

MR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 2309				
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UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9502960
RECEIVED: 18 APR 95 14

TO: ANDREWS, ROBERT E
ET AL

CHRON FILE

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 22 JUN 95
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
MEDIA
CO

VISIT
TELECOMMUNICATIONS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE: 21 APR 95 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BLACKER

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

WH STRIPPING DESK

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

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COMMENTS: _____

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DOC 5 OF 5

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9502960

DOC ACTION OFFICER

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001	BLACKER	Z	95041814	PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE
002	LAKE	Z	95050410	FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR SIG
002	BEYRLE	Z	95060118	FOR REDO
003	LAKE	Z	95061618	FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR SIG
004	PRESIDENT	Z	95062019	FOR SIGNATURE
005		X	95062314	PRESIDENT SGD LTRS
005	WH STRIPPING DESK	X	95062314	FOR DISPATCH

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

004	950620			VICE PRESIDENT
004	950620			WH CHIEF OF STAFF
005	950622	ANDREWS, ROBERT E		
005	950622	BROWN, GEORGE E		
005	950622	FEINSTEIN, DIANNE		
005	950622	LANTOS, TOM		
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UNCLASSIFIED

National Security Council
The White House

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LOG # 2960

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A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

CC:

COMMENTS:

Date June 22, 1995 ?

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National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____

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A = Action	I = Information	D = Dispatch	R = Retain	N = No Further Action
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cc:

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Exec Sec Office has diskette _____

National Security Council
The White House

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A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc:

COMMENTS:

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

National Security Council
The White House

Exec Sec Office has diskette WZ

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A/O _____

DOCLOG M.C.

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NSC INT

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A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc:

COMMENTS:

Special Dispatch Instructions:

*John- we need to get
disk from Exec Sec.
I will call them -
hold till we're back*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 22, 1995

Dear Rob:

Thank you for your letter suggesting that I visit Internews during my recent trip to Moscow. As you know, a full agenda of meetings with President Yeltsin and other officials constrained my ability to schedule other events during my brief stay. I regret missing the chance to visit Internews, which has played such a vital role in helping to establish independent media throughout the former Soviet Union. I agree fully with the importance of free print and broadcast media to the emergence of stable democracies in Russia and the other states of the former Soviet Union, a theme I stressed in my address at Moscow State University May 10.

Thank you again for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "R. Andrews". The signature is stylized with a large, looped "R" and a cursive "Andrews".

The Honorable Robert E. Andrews
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 22, 1995

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter suggesting that I visit Internews during my recent trip to Moscow. As you know, a full agenda of meetings with President Yeltsin and other officials constrained my ability to schedule other events during my brief stay. I regret missing the chance to visit Internews, which has played such a vital role in helping to establish independent media throughout the former Soviet Union. I agree fully with the importance of free print and broadcast media to the emergence of stable democracies in Russia and the other states of the former Soviet Union, a theme I stressed in my address at Moscow State University May 10.

Thank you again for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill", written in a cursive, stylized script.

The Honorable George E. Brown, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0542

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 22, 1995

Dear Dianne:

Thank you for your letter suggesting that I visit Internews during my recent trip to Moscow. As you know, a full agenda of meetings with President Yeltsin and other officials constrained my ability to schedule other events during my brief stay. I regret missing the chance to visit Internews, which has played such a vital role in helping to establish independent media throughout the former Soviet Union. I agree fully with the importance of free print and broadcast media to the emergence of stable democracies in Russia and the other states of the former Soviet Union, a theme I stressed in my address at Moscow State University May 10.

Thank you again for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill", written in a cursive style.

The Honorable Dianne Feinstein
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 22, 1995

Dear Tom:

Thank you for your letter suggesting that I visit Internews during my recent trip to Moscow. As you know, a full agenda of meetings with President Yeltsin and other officials constrained my ability to schedule other events during my brief stay. I regret missing the chance to visit Internews, which has played such a vital role in helping to establish independent media throughout the former Soviet Union. I agree fully with the importance of free print and broadcast media to the emergence of stable democracies in Russia and the other states of the former Soviet Union, a theme I stressed in my address at Moscow State University May 10.

Thank you again for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill", written in a cursive, stylized script.

The Honorable Tom Lantos
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 20, 1995

95 JUN 20 P7:42

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LARA
PATRICK GRIFFIN

SUBJECT:

Congressional Correspondence

Purpose

To respond to letters from Representatives Andrews, Lantos and Brown and Senator Feinstein.

Background

Representatives Andrews, Lantos and Brown and Senator Feinstein wrote recommending you visit the studios of Internews, a U.S. firm helping develop independent television in Russia, during your trip to Moscow. Internews is a non-profit organization based in California that, using Freedom Support Act assistance funds, has made a direct and material contribution to the establishment of an independent media in Russia and other New Independent States. Your response regrets that you were unable to visit Internews but commends its work.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letters.

Attachments

- Tab A Letters to Representatives Andrews, Lantos and Brown and Senator Feinstein
- Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

2960
redo

June 15, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: COIT D. BLACKER *AMB*

FROM: JOHN BEYRLE *MD for JB*

SUBJECT: Letters to Representatives Andrews, Lantos and
Brown and Senator Feinstein

Attached are letters of response for the President to sign to
Representatives Andrews, Lantos and Brown and Senator Feinstein
regarding the President's May trip to Moscow.

