

MIR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title: Money Laundering/Russia				
Staff Office-Individual: Transnational Threats-Wolosky, Lee				
Original OA/ID Number: 4044				
Row: 49	Section: 6	Shelf: 1	Position: 2	Stack: v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. cover sheet	re: Meeting on Money Laundering [partial] (1 page)	09/13/00	P3/b(3), P6/b(6), b(7)(C)
001b. memo	From Wolosky re: Money Laundering [partial] (1 page)	09/13/2000	P3/b(3)
002. memo	From Wolosky re: Money Laundering [partial] (1 page)	09/13/00	P3/b(3), b(7)(C)
003. report	re: Central Bank Official (3 pages)	11/17/00	P1/b(1)
004a. cover sheet	[Duplicate of 001a] [partial] (1 page)	09/13/00	P3/b(3), P6/b(6), b(7)(C)
004b. memo	[Duplicate of 001b] (1 page)	09/13/2000	P3/b(3), b(7)(C)
005. notes	re: [Meeting on Money Laundering] (4 pages)	09/14/00	P1/b(1)
006. report	re: [Liechtenstein] [incomplete copy] (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
007a. list	re: Attendees for Money Laundering Meeting [partial] (1 page)	09/14/00	P3/b(3), b(7)(C)
007b. agenda	re: Annotated Agenda for Money Laundering Meeting (1 page)	09/14/00	P1/b(1)
008a. list	[Attendance List] [partial] (1 page)	09/14/00	P3/b(3), b(7)(C)
008b. memo	Richard Clarke to Samuel Berger re: International Money Laundering Scheme (1 page)	08/17/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Money Laundering/Russia

2012-1021-M
rs794

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. notes	re: Bellinger Meeting (2 pages)	08/23/00	P1/b(1)

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CIA
CIA
CIA

(b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)c

0019

TIME OF TRANSMISSION:

TIME OF RECEIPT:

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATOR FOR SECURITY,
INFRASTRUCTURE PROTECTION, AND COUNTER-
TERRORISM

PRECEDENCE

CLASSIFICATION:

RELEASER: _____

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

DATE/TIME: 9/13/00

MESSAGE #: _____

FROM:	RICHARD A. CLARKE/LEE WOLOSKY	PHONE: (202) 456-9351	ROOM: 302
SUBJECT:	MEETING ON MONEY LAUNDERING, SEPTEMBER 14, 2000, 2:00-3:00PM, WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM	PAGES: 2	

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

LOCATION	ROOM	PHONE
STATE		
CIA		
JUSTICE		
FBI		
TREASURY		
<u>622-73</u>		
OVP		
<u>Russia</u>		

(b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)c

0019

SPECIAL DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

PLEASE CALL JACK ROBINSON AT 202-456-9351, WITH CLEARANCE INFORMATION (NAME, DOB, SSN).

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001b. memo	From Wolosky re: Money Laundering [partial] (1 page)	09/13/2000	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Money Laundering/Russia

2012-1021-M
rs794

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

September 13, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: LEE S. WOLOSKY *lv*
SUBJECT: Money Laundering

Mr. Clarke will chair a restricted meeting on money laundering on September 14, 2000, from 2:00-3:00 pm in the White House Situation Room. All addressees are requested to participate. Clearance information should be called in to Mr. Jack Robinson or Ms. Beverly Roundtree at 202-456-9351 by no later than 10:00 am, September 14.

DISTRIBUTION

State
Rand Beers
Daniel Fried

Justice
Bruce Swartz
John Bellinger
Bruce Ohr
Ted Greenberg

(b)(7)c, (b)(6), (b)(3)

001 b

(b)(3)

001 b

Treasury
Timothy Geithner
Jim Johnson
Ted Truman
Will Wechsler
Joseph Myers

OVP
Rick Saunders
Steedman Hinckley

Robinson, Jack A. (TNT)

From: Robinson, Jack A. (TNT)
Sent: Wednesday, September 13, 2000 5:11 PM
To: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
Subject: You received a phone call from Andrew Baukol (Treasury). [UNCLASSIFIED]

Called: -1
Phone Number: 622-0603
Please Contact: Andrew Baukol (Treasury)
PleaseCall: -1
ReturnedCall: 0 *Baukol*
WantsToSee: 0
WillCall: 0

He's a wannabe substitution for Geithner/Truman

Call of Bau

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	From Wolosky re: Money Laundering [partial] (1 page)	09/13/00	P3/b(3), b(7)(C)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Money Laundering/Russia

2012-1021-M
rs794

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DISTRIBUTION

State
Rand Beers ✓
Daniel Fried ✓

Justice
Bruce Swartz ✓
John Bellinger ✓
Bruce Ohr ✓
Ted Greenberg ✓ - out on Fri
KTT 15

(b)(3), (b)(7)c
002

Treasury
Timothy Geithner ?
Jim Johnson ✓
Ted Truman
Will Wechsler ✓
Joseph Myers ✓

OVP

Rick Saunders

Steedman Hinckley



Robinson, Jack A. (TNT)

From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
Sent: Wednesday, September 13, 2000 12:52 PM
To: Lieberson, Donna P. (TNT); Robinson, Jack A. (TNT)
Cc: Roundtree, Beverly (TNT); Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT)
Subject: RE: RAC meeting tomorrow 2-3 pm [UNCLASSIFIED]

per below, pls refer the call to me when it comes in. thanks.

