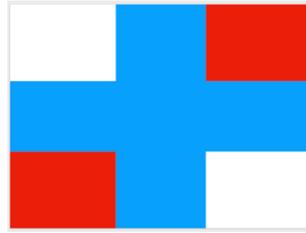


РУССКИЙ СОВѢТЬ



1921 - 2016

PROGRAM OF THE RUSSIAN COUNCIL

Normative edition; position paper of the Russian Council, not a state act and not replacing the Manifesto of 06.02.2016

Weissenburg, February 6, 2026

SECTION 0. TERMINOLOGY AND OFFICIAL INTERPRETATION

0.1. Terminology

0.1.1. "Empire" / "imperial form of statehood" — an inclusive constitutional order of a democratic rule-of-law state, in which:

- a) all citizens are equal before the law regardless of origin, language, religion, and culture;
- b) power is limited by law and separation of powers;
- c) human rights are protected by an independent judiciary;
- d) ethnocracy and any forms of legal discrimination are prohibited.

The term does not imply colonialism, expansion, external territorial claims, or inequality of peoples.

0.1.2. "Sobor" — Zemsky Sobor (Constituent Assembly), elected in free elections and possessing constituent authority.

0.1.3. "Act of Restoring Legality" — a public transitional document fixing the mandate of transitional bodies, guarantees of rights and freedoms, and the election calendar for the Sobor.

0.1.4. "Trust Council" — a temporary collegiate body formed from signatories of the Act of Restoring Legality to appoint the Transitional Government and ensure Sobor elections.

0.1.5. "Transitional Government" — a temporary executive body with a limited mandate: security, restoration of freedoms, organization of Sobor elections.

0.2. Official interpretation (for citation)

1. This Program is a position paper of the Russian Council and does not constitute a state act.
2. The term "Empire" is used exclusively in the constitutional-legal, inclusive sense defined in para. 0.1.1 and does not mean colonial policy, expansion, ethnic hierarchy, or inequality of peoples and cultures.
3. The formula "Russia — free, united, and indivisible" means the indivisibility of rights and unity of civil legal order and is not an assertion of external territorial claims.
4. Issues of form of government, state structure, and territorial organization are to be resolved exclusively through constituent and legal procedure: via a freely elected Sobor, adoption of a Constitution, and referendum if necessary.
5. The Program proceeds from the priority of human rights, independent judiciary, separation of powers, and free elections as foundations of legitimacy.
6. The transitional mechanisms outlined in the Program are temporary and limited to the task of restoring legality and holding free Sobor elections.
7. Any interpretation of the Program as a call for aggression, colonialism, extrajudicial measures, or rejection of democratic rule-of-law order contradicts its direct norms and official interpretation.

SECTION I. MAIN ARTICLES

Article 1. Purpose

The Russian Council advocates for the restoration of Russia's lawful statehood and the creation of conditions for free constituent expression of will by citizens through the Sobor and referendum on the Constitution.

Article 2. Imperial form of statehood

The imperial form of statehood is understood as an inclusive constitutional order of a democratic rule-of-law state (para. 0.1.1). Any interpretations attributing colonialism, expansion, or legal inequality to this term are incorrect.

Article 3. Human rights and rule-of-law state

Human rights, independent judiciary, equality before the law, separation of powers, and free elections constitute the foundation of state power legitimacy.

Article 4. Continuity of statehood

The Russian Council proceeds from the principle *Ex injuria jus non oritur*: unlawful violence and usurpation do not give rise to rights. The unlawful events and usurpations of 1917 could not lawfully abolish or transform Russian statehood. The transition is understood as restoration of legality, not establishment of a new state.

Article 5. Constituent authority

The exclusive right to adopt a new Constitution and determine the permanent system of power belongs to the Sobor with subsequent popular approval (referendum).

Article 6. Transitional bodies

Transitional bodies are created exclusively to ensure security, restore freedoms, and organize free Sobor elections. Transitional bodies do not possess constituent power.

Article 7. "Free, united, and indivisible"

The formula means indivisibility of rights and unity of civil legal order. It is not a basis for aggressive policy and does not imply external territorial claims.

