument in Yeltsin's campaign, the presidential apparatus was also an issue. To blunt criticism of his large and controversial apparatus, Yeltsin launched a reform of the presidency at the end of 1995. At stake were the institution's size, structure, and personnel. The liberal leader of the Executive Office of the President, Sergei Filatov, lost his position to Nikolai Egorov, an undistinguished administrator and former collective farm chairman from south Russia whose views had more in common with the old regime than with the democratic wing of the presidency. Egorov implemented the long-delayed reduction in the staff of the Executive Office—removing approximately one-quarter of its 2000 personnel—and oversaw the introduction of a major reorganization of the institution in January 1996.

A motley assortment of presidential structures found new homes in six Main Administrations, whose heads—as deputy leaders of the Executive Office—answered directly to Egorov. Only the Monitoring Administration and the State-Legal Administration remained untouched—merely adding the designation "Main" to their title. The other four main administrations gathered under their wings the remaining subdivisions of the Executive Office. Thus, the Main Administration on Domestic and Foreign Policy embraced the Administration for Work with Territories, the Administration for Cooperation with Political Parties, and the newly-created Administration for Foreign Policy. The Main Administration on Constitutional Guarantees of Citizens' Rights took in the offices concerned with such areas as letters from citizens, pardons, awards, and women and the family. The Main Program-Analytical Administration consolidated under one roof the various analytical centers and information-oriented departments as well as the Center for Presidential Programs. And the Main Administration on Civil Service and Personnel brought together the two existing administrations with responsibilities in this area. The restructuring of the presidency also expanded slightly the authority of Victor Iliushin, Yeltsin's chief counsellor, by bringing the press secretary, the chief of protocol, and the chancellery under his wing.

Although the downsizing and reorganization of the presidency appeared to have served Yeltsin well during the campaign, the removal of Filatov remained a point of controversy among reform-minded Russians. With the leading liberals—Filatov, Chubais, and Kozyrev—out of the Russian executive by the beginning of 1996, Yeltsin was exposed to a serious electoral challenge from the left by the young economist Grigorii Yavlinsky. To blunt Yavlinsky's presidential bid and to mobilize democratic forces behind his own campaign, Yeltsin began to lean left again in personnel policy. In March 1996, he appointed Filatov to serve as the head of the All-Russian Movement for Public Support of the First Russian President, an offshoot of the presidential election committee. And barely two months after signing Chubais' dismissal notice, which contained gratuitous language about his "failure to carry out a number of presidential assignments," Yeltsin recruited Chubais to work in the inner circles of his re-election campaign.
Having limited the defections of reform-oriented voters by these nods to the democratic camp, Yeltsin sought next to heighten his support among the disillusioned center of the Russian electorate. As noted earlier, he did this in part by appointing Alexander Lebed as secretary of the Security Council following the first round of the election. Lebed's tenure in the presidency began in dramatic fashion. The day after his appointment, amid a bitter fight for supremacy by several of Yeltsin's lieutenants, Lebed forced the removal from office of a powerful troika associated with presidential security and the military-industrial complex: Alexander Korzhakov, Mikhail Barsukov, and Oleg Soskovets, the first deputy prime minister. The dismissal of this formidable conservative alliance brought another shift in the balance of power within the presidency. In early July 1996, as Yeltsin went into the final round of the election against the communist candidate, Gennadii Ziuganov, reformist forces in the presidency again seemed to be in the ascendant. Personnel changes proved once more to be a potent weapon in the presidential arsenal, this time directed toward the nation and not political and economic elites.

The recruitment of a strong figure like General Lebed promised to bring what Samuel Huntington has called a rationalization of authority, if not in the executive writ large at least in its security-related offices. Within limits, this concentration of authority is a hallmark of a modern state, effacing the institutional redundancy and competition among suzerains that is characteristic of a feudal order. Exploiting a moment of crisis, Lebed—the soft authoritarian—sought to attack official corruption and to eliminate all effective competition to the Security Council from within the presidency, whether from Baturin in the Counsellors' Service or Korzhakov and Barsukov in Yeltsin's armed security detachments. The peculiar combination of personality and circumstance present in Lebed's rapid ascent in June 1996 make it unlikely, however, that similar hegemones will emerge in other policy areas.