-----Original Message-----

From: Lieberson, Donna P. (TNT)
Sent: Wednesday, September 13, 2000 12:44 PM
To: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
Cc: Roundtree, Beverly (TNT); Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT); Robinson, Jack A. (TNT)
Subject: RE: RAC meeting tomorrow 2-3 pm [UNCLASSIFIED]

fyi for future reference Geithner's office number is: 622-0656 and their fax number is: 622-0417. I was told that Geithner is out of town but he will send someone else if that is ok and they will call back in a couple hours with that name.

-----Original Message-----

From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
Sent: Wednesday, September 13, 2000 12:40 PM
To: Lieberson, Donna P. (TNT)
Cc: Roundtree, Beverly (TNT); Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT); Robinson, Jack A. (TNT)
Subject: RE: RAC meeting tomorrow 2-3 pm [UNCLASSIFIED]

Donna: For Geithner (who is Undersec'y for Int'l Affairs), try 622-2000. Concerning Greenberg, that is fine.

-----Original Message-----

From: Lieberson, Donna P. (TNT)
Sent: Wednesday, September 13, 2000 12:38 PM
To: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT); Robinson, Jack A. (TNT)
Cc: Roundtree, Beverly (TNT); Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT)
Subject: RE: RAC meeting tomorrow 2-3 pm [UNCLASSIFIED]

Lee and Jack - everyone has been called except for Timothy Geithner from Treasury - I couldn't find a number on him.

Also - Ted Greenberg from Justice will be out of the office until Friday, the 15th in case you want to invite someone else.

-----Original Message-----

From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
Sent: Wednesday, September 13, 2000 12:29 PM
To: Robinson, Jack A. (TNT)
Cc: Roundtree, Beverly (TNT); Lieberson, Donna P. (TNT); Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT)
Subject: RAC meeting tomorrow 2-3 pm [UNCLASSIFIED]

Jack: Thanks for the assist on this. Attached needs to go out by unclass fax to all invitees. Donna is making calls now to the distribution to let them know about the meeting and to be on the lookout for the fax. Please stamp "urgent" -- or something similar -- on fax cover sheet given the late notification.

Jack/Bev: As attached memo indicates, this is a restricted meeting. If anyone calls in with clearance information for someone not on the list, refer them my way.

Thanks.

<< File: Money Laundering meeting notice - 091300.doc >>

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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003. report	re: Central Bank Official (3 pages)	11/17/00	P1/b(1)

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FOLDER TITLE:

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TIME OF RECEIPT:

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATOR FOR SECURITY, INFRASTRUCTURE PROTECTION, AND COUNTER- TERRORISM
--

PRECEDENCE CLASSIFICATION: RELEASER: _____

IMMEDIATE **UNCLASSIFIED** DATE/TIME: 9/13/00

MESSAGE #: _____

FROM:	RICHARD A. CLARKE/LEE WOLOSKY	PHONE: (202) 456- 9351	ROOM: 302
SUBJECT:	MEETING ON MONEY LAUNDERING, SEPTEMBER 14, 2000, 2:00-3:00PM, WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM		PAGES: 2

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>DELIVER TO</u>	<u>ROOM</u>	<u>PHONE</u>
STATE	RAND BEERS DANIEL FRID		736-4885
(b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)c			0049
TREASURY	TIMOTHY GEITHNER JIM JOHNSON TED TRUMAN WILL WECHSLER JOSEPH MYERS		022-0411 622-5040 622-2715
OVP	RICK SAUNDERS STEEDMAN HINCKLEY		handcarried

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

September 13, 2000

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Ted Greenberg

(b)(7)c

004b

(b)(3)

004b

Treasury

Timothy Geithner
Jim Johnson
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. report	re: [Liechtenstein] [incomplete copy] (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Money Laundering/Russia

2012-1021-M
rs794

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007a. list	re: Attendees for Money Laundering Meeting [partial] (1 page)	09/14/00	P3/b(3), b(7)(C)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Money Laundering/Russia

2012-1021-M
rs794

RESTRICTION CODES

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Attendees for Money Laundering Meeting
Thursday, September 14, 2000
2:00PM – 3:00PM
White House Situation Room
Richard A. Clarke, Chairing

