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INFO MOSCOW POLITICAL COLLECTIVE

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BUILDING IS CERTAINLY TREMBLING. WEEKS OF ACTIVE POLITICKING BETWEEN THE REPUBLICS AND THE CENTER ABOUT THE MINISTRY'S FUTURE HAVE CONFUSED THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS AND RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE AUTHORITY BEHIND ANY DECISION. SOME SCHEDULED MEETINGS ARE BEING POSTPONED AND INSTRUCTIONS AND OPERATIONAL GUIDANCE ARE IN MANY CASES NOT GETTING OUT. THE DRAMA HAS BECOME INTENSELY COMPLEX, WITH INTER-REPUBLICAN JOCKEYING FOR DIPLOMATIC SLOTS LINKED TO BROADER POLICY QUESTIONS, AND MFA EMPLOYEES' FEARS OF LOSING THEIR JOBS SERVING TO UNDERMINE SOVIET FM PANKIN AND INCREASE RUSSIAN FM KOZYREV'S LEVERAGE. THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN PANKIN AND REPUBLICAN LEADERS, HEADED BY KOZYREV, THAT THE NEW "MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS" WILL HAVE A PRIMARILY COORDINATING ROLE

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Authority: E0 13526  
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS  
Date: AUG 20 2015

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DEPARTMENT FOR S. D. P. C. T. S/P. L. EB. IO. PM.  
OES. EUR. EUR/SOV

~~E.O. 12958~~ DECL. OADR  
TAGS: PNAT, PREL, PGOV, EFIN, MILI, UR, US  
SUBJECT: THE CENTER WILL NOT HOLD

REF. (A) MOSCOW 30850. (B) MOSCOW 31909

1 ~~(CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT)~~

2. SUMMARY. WHILE THE STATE COUNCIL, GORBACHEV, AND REPUBLICAN LEADERS ARGUE AT POLITICAL AND THEORETICAL LEVEL OVER THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CENTER AND REPUBLICS, DISINTEGRATION OF THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS PROCEEDS APACE. THE PROCESS IS UNEVEN: IT IS LEAST ADVANCED AMONG THE MILITARY AND MOST ADVANCED AMONG THE UNION'S ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT MINISTRIES. SOME CENTRAL BUREAUCRACIES LIKE THE SOVIET MINISTRY OF AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY HAVE ALREADY FOLDED, WHILE INERTIA IS CARRYING OTHERS ALONG ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS. HOWEVER, THEY FACE THE NOVEMBER 15 DROP-DEAD DATE WHICH SILAYEV URGED ON THE STATE COUNCIL NOVEMBER 4 FOR CLOSURE OF ALL BUT THREE SOVIET MINISTRIES. THOSE ARE RAILROADS, INDUSTRIAL AND NUCLEAR SAFETY, AND ATOMIC POWER INDUSTRY. IN ADDITION, DEFENSE, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, JUSTICE, INTERIOR, THE KGB, AND THE SOVIET PROCURACY ARE IN A NEGOTIABLE GREY AREA, AND POSSIBLY TRANSPORTATION AND ELECTRICAL ENERGY AS WELL. WITHIN UNCERTAIN PARAMETERS, INTENSE JOCKEYING CONTINUES OVER FUTURE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES AS THREATENED BUREAUCRACIES TALK ABOUT COMBINING OR RECONSTITUTING THEMSELVES UNDER THE AEGIS OF SOME SURVIVING ENTITY. THE STATE OF CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY IN THIS COUNTRY, ON THIS 74TH AND PROBABLY LAST PUBLICLY CELEBRATED ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, RANGES FROM UNCERTAIN TO NONEXISTENT. THIS MESSAGE IS AN EMBASSY-WIDE SNAPSHOT OF THE CONDITION OF THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS ON NOVEMBER 7. END SUMMARY.