Although Lebed's timely appointment may have guaranteed Yeltsin a second term, it also placed unprecedented constraints on the authority of the president. As a virtual running mate with Yeltsin in the presidential election, and as the unchallenged overseer of the country's vast security apparatus, Lebed was unlike other officials in the presidency, who could be readily sacrificed to boost Yeltsin's stature or to satisfy a presidential whim. It was not exactly a mephistofelian bargain, but it did deny Yeltsin the freedom of maneuver that had been a hallmark of his first term. Within weeks of Lebed's appointment came another personnel decision that roiled the Russian political elite. Yeltsin replaced Nikolai Egorov, the leader of his Executive Office, with Anatolii Chubais, the country's most prominent and effective advocate of radical economic change. Western governments chose to view this move as a sign that the Russian president—now unfettered by electoral concerns—was returning the country to the reform course. But the appointment of Chubais appeared to owe as much to concerns about power as policy. Unlike Egorov, a figure who rose to national politics "by accident"—to use the Russian phrase, Chubais was a formidable player in Russian bureaucratic politics who
could serve as an effective counterweight to the ambitions of General Lebed in the emerging succession crisis. In this role, Chubais shared the stage with Victor Chernomyrdin, the Russian prime minister, who began sparring with Lebed within days after the latter's appointment to the presidency. According to Gennadii Burbulis, Yeltsin had created "a dynamically tense complex of power where each person is capable of something important but none has the independence to act alone."¹⁴⁹

Whatever the motivations behind Yeltsin's bold appointments in the summer of 1996, the stage was set for a new and more vigorous round of competition within the presidency. At the beginning of Yeltsin's second term, with the president in failing health, the institutional presidency assumed an even more prominent profile in Russian politics. It was here--and in the Government--that key decisions would be made about Russia's commitment to political and economic reform. Not the least of these decisions concerned the transfer of power to new presidential leadership, whether occasioned by the president's death in office or the completion of his second, and final, term.
ENDNOTES


8. A native of the Sverdlovsk region, Petrov worked in responsible party positions in the area until 1977, when he was called to Moscow to assume leading posts in the Central Committee's Department for Organizational-Party Work. It was from there that he returned to Sverdlovsk in 1985 to replace Yeltsin as regional party first secretary.


11. As we shall see below, the firing of officials in the presidency did not mean the end of their political or administrative careers. The culture of guaranteed employment for high-ranking officials continued into the post-communist era. Thus, Petrov moved immediately from his post as chief of staff into the directorship of a newly-created Russian enterprise fund, which had hundreds of millions of dollars to distribute to upstart businesses. When I had dinner with Petrov at a Duke University seminar organized by Jerry Hough in the spring of 1993, he seemed slightly bemused by—but also proud of—his new status as one of Russia's most powerful CEOs. That Petrov retained an interest in politics is indicated by his inclusion on the party list of the Bloc of Ivan Rybkin in the December 1995 parliamentary elections.


17. See, for example, the description of supplicants appearing before the Ethiopian emperor, Haile Selassie, in Ryszard Kapuscinski, *The Emperor* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984).

18. Roza Sergazieva, "Po stupeniam prezidentskoi 'piramidy'. Razgovor s khranitelem pechati," *Rossiiskie vesti*, 2 April 1993, p. 2. There was also within the presidency a separate office for heraldry. The herald master was responsible for developing and policing the use of the official symbols on state buildings, letterhead, and so forth. "O Gosudarstvennom geral'dicheskom registre RF," *Sobraniye zakonodatel'stva*, no. 13 (1996), st. 1307.
19. See Yeltsin’s 1995 tax return, reproduced in Rossiiskie vesti, 6 April 1996, p. 3. As the text below suggests, Yeltsin received far more than this in in-kind benefits provided by the Administration of Affairs. According to the tax return, the Russian president received in-kind benefits [material’naia pomoshch'] totalling 5 million rubles in 1995.

20. A significant portion of the money received by the Administration of Affairs comes in the form of budgetary transfers from institutions serviced by the business office. “Ob Upravlenii delami Prezidenta Rossiiskoi Federatsii,” Sobranie zakonodatel’stva, no. 32 (1995), st. 3288 (Article 8.a).