Participants

(b)(7)c
0079

TREASURY

~~Jim Johnson (22wcb)~~
✓ Jody Meyers
✓ William Wechsler
✓ Andrew Baukol

STATE

✓ Rob Boone
✓ Daniel Fried

(b)(3)
0079

JUSTICE

✓ Bruce Swartz
✓ John Bellinger
~~Fran Townsend~~

OVP

✓ Steedman Hinckley

RUSSIA

✓ Mark Medish

NSC

✓ Richard Clarke
✓ Lee Wolosky
~~Fred Rosa~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007b. agenda	re: Annotated Agenda for Money Laundering Meeting (1 page)	09/14/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Money Laundering/Russia

2012-1021-M
rs794

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008a. list	[Attendance List] [partial] (1 page)	09/14/00	P3/b(3), b(7)(C)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 National Security Council
 Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
 OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Money Laundering/Russia

2012-1021-M
rs794

RESTRICTION CODES

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Money
 Laundry
 mtg
 552
 Aug 17
 1-2 PM
 RAC
 Chair

Name Agency Tel No.

(b)(3), (b)(7)c

0089

Rick Saunders	OVP/NSA	202 956 9501
Daniel FRIED	STATE/S/NIS	202 - 202 647-3566
Mark Medish	NSC	456-9161
RAND BEERS	State/INL	202/647-8464
Fran Fragos Townsend	DOJ/OIPR	202/514-4676
JODIE MYERS	TREASURY	202-622-7335
William Wechsler	TREASURY	202-622-2912
John Bellinger	DOJ/CRM	202-514-8711
Jim Johnson	TREAS	202-622-8200
FRED ROSA	NSC	202-456-9361
LEE WOLOSKY	NSC	" " "
DICK CLARKE	NSC	" " - 9351

Tim. Cerny &
 622-0650 fax 622-0417

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008b. memo	Richard Clarke to Samuel Berger re: International Money Laundering Scheme (1 page)	08/17/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Money Laundering/Russia

2012-1021-M

rs794

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. notes	re: Bellinger Meeting (2 pages)	08/23/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Money Laundering/Russia

2012-1021-M
rs794

RESTRICTION CODES

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MR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title: Russia-Bank of New York Case				
Staff Office-Individual: Transnational Threats-Wolosky, Lee				
Original OA/ID Number: 4044				
Row: 49	Section: 6	Shelf: 1	Position: 2	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Richard Clarke to Mr. Berger re: Benex Investigation (2 pages)	08/27/99	P1/b(1)
001b. briefing paper	re: [Benex Briefing] (30 pages)	03/18/99	P1/b(1)
001c. report	re: Weekly Report to APNSA (3 pages)	04/05/99	P1/b(1)
002a. memo	Berger to POTUS re: Interagency Report (2 pages)	07/05/99	P1/b(1)
002b. list	re: Selected Highlights of Threat Assessment (1 page)	06/28/99	P1/b(1)
002c. report	re: International Criminal Threats [incomplete copy] (19 pages)	1999	P1/b(1)
003. memo	William Wechsler to Berger re: New Interagency Mechanism [partial] (2 pages) KBH 8/19/2015	03/30/99	P1/b(1)
004. memo	[Duplicate of 003] [partial] (2 pages) KBH 8/19/2015	03/30/99	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia-Bank of New York Case

2012-1021-M

rs795

RESTRICTION CODES

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Richard Clarke to Mr. Berger re: Benex Investigation (2 pages)	08/27/99	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia-Bank of New York Case

2012-1021-M
rs795

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001b. briefing paper	re: [Benex Briefing] (30 pages)	03/18/99	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia-Bank of New York Case

2012-1021-M
rs795

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001c. report	re: Weekly Report to APNSA (3 pages)	04/05/99	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia-Bank of New York Case

2012-1021-M
rs795

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002a. memo	Berger to POTUS re: Interagency Report (2 pages)	07/05/99	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia-Bank of New York Case

2012-1021-M
rs795

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002b. list	re: Selected Highlights of Threat Assessment (1 page)	06/28/99	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia-Bank of New York Case

2012-1021-M
rs795

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002c. report	re: International Criminal Threats [incomplete copy] (19 pages)	1999	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia-Bank of New York Case

2012-1021-M
rs795

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. memo	William Wechsler to Berger re: New Interagency Mechanism [partial] (2 pages)	03/30/99	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

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2012-1021-M
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March 30, 1999

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

INFORMATION

2012-1021-M
8/19/15 KBH

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE

FROM: WILLIAM F. WECHSLER

SUBJECT: EO 13526 1.4d -- A New Interagency Mechanism for
Prioritizing International Crime Targets

At long last, the intelligence, law enforcement and national security communities have begun working together to establish integrated targeting priorities for international organized crime groups that threaten U.S. national security (other than those with a primary focus on drug trafficking). Once targeted, we will enhance intelligence collection and begin new operational initiatives to arrest the leaders and disrupt the activities of these crime groups. This new mechanism, a major goal of the President's International Crime Control Strategy, is patterned after the successful Linear and Linkage mechanisms that currently focus on drug trafficking syndicates in Latin America and East Asia, respectively.