3. FOREIGN AFFAIRS. "IZVESTIYA" NOVEMBER 1  
/----- CARRIED A FRONT-PAGE ARTICLE ON  
THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY HEADED "EARTHQUAKE ON  
SMOLENSK SQUARE." THE STALINIST WEDDING-CAKE

EXCY FOR VP PER MASON/BMOV/RA

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ACTION

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INFO DIRM:SCD(1) NIDS(1) NMCC:ODD(1) JS(2)  
JS:SOVCEN-J(1) SHAPE LMO(2) SECDEF-N(1) DARPA(1)  
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+OCSA WASHINGTON DC  
+PTC WASH DC  
+USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE  
+USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE  
+USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM  
+CDRPSYOP GP FT BRAGG NC//ASOF-POG-SB//  
+USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA//J2//  
+MAC INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//  
+COMJCSO FT BRAGG NC//J2//  
+SAFE

4. THE EARTHQUAKE'S EPICENTER AT THIS POINT IS THE DISPUTE BETWEEN PANKIN AND KOZYREV OVER NUMBERS OF PERSONNEL TO BE RETAINED BY THE NEW "MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS": YEL'TSIN CALLED FOR A 90 PERCENT CUT ON OCTOBER 28, AND THE MINISTRY HAS OFFERED A 33 PERCENT CUT. THERE IS HAGGLING ABOUT THE NUMBER OF MFA STAFFERS TO BE TRANSFERRED TO REPUBLICAN FOREIGN MINISTRIES, AND THEIR METHOD OF SELECTION.

5. THE DYNAMICS AND PARAMETERS OF THE BARGAINING ARE OBSCURE: GORBACHEV AND PANKIN HAVE BEEN HOPING A MANDATE FROM THE STATE COUNCIL WILL STABILIZE THE SITUATION, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW THAT COULD HAPPEN. NUMEROUS OFFICIALS IN RECENT WEEKS -- INCLUDING SOVIET DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTERS PETROVSKIY AND NIKOLAYENKO, AND SOME RUSSIANS AS WELL -- HAVE ANALYZED THE BYPLAY FOR US, JOURNALISTS, AND VISITORS IN TERMS OF THE WORLD AS THEY WOULD LIKE IT TO BE. WE ARE ALTERNATELY TOLD THAT THE CENTRAL FOREIGN MINISTRY'S FUTURE RELEVANCE IS ASSURED, AND THAT THE BT

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MFA HAS BEEN VIRTUALLY SMASHED AND THAT THE REPUBLICS ARE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY SADDLE. ON NOVEMBER 6, PETROVSKIY TOLD A WESTERN BUSINESS GROUP THAT THE REFORMED CENTRAL "MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS" WILL TAKE ON SOME INCREASED RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS. HE WOULD SAY THAT, BUT IT MAY BE TRUE. GORBACHEV TOLD AMBASSAD STRAUSS THE SAME DAY, MEANWHILE, THAT AFTER HE TOLD THE REPUBLICS THE USSR'S PARTNERS EXPECT THE NATION TO PURSUE A UNIFIED POLICY, YEL'TSIN MADE A STEP TOWARD GORBACHEV/PANKIN ON THE MFA.

6. MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. THE SOVIET MILITARY HAVE /----- SO FAR MANAGED TO BUCK THE TREND, BUT FACTORS LIKE BUDGETS AND RELEASE OF ENLISTED PERSONNEL FROM SERVICE SUGGEST THE HOLDING ACTION CANNOT LAST. THE NOVEMBER 4 STATE COUNCIL SESSION REPORTEDLY AGREED TO RETAIN CENTRAL COMMAND OVER NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES, BUT NEW STRUCTURES ARE RISING UNEVENLY IN THE REPUBLICS AS OF NOVEMBER 7. FOR EXAMPLE:

-- AZERBAIDZHAN, UKRAINE, AND ARMENIA HAVE DEFENSE MINISTRIES AND MINISTERS OF DEFENSE: RUSSIA HAS A DEFENSE MINISTER BUT NO MINISTRY; GEORGIA HAS A MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AND STAFF;

-- AZERBAIDZHAN, BELARUS, GEORGIA, AND UKRAINE ARE DISCUSSING OR HAVE PLANS TO ESTABLISH NATIONAL ARMIES (SOME IN UKRAINE HAVE SAID THEIR FORCE COULD NUMBER UP TO 450,000 MEN);