24. A presidential decree updating the regulations governing the Administration of Affairs officially "confirmed" a list of its subordinate enterprises. Contrary to ordinary practice, however, this list was not published in the official presidential register, a sign of the institution’s desire to shield these businesses from public scrutiny. See “Ob Upravlenii delami Prezidenta Rossiiskoi Federatsii,” Sobranie zakonodatel’stva, no. 32 (1995), st. 3288.


26. The Ministry of Finance, for its part, has been intent on establishing common salary levels in all ministries and state structures. Among the agencies most resistant to levelling of civil service wages are the tax police and tax inspectorate, whose non-budgetary funds have permitted them to hire more competent and less easily corrupted cadres. Svetlana Lobaeva, “Tamozhnia, nailogovaia sluuzha i nailogovaia politiia lishniutsia svoikh tselevykh fondov,” Segodnia, 23 September 1995, 2. As Irina Savvateeva and others have argued, extrabudgetary funding continues the Soviet tradition of economic autarchy. For an introduction in English to extrabudgetary funds, see Eugene Huskey, "The Making of Economic Policy in Russia: Changing Relations between Presidency and Government,” Review of Central and East European Law (forthcoming).

27. See, for example, the information on special exporting licenses contained in Evgeniia Al’bats, "Vlast' tainoe sozdaet svoiu teneviu ekonomiku,” Izvestiia, 1 February 1995, pp. 1,2, and the provisions contained in "Ob Upravlenii delami Prezidenta Rossiiskoi Federatsii,” Sobranie zakonodatel’stva, no. 32 (1995), st. 3288. This decree orders the Government to consider granting investment tax credits to the Administration of Affairs and also exclusion from customs’ duties on goods used in production.


30. The notable exception to this rule is France, where haute fonctionnaires may also serve as mayors of cities. They are not involved, however, in national party politics.


34. For a brief biography of Iliushin, see Kira Vladina, “Viktor Iliushin, pervyi pomoshchnik khoziania Kremlia,” Nezavisimaia gazeta, 10 February 1994, p. 5.


42. When the journalist who conducted this interview turned off the tape recorder, Livshits discussed the massive theft that was plaguing economic development. He suggested that the topic of Yeltsin's knowledge of economics should be taken up only "when all present players are in retirement." "Aleksandr Livshits: Nizkaia inflatsiia tozhe opasna," *Literaturnaia gazeta*, no. 28 (1994), p. 10.


46. See page ? below.


48. Svetlana Alekseeva, "El'tsin: Popytka politicheskogo portreta," *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 1 October 1994, p. 3. In contrast, this journalist characterized Chernomyrdin as a person who was more oriented toward "the real state of affairs in the country." *Ibid*.


50. *Ibid*.


52. There was an effort, for example, to develop a gender-based quota to increase the percentage of women in the civil service. "Zhenshchiny i vlast'," *Rossiiskie vesti*, 2 July 1996, p. 1. Of the 24 members of this Council, 6 each were appointed by the presidency, the government, the parliament, and the country's highest courts. "O vnesenii izmenenii v Uказ Prezidenta RF ot 1 dekabria 1993 g. No 1208 'O Sovete po voprosam gosudarstvennoi sluzhby pri Prezidente RF,'" *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva*, no. 7 (1996), st. 669.

53. See, for example, "Sila vlasti - v umenii naiti kompromiss," *Rossiiskie vesti*, 27 May 1994, pp. 1-2 [interview with Sergei Filatov], and Andrei Baiduzhii, "Kto kontroliruet kadrovuiu politiku v Kremle?" *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 8 October 1994, pp. 1-2. The latter article detailed the objections of the power ministries to the involvement of the presidential staff in personnel decisions.


57. For a list of the centers, see "Voprosy Rossiiskoi akademii gosudarstvennoi sluzhby pri Prezidente RF," *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva*, no. 18 (1996), st. 1646.


62. The head of the presidential archives, Alexander Korotkov, reported that they contained more than 80 million files [del] from the Communist Party. A special commission, headed by the deputy leader of the Executive Office, Sergei Krasavchenko, began working on opening these files in the mid-1990s. See "Kak snimaiut grif' sekretno,'" *Rossiiskie vesti*, 23 January 1996, p. 3. This commission was part of a larger Interagency Commission for the Defense of State Secrets, comprised of approximately 20 executive officials, almost all of whom were the deputy heads of their organizations. See "Voprosy Mezhvedomstvennoi komissii po zashchite gosudarstvennoi tainy," *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva*, no. 4 (1996), st. 268.