We were successful in our efforts to ensure that NSC is represented the penultimate policymaking body on this subject. This will allow NSC to ensure that, where necessary, issues related to the work will be raised to the Deputies or Principals. NSC will not be represented on working groups that will direct specific law enforcement operations.

Possible Targets: Agencies are in the process of nominating potential targets for consideration . Thus far five organizations have been proposed, each of which currently engages in criminal operations in the United States:

EO 13526 1.4d

Next Steps: By the end of April, [redacted] complete the examination of nominated crime groups and determine which groups should be targets for operations and which should be targets for enhanced collection. At that point, we will inform you of those decisions and recommend if a Deputies or Principals Committee meeting will be necessary to review them.

Concurrences by: Carlos Pascual, Ken Lieberthal, Susan Braden, Erica Barks-Ruggles, Steve Ward, Mary DeRosa

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. memo	[Duplicate of 003] [partial] (2 pages)	03/30/99	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia-Bank of New York Case

2012-1021-M
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MIR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title: Russia-Law Enforcement, Oligarchs, Gusinsky				
Staff Office-Individual: Transnational Threats-Wolosky, Lee				
Original OA/ID Number: 4044				
Row: 49	Section: 6	Shelf: 1	Position: 2	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	re: Criminal Activity (4 pages)	07/21/00	P1/b(1)
002. notes	re: [Organized Crime] (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
003. memo	Wolosky to John Bellinger re: Russian Law Enforcement Cooperation (1 page)	11/20/00	P1/b(1)
004a. list	re: Attendees for U.S.-Russia Law Enforcement Cooperation Meeting [partial] (1 page)	12/12/00	P3/b(3), b(7)(C)
004b. notes	re: [U.S.-Russia Law Enforcement Cooperation Meeting] (3 pages)	12/12/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia-Law Enforcement, Oligarchs, Gusinsky

2012-1021-M
rs793

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Cy: MM
Wolosky
Alman

To: Weiss

From: Cook

3 pages to follow

Part of the same sad
Story contained
in my emails
about Ruskamp;
need to think
through response

Law
Enforcement

**DEPUTY MINISTER
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

November 8, 2000

Dear Jim,

Russia and the United States share the common belief that drug trafficking is a global challenge not only affecting the security interests of the two nations, but posing a threat to international stability in general.

Our cooperation pursued by multilateral institutions, for instance G8, in the field of fighting drug trafficking is successful. However, we believe that Russia-U.S. cooperation in this field should be more energetic. The Russian side is very interested in sharing information with U.S. partners on such issues as blocking drug trafficking channels, drug abuse prevention and treatment, etc. As you remember, I had preliminary discussion of these issues with B. McCaffry and his reaction was positive.

→ Considering the above, we propose to establish direct contacts between the Governmental Commission of the Russian Federation for Fighting Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse (headed by V.B. Rushailo) and the White House Office for National Policy in Fighting Drug Trafficking. A meeting between representatives of the two agencies which can be arranged, let's say in spring 2000, could be the first step in this direction.

Mr. Ambassador, I hope for a prompt response of the American side.

Sincerely yours,

Georgiy

G. Mamedov

His Excellency
James Collins
Ambassador of the United States of America
Russia



**ЗАМЕСТИТЕЛЬ МИНИСТРА
ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ
РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ**

8 ноября 2000 № _____

Дорогой Джим,
~~Уважаемый господин Коллинз,~~

Россия и США едины в том, что незаконный оборот наркотиков представляет собой глобальный вызов, не только затрагивающий интересы безопасности наших двух стран, но и представляющий угрозу международной стабильности в целом.

Мы неплохо взаимодействуем в деле противодействия наркоугрозе в рамках многосторонних институтов, в частности, «восьмерки». В то же время, на наш взгляд, требует активизации российско-американское сотрудничество в этой области на двусторонней основе. При этом российская сторона весьма заинтересована в обмене опытом с американскими партнерами по таким проблемам, как, например, перекрытие каналов поступления наркотиков в страну, профилактика и лечение наркомании и т.д. Как Вы помните, все эти вопросы я предварительном плане обсуждал с Б.Маккаффри, и его реакция была позитивной.

**ЕГО ПРЕВОСХОДИТЕЛЬСТВУ
ГОСПОДИНУ ДЖЕЙМСУ КОЛЛИНЗУ
ПОСЛУ СОЕДИНЕННЫХ ШТАТОВ АМЕРИКИ**

г.Москва

Учитывая это, мы предлагаем сейчас наладить прямой диалог между Правительственной комиссией Российской Федерации по противодействию незаконному обороту наркотических средств и злоупотреблению ими (она возглавляется В.Б.Рушайло) и Управлением Белого дома по национальной политике в области борьбы с наркотиками. Первым шагом в этом направлении могла бы стать встреча представителей этих двух структур, скажем, весной 2001 года.

Надеюсь, господин Посол, на скорый ответ американской стороны на это предложение.