Concurrence by: *WJ* William Danvers

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum for the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for the President

Tab A Letters to Representative Andrews, Lantos and
Brown and Senator Feinstein

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

2907

42ND DISTRICT OF
CALIFORNIA

RANKING DEMOCRATIC MEMBER,
COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE

MEMBER,
COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

CHAIRMAN,
CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC
CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0542
April 11, 1995

2300 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0542
(202) 225-6161

657 NORTH LA CADENA DRIVE
COLTON, CA 92324-2822
(909) 825-2472

Honorable William S. Clinton
President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

It has come to my attention that you are considering addressing the Russian people on television from the Moscow offices of Internews during your visit next month to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe.

As a Board Member of Internews and an enthusiastic supporter of the organization, I urge you to take advantage of this opportunity. As the result of U.S. government/private funding, this independent television network has a potential audience of 100 million people per day to receive impartial news, uncensored by any government. Internews is an example of a successful government/private sector partnership assisting Russia in its democratic transition.

The concept of media independent of government is still a very new and bold concept in many parts of the world. It reflects the very best of American democratic ideals at work. I am enclosing two newsclips relating to Internews and the role of the independent media in exposing the war in Chechnya and its effect on the Russian people. Much of the credit goes to Internews.

I wish you a productive and pleasant visit to Russia.

Sincerely,

George E. Brown, Jr.

George E. Brown, Jr.
Member of Congress

Enclosures: Newsclips

FYI

This front page article in Sunday's *Washington Post* highlights Internews' achievements working with independent television stations in Russia.

See pages 1 and 4.

The Washington Post

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1995

Grass-Roots Aid Works Best in Russia

Many Large U.S. Projects Support Bureaucracies, Consultants

By Fred Hiatt and Daniel Southerland
Washington Post Foreign Service

Three years into an ambitious U.S. aid program to Russia, American money has had a major impact when it has gone to the grass roots, helping to train budding entrepreneurs or to buy computer equipment for the blind. But many attempts at large-scale assistance have been less successful, with millions of dollars going to line the pockets of U.S. consultants or to support Soviet-era bureaucracies resistant to change.

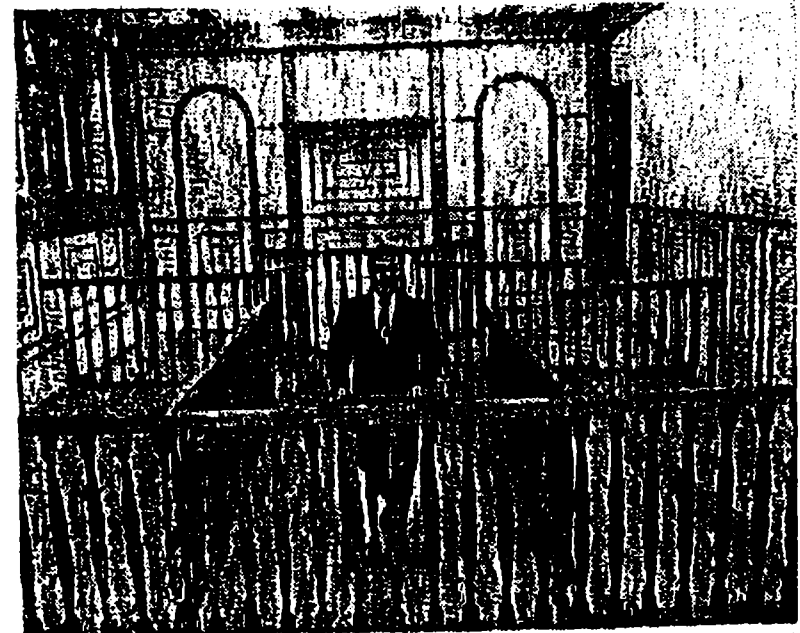
With a boost from U.S. financial aid, a network of independent television stations is taking shape across Russia, responsive to local viewers and insulated from government pressure. In recent weeks, as the Kremlin strong-armed the media to support its war in Chechnya, stations built against a return to one-sided, totalitarian news.

But U.S. aid also provided \$610,000 to a California company now working, to Russian reformers' dismay, with one of Moscow's most hidebound bureaucracies dealing with land reform. Instead of jump-starting change, these Russian bureaucrats won free trips to the United States, with a side jaunt to Disneyland.

Now a new Republican majority in Congress, suspicious of foreign aid and eager to reduce spending, has promised increased scrutiny of the U.S. aid program—especially in light of Russia's brutal military operation in Chechnya and some signs that the nation may be backsliding on political and economic reform.

Many experts say some aid, especially to nongovernmental organizations in Russia's far-flung regions, will be more vital, not less, if the Kremlin slips into old authoritarian, centralized ways.

See B1 | A AID, A36, Col. 1



Vladimir Petelkov of

Academy of Law said "we dreamed . . . for the years" about this room, renovated with \$1,000 in U.S. aid funds.

Russia Aid Works From Ground Up

RUSSIA AID, From A1

By fostering privatization, reaching out to coal miners' unions and ecology activists, backing business schools and bringing thousands of young Russians on exchange programs to the United States, American dollars have nurtured independent actors in a society that for decades sought to quash free thinking, according to dozens of interviews conducted recently in Russia and the United States.