69. "O vnesenii izmenenii i dopolnenii v Polozhenie ob Upravlenii informatsionnogo obespecheniiia Administratsii Prezidenta RF," *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva*, no. 16 (1994), st. 1887. [ukaz 1680, 11 August]


71. Note that Loginov had headed one otdel before his promotion. The other was headed by Shchegortsov.


73. "Ob Upravlenii Administratsii Prezidenta RF po vzaimodeistviu s politicheskimi partiiami, obshchestvennymi ob'edineniiami, fraktsiiami i deputatami palat Federal'nogo Sobraniia," *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva*, no. 18 (1994), st. 2068. [ukaz 1724, 23 August]


75. "Ob Upravlenii Administratsii Prezidenta RF po vzaimodeistviu s politicheskimi partiiami, obshchestvennymi ob'edineniiami, fraktsiiami i deputatami palat Federal'nogo Sobraniia," *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva*, no. 18 (1994), st. 2068. [ukaz 1724, 23 August]


77. In March 1996, the Executive Office formed a separate administration to coordinate relations with the president's regional representatives. See "Ob Upravlenii Administratsii Prezidenta RF po koordinatsii deiatel'nosti polnomochnykh predstavitelei Prezidenta RF v sub'ektakh RF," *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva*, no. 12 (1996), st. 1067.

78. Elena Tregubova, "Bol'shinstvo glav regionov podderzhali 'blok Chernomyrdina'," *Segodnia*, 4 May 1995, p. 2. In charge of this organizational effort was the Administration's deputy head, Sergei Samoilov.

79. In the summer of 1994, the president created a special commission to clarify the division of political labor between Moscow and the subject territories. Little came of this initiative, however. "Ob obrazovanii Komissii pri Prezidente RF po podgotovke dogovorov o razgranichenii predmetov vedenii i polnomochii mezhdou federal'nymi organami gosudarstvennoi vlasti i organami gosudarstvennoi vlasti sub'ektov RF," *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva*, no. 13 (1994), st. 1475. [ukaz 1499, 20 July]


86. Ibid.

87. The commission is headed by the writer, Anatolii Pristavkin. The members of the commission regularly receive letters harshly critical of their "liberalism" toward criminals. Among the files reviewed are those concerning criminals awaiting execution, some of whom have their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. In a recommendation in early 1996, for example, the Commission encouraged the president to spare a young man condemned to death for committing two murders. The mitigating circumstances in the Commission's view: the murderer's mother was an alcoholic and his father abused him. "V povestke dnia - 16 khodataistv o pomilovanii," Rossiiskie vesti, 28 February 1996, p. 1.

Although Russia is obligated by virtue of its entrance into the Council of Europe to end the use of the death penalty, political authorities have been reluctant to move quickly on this issue, with public opinion decidedly against the elimination of capital punishment. See "Rassmotreno 106 khodataistv o pomilovanii," Rossiiskie vesti, 13 March 1996, p. 2.


89. The term is Aleksandr Kotenko's. Andrei Stepanov, "Andrei Voikov rasskazyvaet 'MK' o pereezde dumy i o sebe," Moskovskii komsomolets, March 2, 1994, p. 3.


92. The head of the protocol service, Vladimir Shevchenko, enjoyed the rank of ambassador. He had been chief of protocol in the Gorbachev administration as well, a rare example of an official who worked under both the Soviet and Russian presidents. "Vladimir Shevchenko: shef protokol'noi sluzhby vsedegda pri prezidentakh," Rossiiskaia gazeta, 2 September 1994, p. 3. See also "O rukovoditele protokola Prezidenta RF i Upravlenii protokola Prezidenta RF," Sobranie zakonodatel'stva, no. 28 (1995), st. 2638.

93. The best introduction to the Russian security services in the first years of the post-Soviet era is to be found in Amy Knight, Spies without Cloaks: The KGB's Successors (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).


97. Vera Selivanova, "i na FAPSI est. UIDO," Segodnia, 5 May 1995, p. 2. The main concern of this administration seems to have been data storage and copying. See "Ob utverzhdenii Polozheniia ob Upravlenii informatizatsii i dokumentatsionnogo obespechenia Administratsii Prezidenta RF," Sobranie zakonodatel'stva, no. 4 (1995), st. 283. The new administration did not handle legal databases, however, which had been for some time within the purview of the State-Legal Administration or various structures created by it.