С уважением,

Искренне твой

Георгий
Г. МАМЕДОВ

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. memo	Wolosky to John Bellinger re: Russian Law Enforcement Cooperation (1 page)	11/20/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia-Law Enforcement, Oligarchs, Gusinsky

2012-1021-M
rs793

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11/11/00 14-NOV-00 17:48 FROM:LES-DUS ID: 70957285072 PAGE 2/4

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His Excellency
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Russia

BC-Russia-US-Crime,0273

^Russia, U.S. to form working group on anti-crime cooperation

MOSCOW (AP) Russia and the United States are rapidly improving their cooperation on crime-fighting and aim to set up a joint working group to boost their work, Russia's interior minister said Thursday during a visit by the director of the FBI.

Minister Vladimir Rushailo and FBI head Louis Freeh praised each other's help in solving significant crimes. Freeh singled out as an example the help given by Russia in the case of Vyacheslav Ivankov, a now-imprisoned Russian emigre in New York who ran an extortion racket that included hundreds of gangsters.

The first meeting of the joint group is expected to be in October, Rushailo said. Neither he nor Freeh gave details of how it would be set up, but Freeh said both sides were interested ``not only in organized crime, but transnational crime in general."

``This bilateral relationship is one of the most important for the United States," Freeh said at a news conference with Rushailo after arriving for a two-day visit.

Freeh is expected to have meetings with Russia's prosecutor-general and the head of the Federal Security Service, the main successor to the KGB. Both offices have been involved in the case of Edmond Pope, a U.S. businessman who has been charged with spying and jailed since April 3.

Pope reportedly is in poor health and his family and the State Department have called for his release and for specialized medical treatment.

Freeh, asked if he would bring up the Pope case in his meetings, said only, ``I'm sure we will be discussing a range of issues."

APE- 09/14/00 07:43:40

Meeting on U.S.-Russia Law Enforcement
Cooperation

AGENDA

12 December 2000, 3:30 PM - 4:30 PM
EEOB Room 208

→ structural mechanism only, not case-specific

1. Intel Brief (5-10 minute review of recent reporting) CIA
2. Existing Cooperative Mechanisms w/ MVD Prosecution DOJ/FBI
→ how we insulate / propose to insulate ourselves from legal problems
3. Future Avenues for FBI-MVD Cooperation FBI
(e.g., working groups) → Roshaylo - Fresh announcement in SEPT
4. Interpol Procedures DOJ/FBI
→ what is mandatory obligations under US/int'l law?
→ how do we insulate ourselves from executing warrants in prosecutions that might be politically motivated?

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004a. list	re: Attendees for U.S.-Russia Law Enforcement Cooperation Meeting [partial] (1 page)	12/12/00	P3/b(3), b(7)(C)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
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OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia-Law Enforcement, Oligarchs, Gusinsky

2012-1021-M
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Name

Agency

Phone

Lee Wolosky

NSC/TNT

456-9361

Nerissa Cook

STATE/SNIS

647-5728

Eleanore Raven-Hamilton

State/SNIS

647-5965

John Bellinger

DOJ

514-8711

Bruce Ohr

DOJ

514-3595

Oliver Chickland

NSC/RIFB.

(b)(3), (b)(7)c

0049

Andrew Weiss

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004b. notes	re: [U.S.-Russia Law Enforcement Cooperation Meeting] (3 pages)	12/12/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Transnational Threats (Wolosky, Lee)
OA/Box Number: 4044

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia-Law Enforcement, Oligarchs, Gusinsky

2012-1021-M
rs793

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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U.S.-RUSSIA LAW ENFORCEMENT COOPERATION

ISSUE:

International crime – including financial crime -- threatens the security of both Russia and the United States. The key to effective U.S.- Russian cooperation in the international crime arena is effective implementation of the U.S.-Russia Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement (MLAA). However, implementation of the 1996 MLAA continues to be stymied by Russia's failure to establish a strong and active component within its Procuracy to handle MLAA requests. There is excessive turnover in the point-of-contact position, and incumbents have performed only minimal, passive ministerial tasks and have taken no responsibility for case quality and management. Our objective is to further U.S. interests in the effective implementation of criminal justice by emphasizing to the Putin Administration the necessity for the Procuracy to provide greater stability, authority and aggressiveness in discharging its responsibilities under the MLAA.

BACKGROUND:

The lack of a strong Russian Central Authority is the most significant problem in implementing the 1996 MLAA. The MLAA designates the Office of the Procurator General as Central Authority for Russia; the Attorney General is Central Authority for the U.S. The yet-to-be ratified Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty with Russia, like all our other MLATs, similarly depends on a structure of reciprocal Central Authorities that work actively together to resolve systemic and case-specific problems.