At the same time, as the aid program swelled to more than \$1 billion last year, the political desire to show support for Russia outstripped U.S. bureaucrats' ability to dole out aid sensibly and Russian reformers' ability to absorb it, according to people familiar with the program. As a result, more and more money went to American consultants with generous overheads and travel budgets and little knowledge of the Russian scene, and to Russian bureaucrats with little appetite for reform.

The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) provided \$1.2 billion in aid to Russia in 1994—likely a high-water mark, with aid set to fall to about \$280 million this year. The Export-Import Bank spent \$300 million on former Soviet states last year, while the Department of Energy contributed \$121 million—mostly for nuclear safety—and the U.S. Information Agency gave \$128 million. Private companies have invested in Russia with financial support from the U.S. government.

James Norris, AID's Moscow director, said the agency focused on promoting a market economy, a democratic society and a reform of social services—and that the program is working.

"Our job in most countries is showing that change is possible and desirable," Norris said. "Here, the people we work with start out wanting to change, and with a pretty good idea of where they want to go. So the technical support we provide . . . gets used in ways I've never seen anywhere else."

Norris acknowledged, though, that AID went through a "let-a-thousand-flowers-bloom" period at first: "Too many things were started," he said.

Norris cited a \$2.4 million AID program to build 80 grain- and potato-storage facilities supporting novice private farmers. But the contractor "just got in over his head," Norris said, and linked up instead with allies of the old collective-farm system. In the end, only one facility was built—at a cost to U.S. taxpayers of \$2.3 million, according to an AID inspector's report.

Spend It or Lose It

For U.S. officials anxious to meet congressional targets, shoveling money out on time sometimes became as important as spending it wisely. Mary Louise Vitelli, who heads a widely praised AID-funded program to help coal miners and who praises many of AID's efforts, recalls an AID official asking her one Wednesday in August to organize a group visit to the United States—by that Friday.

"This is the system," Vitelli said. "If you don't spend it this year, you lose it next year."

Money flowed to some beneficiaries whose need could be questioned, such as Bethesda's Marriott Corp. (a \$435,000 grant from the U.S. Trade and Development Program), and Russia's wealthy energy sector (see related story).

And consultants sometimes indulged Russian bureaucrats' desires to spend money on trips and fancy computers. At Russia's Academy of Law, Washington paid for a \$65,000 renovation of a mock courtroom, complete with custom-made furniture. "It's much nicer than the courtroom where I was trained," the U.S. consultant in charge said proudly.

The deputy chairman of the academy, Vladimir Peisikov, said the courtroom will help teach Russian judges how to manage jury trials, a new phenomenon. "We dreamed about this courtroom for three years," he said.

Washington often relied on consultants who knew more about the AID bureaucracy, and about developing countries, than about Russia, critics said. The consultants were chosen in Washington on a competitive basis, but often with only a vague definition of the work to be performed. Larry E. Byrne, AID's assistant administrator in charge of management, said that early in the program there was too much of a rush to show results. AID chose some contractors who did less than high-quality work or were primarily interested not in aid but in generating new business for themselves in Russia, he said.

He said the procurement and oversight processes were being strengthened.

A consortium led by the private relief group Save the Children won a \$30 million contract Sept. 30 to help nongovernmental organizations in Russia. Today, its four foreign representatives in Moscow are still working out of the luxury Aerostar Hotel, still "establishing a baseline" and designing a program for which they began bidding a year ago, the consortium director

establishing offices in 25 Russian cities to help newly privatized businesses on an annual budget of \$800,000—provides an example of AID's efforts to find innovative, small-scale ways to reach Russia's agents of change. In the Ural Mountains city of Yekaterinburg, Russia's third largest and President Boris Yeltsin's hometown, AID, USIA and other agencies have sought to support a broad spectrum of social projects:

- A police union leader recently turned to Yekaterinburg's Labor Law Center and won his job back in court after being fired for union activism.

- The local Association of Sight Disabled will soon purchase special computer equipment to allow its blind members to communicate with other cities and hone their skills to win high-paying jobs. After relegation by Soviet welfare to menial dependency, said group director Takhir Islamov, "we are uniting disabled people and creating opportunity."

- Small businesses in the Yekaterinburg area, seeking help in attracting investment or formulating business plans, can now turn to the American Entrepreneurship Center, managed by DeLoitte & Touche and staffed by a dozen mostly Russian experts.

- When the Kremlin secretly tried to move troops from Yekaterinburg to Chechnya, the city's private Channel 4 broke the news. Several soldiers' mothers, having learned from the station's midnight broadcast that their sons were bound for battle, have since led a protest movement against the war.

The Budding of a Society

One common thread in these stories is the budding of a civil society, in which the government or the Communist Party does not control everything, but people speak up for themselves and band together voluntarily based on varying interests. Another common thread is U.S. aid.

The D.C.-based Eurasia Foundation, for example, awarded \$11,600 to Yekaterinburg's Association of Sight Disabled.

The foundation, which is primarily AID-funded, sends its Russian-speaking staff to regional centers to conduct brief seminars on applying for grants. It then conducts competitions for its money.

In Yekaterinburg, more than 81 groups applied recently—"a good indicator of grass-roots interest in reforms," the foundation said. Nine voluntary agencies won \$92,000, including a children's legal rights group, a quarterly environmental journal, a training program for a telephone hot line that counsels women on

legal rights and job and social issues, and a student group seeking to improve teaching of market economics.