101. Ibid.

102. "O Glavnom upravlenii okhrany RF," Sobranie zakonodatel'stva, no. 31 (1995), st. 3099. Formally, the Security Guard was a part of the Executive Office of the President until early 1996, though it remained outside of the day-to-day supervision [operativnoe rukovodstvo] of the leader of the Executive Office. "Ob Administratsii Prezidenta RF," Sobranie zakonodatel'stva, no. 31 (1995), st. 3008. In fact, the Security Guard was empowered to deal directly with the various divisions of the Executive Office without working through its leadership.

103. Sergei Parkhomenko, "Modern Day Rasputin," Moscow News, no. 16 (1995), pp. 1, 6. Perhaps he was influenced in the bed’s placement by the president’s tennis coach?


109. Ibid.


119. For this reason, the Constitutional Conference refused to give the Security Council its own article in the draft constitution, as desired by Yeltsin. Tamara Zamyatina, "To Achieve a Balance Between the Interests of the Power-Wielding Departments and Those of the Civilian Departments," Rossiiskie vesti, 7 March 1995, p. 2, as translated in Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press, no. 8 (1995), p. 8.


122. Ibid.

123. Yeltsin admitted, only partly in jest, that some of his former allies had formed their own political party, the "party of the offended" [partiia obizhennykh]. "Glavnoe, chtoby Rossiia okonchatel'no sdelala svoi vybor v pol'zu svobody," Rossiiskie vesti, 5 June 1996 [spetsial'nyi vypusk "Politicheskaia sreda," p. 1].


126. Appointed in January 1993, Nazarkin lost his post that August.


128. ITAR-TASS, 1249 GMT, 7 November 1994, as translated in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 8 November 1994, pp. 21-22. [FBIS-SOV-94-216]


132. "Ukrepit' bezopasnost' obshchestva i lichnosti," Rossiiskie vesti, 21 June 1996, p. 1. Like members of the old party nomenklatura, Lobov and Baturin moved immediately into jobs of similar standing. Lobov as first deputy prime minister and Baturin as presidential counsellor without portfolio.

133. See, for example, "Who's Closer to the President's Body," Moskovskii komsoomol'st, 30 June 1994, p. 2, as translated in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 1 July 1994, pp. 21-22. [FBIS-SOV-94-127]
134. The first occupants of these posts were, respectively, Alexander M. Yakovlev and Valerii Savitskii, both respected scholars from the Institute of State and Law. Both left the positions in February 1996, apparently part of the purging of cadres associated with the reformist camp of Filatov. Yakovlev was immediately replaced by Mikhail Mitiukov, a lawyer and prominent deputy. "Kadrovye peremeny," Rossiiskie vesti, 7 February 1996, p. 1. "Polozhenie o polnomochnykh predstavitelakh Prezidenta RF v palatakh Federal'noho Sobraniia RF," Sobranie zakonodatel'stva, no. 11 (1996), st. 1034.


137. See, for example, the impressive annual report on human rights abuses published by the Commission on Human Rights.


142. Although the appointment of Egorov was made official on January 15, 1996, he had been serving for several weeks as the de facto head of the Executive Office. According to one report, while Filatov was on vacation in the fall of 1995, the president took away his security detail, his dacha, and his office on Old Square. Egorov moved into this office while Filatov was away, and well before the issuing of the decrees formalizing the personnel changes in January 1996. "S. Filatova vytesniaiut," Argumenty i fakty, no. 37 (1995), p. 2.

143. For a full list of the offices within each of the main administrations, see "Voprosy Administratsii Prezidenta RF," Sobranie zakonodatel'stva, no. 6 (1996), st. 532.

144. The official organizational chart of the presidency also made public for the first time the existence of a Main Administration for Special Presidential Programs, which answered directly to Yeltsin. This bureau had responsibility for mobilizing the bureaucracy for war and apparently managing the special facilities constructed for nuclear war. Among its 250 staff were 20 officials seconded to the Center from military and law enforcement personnel organizations. "Voprosy Glavnogo upravleniia spetsial'nykh programm Prezidenta RF," Sobranie zakonodatel'stva, no. 11 (1996), st. 1033.