The Department of Justice has become increasingly frustrated with the Procuracy in the four-year long struggle to make the MLAA an effective law enforcement tool. A senior attorney in the DOJ's Office of International Affairs has served as Russia's contact person for the MLAA since it entered into force. In contrast, there has been constant turnover in the Procuracy; moreover, the incumbents take no active role in executing our requests, let our pleas for information languish, and seem to have little expertise in the law and procedures applicable in international criminal practice. Even worse, because the Procuracy refuses to exercise any quality control over the requests Russian prosecutors make, Justice is flooded with Russian cases – approximately 250 are now pending – most of which are unexecutable. Justice has repeatedly raised these concerns, but with little if any improvement.

In our most recent effort to address MLAA implementation problems, Justice recently detailed a highly-experienced, Russian-speaking prosecutor to Moscow to work directly with the Procuracy. On the Russian side, however, it is business as usual. Our point of contact is the third this year; he speaks no English and has little understanding of the legal and practical problems arising under the MLAA; he has no authority to review or amend Russian requests being sent to the U.S.; he does little more than log cases; and he has the MLAA as only one of his many responsibilities. Without resolution of this threshold issue, an effective mutual legal assistance relationship cannot be developed, and case-specific cooperation will remain wanting.

TALKING POINTS:

- International crime – including financial crime – is a threat to the security of both our nations.
- Both our countries have committed at the highest levels to cooperate in combating international crime. If we are to fulfill that commitment, we must make our bilateral law enforcement agreements – the Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement now in force, and the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty we have signed – effective instruments.
- We are falling short of that goal. Indeed, our Department of Justice has been frustrated in its work with the Office of the Procurator General under the MLAA. We suspect the Procuracy has been frustrated in its work with DOJ as well.
- A core problem for the United States is constant turnover within the Procuracy -- and either an unwillingness or lack of authority within the Procuracy to take an active role in making and executing requests for evidence and assistance.
- Right now, we make a limited number of requests – only a dozen or so of our cases are now pending. We keep our numbers low to make sure to present only quality cases. Still, we have difficulty obtaining results.
- In contrast, we are flooded with hundreds of Russian requests. With no active involvement by the Procuracy, the quality of the requests is poor and many simply cannot be executed under our legal procedures. We don't want to be unresponsive to Russian investigators and prosecutors, but we can't make the MLAA work for you without the active involvement of experienced attorneys at the Procuracy.
- In sum, we are confident we can improve implementation of the MLAA, but only if we have a strong and active Central Authority on the Russian side, and stability in staffing so that we establish strong, effective relations between our points of contact.
- These are important issues for the United States and for Russia, particularly if we are to work together to combat serious crime. I ask that you take active, concrete steps to address these concerns.

NON-PAPER ON LAW ENFORCEMENT COOPERATION

In order to enjoy fully the benefits afforded by the Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Russian Federation on Cooperation in Criminal Law Matters (the "Agreement"), it is essential that the Russian Central Authority, the Office of the Procurator General's Office, designate and maintain a single, authoritative contact person who will take a strong and active role in coordinating the execution of requests for legal assistance. For the United States, the Central Authority is the Attorney General. The Attorney General has delegated this authority to the Office of International Affairs, Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice. Within that office, a senior trial attorney has served as the contact person for coordinating the execution of requests between Russia and the United States since the Agreement's entry into force in February 1996.

The Russian Procurator General Office periodically has appointed a contact person for cooperation under the Agreement. That person, however, typically has had little or no knowledge of the issues and problems of cooperation under the Agreement; lacks the authority to review and amend outgoing requests; has other primary responsibilities unrelated to his work as the designated contact person; has little mutual legal assistance dealings with other Russian law enforcement agencies other than the Procuracy; and serves as the contact person for a very short period of time before being replaced.

To enhance the effectiveness of the Agreement, it is crucial that Russia designate a full-time contact person and allow and encourage that person to work directly not only with U.S. authorities, but also with the several Russian law enforcement agencies that seek evidence from the United States. The duties of the contact person should include, among other things, the following: (1) review all outgoing requests to ensure sufficiency and appropriateness of the request before submittal to U.S. authorities; (2) coordinate the execution of all incoming requests; (3) promptly respond to status inquiries; (4) provide information on relevant laws and procedures relevant to requests; and (5) maintain regular and direct contact with the other Central Authority regarding cooperation in mutual legal assistance matters.

Designation and maintenance of a single, authoritative Russian contact person will inevitably benefit the administration of criminal justice by Russian law enforcement agencies, since there are approximately 230 mutual assistance requests pending from Russia to the United States (and only approximately 10 requests pending from the United States to Russia). An active contact person with sufficient status and authority would greatly facilitate the mutual exchange of information, and thereby further our common effort to fight serious international crime.