Horton Beebe-Center, Eurasia Foundation's Moscow coordinator, said his staff—including many employees based outside Moscow—is looking for "innovative, leading-edge organizations that will make a difference and won't get money anywhere else."

The foundation spends 17 percent of its annual \$18 million budget on overhead. AID consultants, by comparison, spend from 25 percent to 200 percent on overhead—twice as much as they spend directly on programs, in other words—along with a fee of 8 percent or less, Norris said.

Another U.S. organization, Internews Network, followed a similar, close-to-the-ground approach in reaching out to independent television stations in Russia's regions, according to Manana Aslamazyan, the local executive director. Internews, which relies primarily on AID and private financier George Soros for funding, at first had to seek out the private stations.

"At the beginning, no one thought they would amount to anything at all," Aslamazyan said. "People thought the most they could do was run pirated copies of movies."

Internews offered seminars in journalism, business planning, advertising and technical issues. It flew selected managers to the United States for additional training. It provided a Moscow center for them to share news and experiences.

In many cities, independent stations now provide the most balanced coverage of local elections and other issues, many agree. Internews's first students, in Yekaterinburg and elsewhere, lead seminars for newer stations. And the independent stations are pooling programming and banding together in other ways. "Internews grants are not forever, and we do not want this association to collapse," said Channel 4's Igor Mishin, who picked the slogan "On Your Side" for his station after a visit to Washington's Channel 7.

Even boosters of such grass-roots aid agree that well-directed, larger-scale assistance is needed too. When Russia's reform government decided in 1992 that privatization was key to success, U.S. AID jumped in while other institutions were still dithering. Helping Russians who were eager but totally unskilled in stock markets and auctions, U.S. consultants provided concrete, timely advice, according to privatization official Maxim Boyko. Thomas A. Dine, AID's chief for Europe

and the former Soviet Union, said Washington supported the first stage of privatization with \$200 million in technical aid over two years.

Today, more than half of Russia's stores and factories are in private hands. AID-funded consultants are promoting the second stage of privatization: development of capital markets, shareholder registries and other institutions that reformers hope will push privatized firms to become more efficient.

In a sense, though, the privatization story, rather than being a simple success tale, suggests the complexity of the aid question. Because of deep-seated opposition to reform, most privatized companies remain in the hands of old-time directors, and graft, corruption and bankruptcy are as common themes as free-market profits.

Some critics suggest that from the beginning, U.S. aid efforts were based on too much optimism about Russia's ability to quickly transform itself, and about America's ability to help.

Norris said all AID programs could be wrapped up by 1999. "We can be useful during the period of transition," he said. "And they [the Russians] can make the bulk of the changes in four or five years."

In a speech last September, Dine said he was "bullish" on Russia, where inflation was down, the ruble was stabilizing and investment was up. Shortly after his speech, inflation reignited, the ruble tumbled and foreign investment all but dried up.

The lesson, one Western diplomat said, is not that Russia's reforms are bound to fail, but that at best they will last a generation, with many fits and starts—and that aid should be planned accordingly.

Ron Childress, director of American consultants ARD/Checchi, said caution and good judgment are crucial. "You simply can't come in like John Wayne leading the cavalry over the hill and start changing the institutions," he said. "Americans have to remember that Russia is not a defeated country."

Hatt reported from Moscow and Sutherland from Washington.

MONEY FROM WASHINGTON

U.S. assistance to countries of the former Soviet Union likely reached a high-water mark last year. Aid swelled to nearly \$2.5 billion but will drop dramatically this year.

The new Republican majority in Congress, suspicious of foreign aid and eager to reduce spending, has promised increased scrutiny of the U.S. aid program.

► U.S. ASSISTANCE TO FORMER SOVIET STATES

In millions	FY 94 budget	FY 95 budget
Russia	\$1,611.2	\$379.4
Ukraine	\$211.7	\$158.6
Kazakhstan	\$137.7	\$41.5
Armenia	\$82.8	\$40.7
Georgia	\$36.9	\$25.0
Moldova	\$29.8	\$22.2
Kyrgyzstan	\$57.6	\$20.5
Uzbekistan	\$22.6	\$10.8
Azerbaijan	\$11.8	\$10.0
Tajikistan	\$18.1	\$9.2
Turkmenistan	\$8.1	\$5.0
Belarus	\$10.1	\$4.8
Regional (multistate)	\$219.4	\$180.9
TOTAL	\$2,457.8	\$850.0*