-- GEORGIA HAS A NATIONAL GUARD; BELARUS, RUSSIA, UKRAINE, AND UZBEKISTAN ARE DISCUSSING OR HAVE PLANS TO ESTABLISH NATIONAL GUARDS;

MCN=91311/03766 TOR=91311/1342Z TAD=91312/1300Z CDSN=MAU151

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-- TWO REPUBLICS -- KAZAKHSTAN AND TURKMENISTAN --  
STILL SUPPORT CONTROL OF ALL ARMED FORCES BY THE  
SOVIET CENTER. RUSSIA'S SUPPORT FOR CENTRAL CONTROL  
IS QUALIFIED.

7. COMMAND AND CONTROL. THE STATE COUNCIL IS  
DISCUSSING THE DEFENSE MINISTRY'S FATE AS AN  
INTER-REPUBLICAN BODY AND REPORTEDLY PLANS TO  
ESTABLISH A COUNCIL OF REPUBLIC DEFENSE MINISTERS TO  
GUIDE BROAD POLICY. HOWEVER, THE STRUCTURES OF THE  
SOVIET DEFENSE MINISTRY AND GENERAL STAFF HAVE BEEN  
VIRTUALLY UNCHANGED SINCE BEFORE THE AUGUST COUP  
ATTEMPT. DESPITE THE POLITICAL RHETORIC FROM THE  
REPUBLICS, OUR DAO FINDS NO INDICATION THAT ANY MAJOR  
FORCES, NUCLEAR OR CONVENTIONAL, HAVE ACCEPTED OR ARE  
ACCEPTING ORDERS FROM ANYWHERE BUT THE CENTER  
HOWEVER, PRUDENT COMMANDERS AT MILITARY DISTRICT AND  
LOCAL LEVELS ARE CAREFULLY COORDINATING WITH LOCAL  
CIVIL AUTHORITIES TO KEEP THEM FULLY AWARE OF  
DEVELOPMENTS. THIS INCLUDES THE SOVIET BLACK SEA  
FLEET COMMANDER, ADMIRAL KASOTONOV, WHO HAS MET WITH  
KRAYCHUK, THE UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN DELEGATIONS  
WHICH MET IN KIEV OCTOBER 30 AGREED THAT NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS STATIONED IN UKRAINE CANNOT BE USED WITHOUT  
UKRAINE'S CONSENT.

8. COMING PROBLEMS. ALTHOUGH CENTRAL MILITARY  
STRUCTURES REMAIN INTACT FOR THE PRESENT, BUDGETARY  
AND PERSONNEL PROBLEMS WILL INTRUDE:

-- MONEY. THE CENTER HAS NOT APPROVED A DEFENSE  
MINISTRY BUDGET FOR 1992 AND APPEARS TO BE UNABLE  
EVEN TO ALLOCATE THOSE PORTIONS OF THE BUDGET TO BE  
COVERED BY THE CENTER AND THOSE COVERED BY THE  
REPUBLICS. SENIOR SOVIET MILITARY OFFICIALS CONTINUE  
TO TALK ABOUT MAINTAINING MILITARY EXPENDITURES AT  
ROUGHLY CURRENT LEVELS; THIS APPEARS TO US TO BE  
FANTASY. WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF THE SEVERAL MILLION MEN  
UNDER ARMS IN THE USSR FIND THEIR PAYCHECKS SHARPLY  
REDUCED OR EVEN ENDED AFTER JANUARY 1 IS A SUBJECT OF  
CONSIDERABLE QUIET APPREHENSION HERE, INCLUDING AMONG  
SOME SOVIET MILITARY OFFICERS WHO HAVE TOLD US  
PRIVATELY THAT MEN WITH "ARMS IN THEIR HANDS" SHOULD  
NOT BE TRIFLED WITH AND THAT THE "YUGOSLAV VARIANT"  
IS NOT EXCLUDED IN THE USSR.