November 30, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM

LEON FUERTH 

SUBJECT

RUSSIA ANTI-CRIME AND CORRUPTION INITIATIVE:
POSSIBLE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ACTIVITIES

One of our major foreign policy goals in Russia is to encourage systemic change to reduce crime and corruption and its impact on Russia's society and economy. Our multidisciplinary approach to the problem engages the efforts of a wide variety of U.S. agencies working on tax policy, procurement reform, transparency, organized crime, and financial crime, among other areas. Much of this work is conducted through the Law Enforcement Working Group (LEWG) and other committees of the Vice President's U.S.-Russia Commission. On the multilateral front, the G-8 Lyon Group, the Council of Europe, and the UN already work with Russia on anti-crime and corruption efforts. And Russia could participate in other multilateral efforts through the OSCE, the OECD, and the Financial Action Task Force.

Building on the G-8 Moscow Crime Ministerial, the U.S. should intensify its joint efforts with Russia in five priority areas:

- Mutual legal assistance
- Legal sector reform
- Enforcement
- Corruption
- Financial crime

In addition to working in Moscow, our efforts in these areas should be expanded to the regions, particularly our regional investment initiative sites in Novgorod, Samara, and the Russian Far East.

The Department of Justice has a central role to play in these efforts as co-chair of the LEWG and as vice-chair of the G-8 Lyon Group. The attached paper identifies major activities in which DOJ already participates and proposed new initiatives that can be undertaken, subject to the availability of resources.

**RUSSIA ANTI-CRIME AND CORRUPTION INITIATIVE:
MAJOR ACTIVITIES UNDERWAY AND PROPOSED NEW ACTIVITIES**

Mutual Legal Assistance

Major activities underway:

- Mutual legal assistance and case work under the Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement (MLAA).
- DOJ working with Russian Procurator General to designate points of contact to strengthen implementation procedures under the MLAA and, once it enters into force, the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty.

Proposed new activities:

- Broaden training in mutual legal assistance to additional regions and districts of Russia.
- Explore with Embassy Moscow and State Department assignment of DOJ judicial attache to Moscow to coordinate mutual legal assistance matters (3-month TDY already approved).

Legal Sector Reform

Major activities underway:

- AID supports new Independent Department of Supreme Court to develop judicial qualifications, ethics, training; ABA/CEELI through a DOJ grant conducts educational training for judges and legal practitioners.
- DOJ Resident Legal Advisor (RLA) consults with drafters of key pieces of criminal legislation and codes; conducts seminars for procuracy and Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD).
- American University (AU) Organized Crime Centers conduct research/seminars to bring crime and corruption issues to the attention of the public and policy makers.

Proposed new activities:

- Explore with Embassy Moscow and the State Department expansion of the RLA program to the regions (Samara, Russian Far East, St. Petersburg).

- Push for initiative to address various aspects of pretrial detention problem, building on talks with Moscow City Court.
- Assist reform of the procuracy by working with reformers and procuracy officials to identify areas for institutional reform (e.g., development of Code of Conduct, establishment of Office of Professional Responsibility focusing on compliance and implementation, and assisting Procuracy Academy by developing a "train-the-trainers" program for new offenses such as money laundering).
- Assist legislative drafting, particularly a Code of Criminal Procedure and anti-corruption, money laundering and organized crime laws. Assist in developing implementation guidelines and training for key pieces of criminal legislation, such as money laundering.
- Explore opportunities to develop adversarial and advocacy skills, as in previously implemented jury trial program.

Enforcement

Major activities underway:

- AID supports new MOJ Bailiff Service to enforce court judgments and track assets; OPDAT/RLA and DOJ/CEELI have assisted these efforts.
- U.S. law enforcement agencies provide training in basic enforcement and investigation techniques.
- OPDAT, ABA and AU conduct Moscow roundtables on crime issues.

Proposed new activities:

- Assist Russian bailiff service to strengthen court security procedures, perhaps through U.S. Marshals Service.
- Work with Russian agencies on witness protection, perhaps through Marshals Service.
- Provide increasingly targeted DOJ-FBI practical case training.
- Help Russian counterparts improve communication between the center and the regions on enforcement issues

Corruption

Major activities underway:

- AID activities include small grants for NGOs for anti-corruption; support for independent media; accounting and tax reform.
- OPDAT/RLA seminars focus on anti-corruption, legal investigation, and prosecution techniques.
- DOJ/CEELI and AU have conducted a series of roundtables on public corruption.
- Commerce conducts anti-corruption commercial/business initiatives, including development of Business Code of Conduct

Proposed new activities:

- Assist with programs to address government corruption in procurement activities, including the development of government ethics codes and related criminal, civil, and administrative remedies.
- Continue roundtables on public corruption.
- Assist Russian authorities to conduct and publish evaluation of Russian implementation of effective practices and other anti-corruption standards identified by the Vice President's Global Forum.
- Promote anti-corruption initiatives within the G-8 Lyon Group, Council of Europe, OSCE and other regional fora, as well as the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, and the OECD.

Financial Crime

Major activities underway:

- USG advises on and promotes enactment of anti-money laundering (ML) legislation in Russia.
- Planning underway for new USG interagency financial crimes/bank regulation initiative.