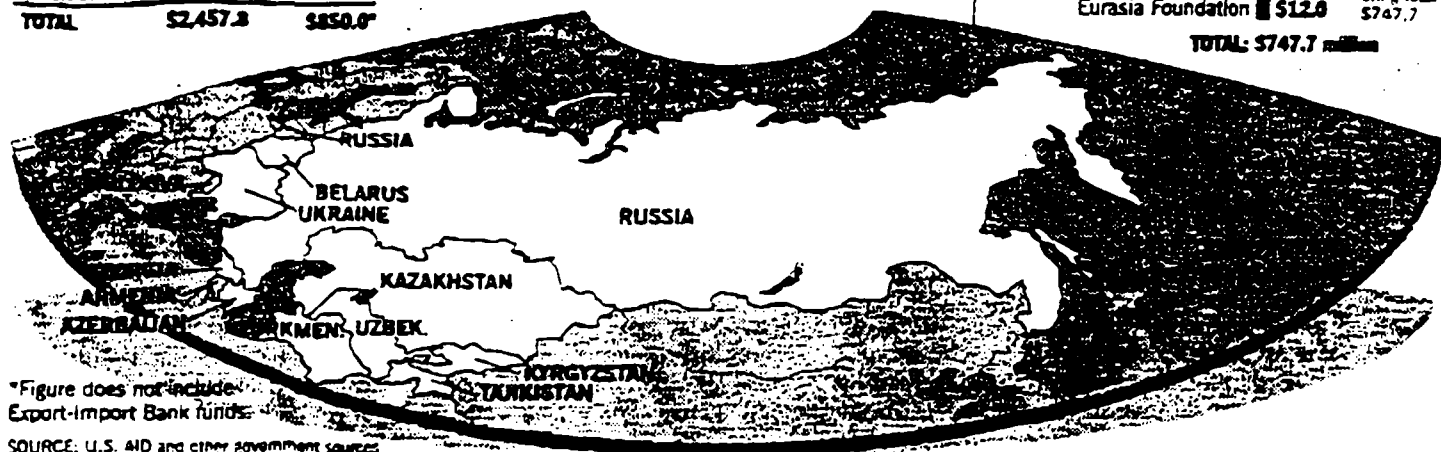


In millions	FY 94	FY 95
Agency for International Development	\$1,733.3	\$659.1
Ex-Im Bank	\$300.0	N.A.
Overseas Private Investment Corp.	\$56.0	\$60.0
USIA exchanges	\$128.0	\$42.0
Dept. of Energy-NRC nuclear safety	\$121.0	\$29.0
Trade and Development Program	\$21.0	\$17.0
Peace Corps	\$12.5	\$11.6
Commerce Dept.	\$14.4	\$9.0
TOTAL	\$2,457.8	\$850.0*

► AID ASSISTANCE TO FORMER SOVIET STATES

As of Sept. 30, 1994, AID had programmed more than \$2.8 billion in FY 92-94 funds, obligated \$2.4 billion and spent nearly \$748 million in former Soviet states.

Private Sector Initiatives	\$167.7
Energy Efficiency	\$65.1
Exchanges and training	\$61.1
Enterprise Fund	\$57.7
Democratic Pluralism	\$37.9
Health Care Improvement	\$37.1
Housing Sector Reform	\$36.8
Food Systems Restructuring	\$22.2
Economic Restructuring	\$20.2
Environment	\$14.2
Eurasia Foundation	\$12.0
TOTAL	\$747.7 million



*Figure does not include Export-Import Bank funds.

SOURCE: U.S. AID and other government sources

THE WASHINGTON POST

Such arrangements typically cost AID an average of \$250,000 to \$300,000 a year in salaries, home leave and other benefits. In this none of the consortium representatives

Russian. And, under the contract, more than \$10 million of the \$30 million will go to the consultants in "management fees" "general administration" costs.

The Save the Children project is now soliciting applications for subcontractors to operate two or three regional centers designed to nongovernmental organizations. It will be months before those contracts are awarded longer for the centers to begin operating, in part because AID requires that the subcontractors be American. Russians are not eligible, Save the Children's Nora Bazy said, because the subcontractor must "meet the requirements of accepting U.S. funds, all the rules and regulations we all have to abide by."

In a case showing the close ties between AID and its consultants, an agency official in Moscow was forced to retire at age 55 when he was not promoted—but almost immediately reappeared in Moscow working for an AID consultant with a \$4 million contract to monitor and give technical advice to the same type of projects he had overseen at AID. AID's general counsel there no conflict of interest because the official not overseen the letting of the consultant's contract.

Finally, the pressure to spend money fast sometimes left officials and consultants to work with Soviet-era bureaucracies that knew how to absorb large sums—but were far from committed to reform.

The U.S. Trade and Development Program gave a \$610,000 grant to Infotec Development, a California company, to work with the conservative Russian Land Committee. The goal, bolstered by an \$80 million World Bank loan, was to develop a unified, national land registry to promote a key tenet of a market economy—private property.

Tim Rogan, an Infotec executive, said the project could last 20 years and cost \$2 billion to \$5 billion. He said Infotec, which flew the bureaucrats to California to see U.S. land registries in action, hopes to sell Russia the most advanced hardware and software, including surveying equipment linked to Global Positioning Satellites.

Russian reformers agree that the absence of clear land titles is a bottleneck to investment and reform. But they argue that buying top-of-the-line gear and dealing with a centralized, conservative bureaucracy with grave reservations about private property is likely to slow reform.

"They want a perfect registry if it takes 20 years," said one reformist Russian official, alluding to what he sees as foot-dragging by the Russian agency. "And if no land transactions take place until then, tough."

The Russian Privatization Center, also largely AID-funded, looked for a quicker, more grass-roots approach to the same problem. In St. Petersburg, the center's local director, Alexander Radchenko, with the inducement of a few personal computers, persuaded local bureaucracies to work together to establish a land registry based on existing records.

While it will not be as complete as that envisioned by Infotec and the World Bank, the project should be running by this summer, Radchenko said. And it should allow for land sales, mortgages and other transactions essential to the next stage of reform.

AID and its consultants, who had doubts about the Infotec-World Bank project from the start, are now pushing pilot projects similar to the Russian Privatization Center's in a dozen cities, an AID official said.