-- PERSONNEL. EACH SIX MONTHS, 25 PERCENT OF  
BT

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MILITARY ENLISTED PERSONNEL ARE RELEASED FROM  
SERVICE. FOR THE AUTUMN 1991 CONSCRIPTION PERIOD,  
THE CENTER WAS OBLIGED TO ENTER INTO ESSENTIALLY  
BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH EACH OF THE 12 REPUBLICS  
TO DETERMINE THE MANNER AND EXTENT OF THEIR  
PARTICIPATION IN CONSCRIPTION.

-- DEPLOYMENT. FIVE REPUBLICS -- AZERBAIDZHAN,  
BELARUS\*, KYRGYZSTAN, MOLDOVA, AND UKRAINE -- REQUIRE  
THAT THEIR CONSCRIPTS SERVE ONLY WITHIN THEIR  
TERRITORY. ALL THIS MEANS THAT THE CENTER'S MILITARY  
MANPOWER POOL IS UNDER SERIOUS PRESSURE, ALONG WITH  
ITS CAPACITY TO DEPLOY FORCES WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION

9. INTERNAL SECURITY. SOVIET INTERIOR MINISTER  
BARRANIKOV ANNOUNCED PLANS  
NOVEMBER 6 TO TRANSFER 230,000 INTERIOR MINISTRY  
(MVD) TROOPS TO THE REPUBLICS ON CONDITION THEY NOT  
BE USED TO INTERCEDE IN ETHNIC DISPUTES, IN WHICH  
CENTRAL MVD FORCES WILL CONTINUE TO BE DEPLOYED.  
LIKE THE CENTRAL "MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS,"  
THE CENTRAL INTERIOR MINISTRY WILL, ACCORDING TO  
BARRANIKOV, RETAIN COORDINATING FUNCTIONS; AN  
INTER-REPUBLICAN COUNCIL OF INTERIOR MINISTERS WILL  
SET POLICY GUIDELINES.

10. CIVIL AVIATION. AEROFLOT MAINTAINS NORMAL  
/----- SUBSTANDARD SERVICE. THERE ARE  
QUESTIONS ABOUT THE AIRSPACE AND AIR TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT  
COMMISSION FOR AIRSPACE AND AIR TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT  
STILL EXERCISES AUTHORITY: THE BALTIC COUNTRIES AND  
MOLDOVA HAVE REPORTEDLY BROKEN OUT OF THE NETWORK,  
AND IT IS COMPLETELY UNCLEAR HOW WE, FOR EXAMPLE,  
WILL COORDINATE AIRSPACE QUESTIONS WITH THESE  
ENTITIES. THE SOVIET MINISTRY OF AVIATION INDUSTRY  
APPARENTLY NO LONGER EXISTS. RESPONSIBILITY FOR  
INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION OVERSIGHT APPEARS TO BE  
DROPPING TO THE REPUBLIC-LEVEL RUSSIAN MINISTRY OF  
AVIATION AND TRANSPORTATION. WE HAVE HAD ONE REPORT  
OF A DECISION TO ESTABLISH A CENTRAL MINISTRY OF  
TRANSPORTATION (AND PERHAPS COMMUNICATIONS) WHICH  
WOULD INCLUDE CIVIL AND SHIPPING UNITS

11. ENERGY. VLADIMIR BURENIK, RECTOR OF THE FOREIGN  
/----- ECONOMIC RELATIONS MINISTRY'S  
MANAGEMENT SCHOOL, TELLS US OF A DECISION TO RETAIN A  
MINISTRY OF ELECTRICAL ENERGY AS WELL AS AN ATOMIC  
POWER MINISTRY. HE CLAIMS THAT SILAYEV'S  
INTER-REPUBLICAN ECONOMIC COMMITTEE IS SUPPOSED TO  
HAVE A SMALL COORDINATING UNIT TO HANDLE FOREIGN  
ECONOMIC RELATIONS, BUT DOUBTS THIS WILL AMOUNT TO  
MUCH.

12. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS. MOST SOVIET  
/----- MINISTRIES  
RESPONSIBLE FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES ARE IN  
PROCESS OF BEING ABSORBED BY THE CONSTITUENT  
REPUBLICS. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT FUNCTIONS ARE BEING  
PICKED UP BY SOME OF THE SMALLER REPUBLICS, IN  
CONTRAST TO RUSSIA AND UKRAINE WHICH ARE EVOLVING  
FULL-SCALE STATE ADMINISTRATIONS. DEVOLUTION  
INCLUDES THE FORMER SOVIET MINISTRIES OF  
TELECOMMUNICATIONS, GENERAL MACHINE BUILDING (SPACE  
SECTOR), HEALTH, AND FISHERIES. FOR THE RUSSIAN  
FEDERATION, THIS PROCESS SEEMS TO MEAN THAT  
STREAMLINED "QUASI-MINISTRIES" ARE EMERGING WHICH  
HAVE QUASI-SUPERVISORY RELATIONS WITH VARIOUS  
PRODUCTION ENTERPRISES, FACTORIES, AND RESEARCH  
INSTITUTES. PRODUCTION ENTITIES HAVE THE CHOICE OF  
OPTING OUT OF THIS STRUCTURE AND GOING IT ALONE,  
WHICH SEEMS TO MEAN THEY ARE TOTALLY SELF-FINANCING  
AND FREE TO BID FOR BUSINESS AS THEY WISH.

13. WHAT DOES "FOLDED" MEAN? TAKING THE FORMER  
SOVIET HEALTH MINISTRY AS AN EXAMPLE, IT MEANS THAT  
THE ENTITY NO LONGER EXISTS. AS OF NOVEMBER 15,  
THERE WILL NO LONGER BE A MINISTER OR SENIOR STAFF;  
PERSONNEL DO NOT REPORT FOR WORK; BUILDINGS, CARS,  
AND OTHER ASSETS ARE UP FOR GRABS.

14. SCIENCE. IN THE R&D AREA, THE STATE COMMITTEE  
/----- FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY HAS BEEN  
VIRTUALLY ABSORBED BY THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT;  
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YEL'TSIN HAS NAMED HIS OWN MAN TO HEAD THE  
ORGANIZATION. THE RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WHICH  
STALIN TURNED INTO THE SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES,  
HAS BEEN RECONSTITUTED AND IS IN THE PROCESS OF  
ABSORBING THE SOVIET ACADEMY, ALONG WITH THE BULK OF  
ITS ASSETS, INSTITUTIONS, AND BUDGETARY AUTHORITY.

15. FINANCE. SEVERAL SOURCES INCLUDING "IZVESTIYA"  
/----- HAVE CLAIMED THAT THE REPUBLICS HAVE  
DECIDED TO ELIMINATE THE ALL-UNION MINISTRY OF  
FINANCE. ACCORDING TO OTHER SOURCES, SILAYEV'S  
ECONOMIC COMMITTEE MAY PICK UP SOME OF THE FINANCE  
MINISTRY'S ACTION UNDER THE RUBRIC OF COORDINATING  
FUNCTIONS. YEL'TSIN'S DETERMINATION TO CONTROL  
RUSSIA'S MONEY SUPPLY HAS FED STRONG RUMORS THAT THE  
USSR STATE BANK WILL BE TAKEN OVER BY THE RUSSIAN

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL  
Authority: EO 13526  
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS  
Date: AUG 20 2015

MCN=91311/03766 TOR=91311/13422 TAD=91312/1300Z CDSN=MAU151

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STATE BANK, OR THAT THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION WILL IN FACT CONTROL THE OPERATIONS OF THE USSR STATE BANK. THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE STATE RESERVE OF THE USSR AND GOSKHRAN ARE ALSO IN DOUBT ("IZVESTIYA" THINKS THEY WILL BE ELIMINATED), WITH SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR MANAGEMENT OF BUDGET AND DEBT ISSUES. NOVEMBER 1 "IZVESTIYA" REPORTED, FOR INSTANCE, THAT AZERBAIDZHAN HAS ANNOUNCED IT DOES NOT INTEND TO PAY ANY PORTION OF THE USSR'S FOREIGN DEBT.  
COLLINS BT

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Authority: EO 13526  
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Office of the Secretary of Defense  
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS  
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Declassify: X Deny in Full: \_\_\_\_\_  
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