Article 8. International-legal orientation

The Russian Council proceeds from the priority of peace, prohibition of aggressive war, respect for international law and responsibility for international crimes, as well as restoration of normal relations with neighbors on a legal basis.

Article 9. Renunciation of extrajudicial measures

Collective responsibility is prohibited. Sanctions, confiscations, restrictions of rights, and lustration measures are permitted only by law, individually, with the right to defense and judicial appeal.

Article 10. Transparency and accountability

Financial transparency of transitional bodies, public reporting, and independent audit are mandatory conditions of trust.

Article 11. Social contract of national wealth

National resources and income from them serve citizens. The Russian Council supports the mechanism of individual citizen accounts within the NWF and targeted use of funds for education, healthcare, entrepreneurship, housing, and family formation.

Article 12. Status of the Russian Council

The Russian Council acts as the unified overseas representative-trustee of lawful Russian statehood in accordance with the Manifesto of 06.02.2016 and through resumption of the activities of General Baron P. N. Wrangel's Russian Council.

SECTION II. LEGITIMACY DOCTRINE AND CONSTITUTIONAL TRANSITION

2.1. Continuity and legitimacy

1. Russian statehood is considered continuous *de jure*; usurpation creates no rights.
2. The goal of the transition is restoration of legality, human rights, and institutions of the democratic rule-of-law state.

2.2. Basic Laws and temporary constitutional presumption

1. In the transitional period, the Russian Council supports recognition of the **Basic Laws of the Russian Empire** as a temporary constitutional basis insofar as their norms are compatible with restoring security and fundamental rights.
2. This implies recognition of the **monarchy de jure** as the form of government for the transitional period **exclusively until adoption of a new Constitution by the Sobor and referendum**. The monarchical form serves **only as a temporary legitimacy framework**, fully subordinate to the Sobor's constituent decisions, **including the possibility of transition to a republic**.
3. Under the democratic order of the rule-of-law state, the Russian Council understands a constitutional monarchy with an elected representative body and separation of powers — historically realized in Russia after the 1905 Manifesto and enshrined in the Basic Laws —

as a form in which supreme power is limited by law and human rights are protected by an independent judiciary.

SECTION III. ARCHITECTURE OF TRANSITION: ACT → TRUST COUNCIL → TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT → SOBOR → CONSTITUTION

3.1. Act of Restoring Legality

The Act of Restoring Legality fixes:

- a) mandate of transitional bodies;
- b) guarantees of human rights and basic freedoms;
- c) Sobor election calendar;
- d) principles of transparency and accountability;
- e) prohibition of constituent decisions outside the Sobor.

3.2. Trust Council

Norm. The Trust Council is formed from signatories of the Act of Restoring Legality on a coalition representation principle, **with mandatory prior formation of an "Integrity Commission" (5-7 representatives: émigré leaders, jurists, civil activists) with veto power over candidates by qualified majority (2/3)**. Required are **public verification of documents (7 days for public comments with mandatory response), open publication of all materials, and independent audit by international observers (OSCE/UN)**. The Trust Council's competence is closed by the transitional mandate and terminates with the start of the Sobor's work. **No faction may hold more than 30% of seats.**

Competence (closed list):

- a) appoint the Transitional Government;
- b) establish an independent election administration for the transitional period;
- c) monitor the transition calendar;
- d) ensure compliance with safeguards against usurpation **and removal of members for violations (vote of 50%+1 signatories)**.

Verification (mandatory documents + additional measures):

biography; asset declaration (**with monthly updates**); conflict of interest declaration; statement of non-involvement in regime repressions and corrupt practices; commitment to comply with transitional mandate; **financial surety (refundable if no violations)**. **Council members are ineligible for Sobor elections and Transitional Government positions (for 5 years)**. **Each seat has a backup candidate.**

Exclusion criteria:

1. participation in political repressions (incl. fabrication of cases, extrajudicial persecution, political surveillance, censorship; leadership of repressive structures);
2. corrupt practices and unlawful enrichment;
3. public calls for mass violence and incitement of hatred;
4. conflict of interest incompatible with transitional mandate;

5. concealment or falsification of information during verification.

All disputes are resolved by transitional court within 72 hours.