Indeed, the Russian Privatization Center—

The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 1995

In Russia's Fast-Developing Television, New Forces for Political Pluralism

By STEVEN ERLANGER

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 4 — The gangland-style murder this week of a prominent television journalist and executive, Vladislav Listyev, is a tragic but important sign of the rapid development of Russian television. Big new money and markets have attracted graft and crime, but they are also creating a pluralism that undermines the strict control of the state.

In the last two years, the once-firm grip over television broadcasts by the central Government has been significantly weakened by the creation of privately owned and relatively independent networks like NTV, or Independent Television, and Moscow's TV6.

Both are run by professional journalists who left the huge, bureaucratic, state-owned Ostankino channel in disgust over low pay, commer-

State controls over information have been undercut by new networks.

cial corruption and bad journalism. Both are expanding quickly, signing up local stations and moving into satellite transmission.

NTV in particular has created an internationally respected Russian model for quality television news, while making increasing amounts of money on broadcasts of foreign entertainment dubbed in Russian. TV6 is now broadcast in 55 cities and will start its own daily news program in September.

Control of television was one of the

last parapets of Soviet dictatorship to crack. Even in the days of glasnost, or openness, the former Soviet President, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, dominated television as he pleased, analyzing his own lavishly covered activities in long lectures on free state air time.

Some prominent Kremlin officials, worried about losing control as elections approach, have responded with threats and a raid on the headquarters of the main owner of NTV.

"This new pluralism means less state control," said Eduard M. Sagalayev, the president of TV6 and former general director of Ostankino. "With more choice, television will become better, not worse. Even such tragic events as the killing of Mr. Listyev will make journalists tougher and work more professionally, because they understand what responsibility rests on them for the preservation of democracy."

Mr. Listyev, who moved easily between journalism and entertainment on the one hand, and entrepreneurship and management on the other, appears to have been killed Wednesday night in a struggle over how advertising revenues were going to be organized in a restructured Ostankino, which broadcasts throughout the former Soviet Union. The Ostankino network has been infamous for the corruption and chaos of its management. Somehow, independent producers have been allowed to siphon off most of the advertising revenue, leaving the network unable to pay employees' wages or other expenses.

But the restructuring of Ostankino has been forced by the extraordinary success of the new channels, and not simply by corruption. The Government, while preserving a controlling 51 percent of the shares in the new company, Russian Public Television, has sold the rest to 12 carefully selected companies and banks that can provide both money for investment and management expertise. Mr. Listyev, 38, had been made executive director of the station, which had announced it would temporarily stop showing ads while it tried to clean house.

The war in secessionist Chechnya

A CLOSER LOOK

Russian Television: Bursting at the Screens

Privately owned television is expanding rapidly in Russia, challenging state-owned stations to improve their management and their programming and undermining strict control of the airwaves by the state.



Founded in 1931; first broadcast in 1939.

State owned.

Potential 200 million viewers in former Soviet Union.

23 hours/day.

Advertising rates of \$3,000-\$25,000 per minute.



Founded 1990; first broadcast in 1991.

State owned.

Potential 140 million viewers in Russia.

17 hours/day.

\$2,000-\$30,000 per minute.



Founded 1938

State owned.

Potential 90 million viewers in 300 cities

18 hours/day

\$1,500-\$4,000 per minute



2 x 2

TVE

NTV

Founded 1	First program 1993	Founded 1993
Owned by 19 individual investors	Privately owned	Privately owned
Potential 20-25 million viewers in Moscow region	Potential 80 million viewers in 60 cities	Potential 100 million viewers in European Russia
14.5 hours/day	20 hours/day	8 hours/day
\$800-\$1,000 per minute	\$1,000-\$5,000 per minute	\$4,000-\$30,000 per minute

Russian television, displaying the influence of independent journalism like that of NTV. Because it is privately owned and financed, NTV resisted — and demonstrated that it could resist — pressure from the Government to conform to its propaganda line.

NTV's courage emboldened Ostankino and the other state-owned station, Russian Television (R.T.R. or Channel 2), to deliver more balanced news. Early in the Chechnya campaign, Ostankino reverted to calling its news program "Vremya."

The New York Times



Associated Press

The widow of Vladislav Listyev, the journalist killed this week, comforted their child yesterday at his funeral.

"Time," the old Soviet title, and some official communications. But the Government of President Boris N. Yeltsin quickly found that the country had moved beyond the timid coverage of the Afghan war 10 years before, and the station had to expand its coverage.

This new independence is regarded with some displeasure, especially by the Kremlin, with the country moving toward parliamentary elections in December and presidential elections in June 1996. Politicians

the move toward democracy," Ms. Mickiewicz said.

But she and Mr. Sagalayev, along with Yevgeny Kiselyov, the anchor and vice president of NTV, agree that while the media market is expanding, legal protections are not in place to buffer television from powerful politicians, let alone organized crime.

NTV, like the liberal *Sevodnya* newspaper, is largely owned by the Most group, run by Vladimir Gusinsky, a former theatrical agent who has made millions of dollars in banking and other new businesses. Mr. Gusinsky is a Westernized liberal democrat and close to the ambitious Mayor of Moscow, Yuri Luzhkov. He was once a supporter of Mr. Yeltsin, but he and his media outlets have criticized many political developments, not only the Chechnya war.

So Mr. Gusinsky has been a target of intimidation by the Kremlin, in the person of Maj. Gen. Aleksandr Korzhakov, Mr. Yeltsin's chief of security. On Dec. 2, his troops raided the Most offices and beat employees, then said the next day that they had been investigating the crash of the ruble in October.