3.3. Transitional Government

Mandate (closed list):

- a) ensuring security and cessation of political terror;
- b) restoration of basic freedoms and abolition of censorship;
- c) release of political prisoners and cessation of political persecution;
- d) organization of free Sobor elections (registration, equal access to campaigning, observation, counting);
- e) preparation of legal framework for accountability for repressions and abuses within law and *due process*;
- f) ensuring functioning of vital systems during transition.

Prohibitions: The Transitional Government has no right to make constituent decisions on form of government, constitutional order, and territorial structure.

3.4. Sobor and Constitution

1. The Sobor is elected in free, equal, and competitive elections with independent observation and judicial protection of electoral rights.
2. The Sobor establishes a Constitutional Committee, considers the Constitution draft, and approves it for referendum.
3. After the referendum, permanent state bodies are formed according to the new Constitution.

3.5. Transition calendar (maximum deadlines)

The Act fixes maximum deadlines (guidelines to be specified in the Act):

up to 30 days: launch of freedom guarantees, formation of Trust Council, appointment of Transitional Government;

up to 90 days: independent election administration, participant registration, campaign rules;

up to 180 days: holding Sobor elections;

up to 270 days: convening Sobor and launching Constitutional Committee;

up to 18 months: Constitution draft, Sobor approval, referendum.

SECTION IV. HUMAN RIGHTS, FREEDOMS, EQUALITY

4.1. Human rights guarantees

The Russian Council supports guarantees of freedom of speech, conscience, association and assembly, inviolability of person and home, prohibition of torture and arbitrariness, and independent judiciary as a mechanism for protecting human rights.

4.2. Equal rights

Discrimination on political, ethnic, religious, racial, gender, or other grounds is inadmissible. The state belongs to citizens and law.

4.3. Local self-government

The Russian Council supports legally strong local self-government and budgetary responsibility as the basis of civic maturity and counterweight to arbitrariness.

SECTION V. STATE INTEGRITY AND FOREIGN POLICY

5.1. State integrity (internal meaning)

Unity means unified civil legal order and equality of citizens. Indivisibility means indivisibility of rights and unity of citizenship.

5.2. Renunciation of expansion

This Program contains no calls for external territorial claims and does not justify aggression. Issues of structure are resolved exclusively through constituent and legal means.

5.3. Peace and international normalization

The Russian Council supports cessation of aggressive policy, restoration of trust through law and accountability, cooperation with international institutions, and compliance with international humanitarian law.

SECTION VI. JUSTICE, ACCOUNTABILITY, AND MEMORY

6.1. Principle of responsibility

Responsibility for repressions and abuses is individual and implemented through legal procedure. Collective responsibility is prohibited.

6.2. Archives and rehabilitation

The Russian Council supports opening of repression archives, rehabilitation of victims, and creation of legal mechanisms for restoring justice.

6.3. Lustration and access to public service

1. Lustration in the transitional period is understood as a legal institute for access to public positions of heightened trust and is not punishment.
2. Lustration measures are applied exclusively individually and based on criteria established by law: participation in political repressions; systematic abuse of power to suppress rights and freedoms; corruption and unlawful enrichment; concealment or falsification of information during verification.
3. Membership in an organization or service in an institution alone is not grounds for restricting rights and may only serve as basis for verification.
4. Lustration is proportional and temporary and expressed in restricting access to certain positions; lifetime restrictions are permissible only by court sentence for grave crimes.
5. Lustration procedure includes notification, access to materials, right to defense, reasoned decision, and judicial appeal. Collective responsibility is prohibited.

SECTION VII. ECONOMY AND SOCIAL CONTRACT

7.1. Rule-of-law economy

The Russian Council supports protection of property by independent judiciary, de-monopolization, transparent market rules, and public audit of state expenditures.

7.2. Budget priorities

Expenditure priorities: education, healthcare, science, infrastructure, family support, and human capital restoration.

7.3. NWF-restitution and citizen dividend

The Russian Council supports the mechanism of individual citizen accounts (from age 16) within the NWF and regular accruals spent strictly for targeted purposes: education, healthcare, entrepreneurship, housing, and family formation.