Mr. Gusinsky, who has been

budgets, money is talking louder and louder.

And money, at bottom, explains the changes at Ostankino, which may have led to Mr. Listyev's murder. The Government had to finance a third of the budget, while the Communications Ministry took 80 percent of the receipts for transmission costs. And receipts were much lower than they should have been.

Private producers and ad agencies had grown accustomed to buying cheap television time and, covertly, to buying news coverage from underpaid journalists. These broadcasts were known as "jeans programs," because a few years ago they could be bought with money that might cover a few pairs of blue jeans. Today, with ad costs reaching \$30,000 a minute, the stakes are much higher, and after setting up its own in-house ad agency, Ostankino increased ad receipts seven-fold, reaching nearly \$8 million a month.

So the decision to ban ads altogether, while examining old arrangements, seems to have been enough to cause someone to put out a contract on Mr. Listyev's life. He himself also done very well under the old system, other producers say.

Chechnya has been a watershed for journalism.

...even more than in the United States, are obsessed with the power of television, which is one of the few institutions that holds this enormous multinational state together.

...was the power of television and its starring personalities that brought a clearly upset Mr. Yeltsin

sor. Results alleged intellectual theft — foreign shows like "W of For "Larry King Live." As their host, he became well-known and popular.

That search is expected to continue as election season approaches, and even NTV appears more careful now in its Chechnya coverage. NTV employees privately attribute the change partly to Kremlin pressure and partly to growing sympathy for Russian soldiers fighting a long war.

Mr. Gusinsky is very rich, but he is vulnerable in a country still based on almost feudal hierarchies and loyalties to power. Yet even in this Russia, with its smaller Government

For all the troubles, television now provides Russians "a much broader choice and range of opinions than before," Professor Mickiewicz said. "It's one of the most positive outcomes in the development of Russia after the end of the Soviet Union."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 14, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW SENS

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL MAIL

Attached is a copy of the letter sent to the President from Representative George E. Brown, Jr. (D-CA), concerning the President's potential address to the Russian people during his Moscow visit.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Jocelyn Jolley at x67500.

Enclosure

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0504

April 6, 1995

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

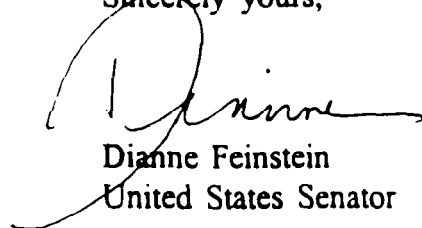
I am writing in support of your possible visit to Internews in Moscow during the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the defeat of the Nazis. It is my understanding you are considering using their studio to address a message to a potential audience of 100 million Russians. Internews, a California-based non-profit independent media organization, has offices in San Francisco, San Anselmo and Arcata.

Internews was recently featured in The Washington Post as an example of a grassroots, American supported, program that is successful. Independent media represents the best democratic principles and it is to the credit of your Administration that you have supported this program. i was pleased to note that Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott and AID Assistant Tom Dine singled out Internews for their effectiveness in recent testimony before Senator Mitch McConnell's Subcommittee.

Considering the important role of the independent media in exposing the war in Chechnya and in publicizing dissident voices, I think it is very appropriate for you to speak out in this fashion at the present time.

Thank you for your attention to this important matter.

Sincerely yours,



Dianne Feinstein
United States Senator

DF/jb

ROBERT E. ANDREWS
FIRST DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3001

April 13, 1995

2760
COMMITTEE:
EDUCATION AND LABOR
SUBCOMMITTEES:
POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION
AND TRAINING
LABOR STANDARDS,
OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY
HUMAN RESOURCES
COMMITTEE:
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEES:
EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20500-0001

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing in support of your possible visit to Internews in Moscow during your commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the defeat of the Nazis. It is my understanding you are considering using their studio to address a message to a potential audience of 100 million Russians.

Internews, a non-profit independent media organization, has offices in San Francisco, New York and a number of other locations. It has established a network of television stations throughout the former Soviet Union, and it produces without government interference original programming designed for its Eastern European and Central Asian audience.

I have been pleased to work with you and your Administration to help the successor states of the former Soviet Union develop self-sustaining economies and democratic institutions. Independent media are essential to this effort. As the first project of its kind, the Moscow Internews studio - a non-government venture joining U.S. entrepreneurs with Russian media experts - can serve as an example for future initiatives. Considering the important role of the independent media in exposing the war in Chechnya and in publicizing dissident voices, I think it is very appropriate for you to visit Internews at this time.

I would be pleased to provide you any assistance you may require in this regard. Thank you for your attention to this important matter.

Sincerely,



ROBERT E. ANDREWS
Member of Congress

REA:bjl

20 11 21 1995

REPLY TO:

☐ 1005 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3001
(202) 225-6501

☐ 16 SOMERDALE SQUARE
SOMERDALE, NJ 08083-1345
(609) 627-9000

☐ 63 N. BROAD STREET
WOODBURY, NJ 08096-4602
(609) 848-3900

TOM LANTOS
CALIFORNIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2182 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3631

DISTRICT OFFICE
400 EL CAMINO REAL
SUITE 820
SAN MATEO, CA 94402
(415) 342-0300
IN SAN FRANCISCO:
(415) 588-5257



**Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515**

3087

FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
CHAIRMAN,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND
HUMAN RIGHTS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE
VICE-CHAIRMAN,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, HOUSING AND AVIATION
SUBCOMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION AND NATIONAL SECURITY

CHAIRMAN, PERMANENT UNITED STATES
CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION TO THE
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
CO-CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL
HUMAN RIGHTS CAUCUS

April 20, 1995

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing in support of your possible visit to Internews in Moscow during the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the defeat of the Nazis. It is my understanding you are considering using their studio to address a message to a potential audience of 100 million Russians. Internews, a California-based, non-profit independent media organization, has offices in San Francisco, San Anselmo, and Arcata.

Internews was recently featured in The Washington Post as an example of a grassroots, American-supported program that is a success. Independent media represents the best of democratic principles, and it is to the credit of your Administration that you have supported this program. I was pleased to note that Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott and AID Assistant Administrator Tom Dine singled out Internews for their effectiveness in recent testimony before Senator Mitch McConnell's Foreign Operations Subcommittee.

Considering the important role of independent Russian media in revealing the true nature of the war in Chechnya and in publicizing the views of dissidents, like Elena Bonner, I think it is highly appropriate for you to utilize an organization such as Internews as the medium for your historic address.

Cordially,

Tom Lantos

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: APRIL 20, 1995

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE ROBERT E. ANDREWS

SUBJECT: SUPPORTS PRESIDENT VISIT TO INTERNEWS IN
MOSCOW DURING HIS COMMEMORATION OF THE
FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEFEAT OF
THE NAZIS

		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
ROUTE TO:		ACT	DATE	TYPE	C COMPLETED
OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	CODE	YY/MM/DD	RESP	D YY/MM/DD
PATRICK GRIFFIN		ORG	95/04/20		C 95/04/20
ANDREW SENS	REFERRAL NOTE:	RSA	95/04/20		/ /
	REFERRAL NOTE:		/ /		/ /
	REFERRAL NOTE:		/ /		/ /
	REFERRAL NOTE:		/ /		/ /
	REFERRAL NOTE:		/ /		/ /

COMMENTS:

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1230

MAIL USER CODES: (A) D_NJ (B) (C)

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*****
*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION          *OUTGOING          *
*                        *                      *CORRESPONDENCE:   *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED          *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL *                OF SIGNER *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED          *                CODE = A   *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED          *COMPLETED = DATE OF   *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                      *                OUTGOING *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                      *                      *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE        *                      *                      *
*X-INTERIM REPLY        *                      *                      *
*****

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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

SCA

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9503086
RECEIVED: 24 APR 95 13

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: FEINSTEIN, DIANNE

DOC DATE: 06 APR 95
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
CO

PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: SEN FEINSTEIN LTR RE PRES TRIP TO MOSCOW & VISIT TO INTERNEWS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 27 APR 95 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BLACKER

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
BLACKER

FOR CONCURRENCE
DANVERS
HESLIN
SODERBERG

FOR INFO
ANDREASEN
BELL
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PIFER
SENS
SESTAK

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMBN

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9503087
RECEIVED: 24 APR 95 13

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: LANTOS, TOM

DOC DATE: 20 APR 95
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
CO

PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: REP LANTOS LTR RE PRES VISIT TO MOSCOW & INTERNEWS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 27 APR 95 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BLACKER

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

BLACKER

FOR CONCURRENCE

DANVERS

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COMMENTS: _____

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OPENED BY: NSMBN

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DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9503093
RECEIVED: 24 APR 95 14

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: ANDREWS, ROBERT E

DOC DATE: 13 APR 95
SOURCE REF: 106934

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
CO

PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: REP ANDREWS LTR RE PRES VISIT TO MOSCOW & VISIT TO INTERNEWS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 27 APR 95 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BLACKER

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
BLACKER

FOR CONCURRENCE
DANVERS
HESLIN
SODERBERG

FOR INFO
BEYRLE
PIFER
SENS

COMMENTS:

Handwritten notes:
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106934 106934 106934 106934 106934

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OPENED BY: NSMBN

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9502907
RECEIVED: 17 APR 95 11

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BROWN, GEORGE E

DOC DATE: 11 APR 95
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
PUBLIC STATEMENTS

CO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM REP BROWN RE ADDRESSING RUSSIAN PEOPLE ON TELEVISION
FM MOSCOW OFFICES INTERNEWS DURING VISIT

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 20 APR 95 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BLACKER

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
BLACKER

FOR CONCURRENCE
DANVERS
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FOR INFO
ANDREASEN
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SESTAK

COMMENTS: Resubmitted to NSC/RMO 24 Apr 95

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJDA

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9502960
RECEIVED: 18 APR 95 14

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: ANDREWS, MICHAEL A

DOC DATE: 13 APR 95
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
MEDIA

VISIT
TELECOMMUNICATIONS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM REP ANDREWS RE PRES VISIT TO MOSCOW

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 21 APR 95 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BLACKER

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
BLACKER

FOR CONCURRENCE
HESLIN
ROSS
SESTAK
SODERBERG

FOR INFO
ANDREASEN
APPEL
BELL
BEYRLE
DANVERS
HILLIARD
PIFER
SENS
WALES

COMMENTS:

*THIS RESPONDS IS TO ⁵ ~~THE~~ INCOMING
CONGRESSIONALS - 2960, 2907, 3087, 3073
+ 3086*

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGP

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

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