SECTION VIII. CULTURE AND HERITAGE

The Russian Council supports protection of cultural heritage and legal mechanisms of cultural restitution applicable in international-legal order.

SECTION IX. FINAL PROVISION

This Program is subject to clarification and development through the Sobor's constituent process and adoption of a new Constitution. Any interpretations of the Program as justification of colonialism, expansion, or renunciation of human rights contradict its direct norms.

ANNEX A. ACT OF RESTORING LEGALITY (draft)

1. Status and purpose

- 1.1. This Act is a public framework document of the transitional period intended for restoring legality, human rights, and conditions for free constituent expression of will by citizens.
- 1.2. This Act is not a constitution and does not substitute the Sobor's constituent authority.
- 1.3. This Act is adopted in development of the Russian Council's Manifesto of 06.02.2016 and establishes the mandate of transitional bodies and Sobor election calendar.

2. Main principles of transition

- 2.1. Transition is carried out to restore legality and human rights; transitional bodies do not possess constituent power.
- 2.2. Collective responsibility is prohibited. Any restrictions of rights are permitted only by law, individually, with right to defense and judicial appeal.
- 2.3. Permanent decisions on form of government, structure, and territorial organization are made exclusively by the Sobor and confirmed by referendum on the Constitution.

3. Guarantees of rights and freedoms

- 3.1. Guaranteed: freedom of speech, conscience, assembly and association; media freedom; inviolability of person and home; prohibition of torture; right to fair trial; right to defense.
- 3.2. Censorship is prohibited. Restrictions are permitted only by law and under judicial control.

4. Transitional bodies

- 4.1. Established: Trust Council; Transitional Government; independent election administration for transitional period.

5. Trust Council

- 5.1. Formed from Act signatories on coalition principle, with public verification and approval by qualified majority.
- 5.2. Competence (closed list): appointment of Transitional Government; establishment of election administration; approval of election calendar; control of compliance with safeguards against usurpation.
- 5.3. Powers terminate with start of Sobor's work.
- 5.4. Inadmissibility: participation in repressions; corruption; public calls for mass violence and incitement of hatred; conflict of interest; concealment or falsification of information.

6. Transitional Government

- 6.1. Appointed by Trust Council.
- 6.2. Mandate (closed list): security; restoration of freedoms; cessation of political persecution; functioning of vital systems; organization of Sobor elections; preparation of legal framework for accountability per *due process*.
- 6.3. Prohibitions: absence of constituent powers.

7. Election administration

- 7.1. Established by Trust Council; organizes elections; acts neutrally and transparently; under judicial control.

8. Transition calendar

- 8.1. Maximum deadlines: up to 30 days — Trust Council and Transitional Government; up to 90 days — election administration and campaign rules; up to 180 days — Sobor elections; up to 270 days — Sobor convening; up to 18 months — Constitution and referendum.

9. Transparency

9.1. Asset and conflict of interest declarations; public reporting; independent audit.

ANNEX B. GUARANTEES OF JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE AND FREE SOBOR ELECTIONS (draft)

1. Judiciary is independent; interference and pressure prohibited.
2. Right to defense and fair procedure guaranteed; rights restrictions — only by law and with judicial appeal.
3. Sobor elections: universal, equal, competitive, secret; equal access to campaigning; independent observation; open counting; publication of protocols.
4. Election administration independent and politically neutral.
5. Judiciary ensures effective and timely protection of electoral rights.
6. Election falsification and interference in will-formation entail responsibility.

ANNEX C. CHARTER OF PRINCIPLES OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD (draft)

1. Supremacy of law and prohibition of arbitrariness.
2. Human rights and personal dignity; prohibition of torture.
3. *Due process*; prohibition of extrajudicial measures; prohibition of collective responsibility.
4. Cessation of political persecution; prohibition of censorship.
5. Constituent power — to Sobor and people; transitional bodies do not establish constitutional order.
6. Free and fair Sobor elections; observation; open counting; judicial protection.
7. Transparency, accountability, independent audit.
8. Peace, prohibition of aggressive war, compliance with international humanitarian law.
9. Equality of citizens and non-discrimination.
10. Inadmissibility of expansionist interpretations of "Empire" and formula "united and indivisible".