Proposed new activities:

- Promote Russian implementation of G-8 agreements on financial crime reached at Moscow Crime Ministerial.
- Help increase Congress-Duma exchanges on ML measures.
- Continue to promote enactment of ML legislation.
- Once ML law enacted, or when appropriate, assist in development of implementing regulations; conduct practical training for legal practitioners.
- Once ML law enacted, or when appropriate, provide training in financial investigative techniques.
- Assist in development of oversight mechanisms to combat financial crime and ML.
- Coordinate with Treasury and State on development and implementation of a Central Bank program.
- Assist Treasury in the creation of a Financial Intelligence Unit; work with the interagency center established under the MVD.
- Assist Russia to prepare for FATF observer status once ML law enacted and related regulations passed.
- Participate in Council of Europe assessment of Russian money laundering regime in April 2000.
- Increase joint case work on financial crime cases.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Mark Brzezinski to Wolosky re: Berezovsky (1 page)	04/21/00	P1/b(1) KBH 8/19/2015
002. email	Wolosky to Richard Clarke re: Russian Visa (2 pages)	05/26/00	P1/b(1)
003. email	re: Business Magnates Berezovskiy (7 pages)	06/20/00	P1/b(1)
004. email	re: FW: Berezovsky (3 pages)	12/12/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Emails
 Exchange-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Wolosky and Berez...])
 OA/Box Number: 620000

FOLDER TITLE:

[04/21/2000-12/12/2000]

2012-1021-M
rs796

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 04/21/2000 11:23:35 AM
FROM Brzezinski, Mark F. (RUE)
CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(d)
DATECLASSIFIEDON 04/21/2000
DECLASSIFYON 04/22/2010
SUBJECT RE: Berezovsky [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
TO Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY Extremely interesting - nothing like generating legitimacy through charitable donations. MB

-----Original Message-----

From: Wolosky,
Lee S. (TNT)
Sent: Friday, April 21, 2000 11:23 AM
To: Brzezinski,
Mark F. (RUE)
Subject: Berezovsky [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]

Further to our discussion yesterday, I learned this morning that Berezovsky approached Princeton in connection with a major gift. I am told that the size of the proposed gift was \$8 million, and that in exchange Princeton would agree to name a center for him. Princeton ultimately rejected the proposal.

He might also have approached Harvard.
I am finding out more.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2012-1021-M
8/19/15 KBH

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. email	Wolosky to Richard Clarke re: Russian Visa (2 pages)	05/26/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Wolosky and Berez...])
OA/Box Number: 620000

FOLDER TITLE:

[04/21/2000-12/12/2000]

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rs796

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. email	re: Business Magnates Berezovskiy (7 pages)	06/20/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Wolosky and Berez...])
OA/Box Number: 620000

FOLDER TITLE:

[04/21/2000-12/12/2000]

2012-1021-M
rs796

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OA/Box Number: 620000

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001. email	Wolosky to Wolosky re: Alfa Bank Chief (7 pages)	05/05/00	P1/b(1) KC 9/30/14
002. email	Wolosky to Mark Brzezinski re: Boris Berezovskiy and Friends (5 pages)	06/16/00	P1/b(1)
003. email	Paul Kurtz to Andrew Weiss et al. re: FW: POTUS-Putin Memo (9 pages) KBH 8/19/2015	07/14/00	P1/b(1)
004. email	Wolosky to Frederick Rosa re: Russia Fraud Investigator (3 pages)	07/26/00	P1/b(1)
005. email	Wolosky to Rosa re: Oligarch Gusinskiy (11 pages)	07/31/00	P1/b(1)
006. email	Wolosky to Rosa re: Kremlin and Big Business (9 pages)	08/04/00	P1/b(1) KC 9/30/14
007. email	Wolosky to Rosa re: U/S Pickering Meeting with Boris Berezovskiy (8 pages)	10/01/00	P1/b(1) KC 9/30/14
008. email	Wolosky to Clarke re: [Russia] (1 page) Partial KBH 8/19/2015	10/01/00	P1/b(1)
009. email	Wolosky to Clarke re: Berezovskiy / USA (2 pages)	11/09/00	P1/b(1)
010. email	Rosa to Wolosky re: Russian Presidential Administration (5 pages)	12/20/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Emails
 Exchange-Non-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Wolosky and Berez...])
 OA/Box Number: 630000

FOLDER TITLE:

[05/05/2000-12/20/2000]

2012-1021-M
rs797

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(0017)

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 05/05/2000 6:19:46 PM
 FROM Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
 CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
 CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(b)(d)
 DATECLASSIFIEDON 05/05/2000
 DECLASSIFYON 05/06/2010
 SUBJECT ALFA BANK CHIEF WARNS AGAINST UNREALISTIC
 EXPECTATIONS FOR PUTIN'S TERM
~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
 TO Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
 CARBON_COPY
 TEXT_BODY

-----Message Text-----

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 010365

E.O. 12958:
 DECL: 4/16/10
 TAGS: ECON, EFIN, EINV, PGOV, RS
 SUBJECT: ALFA BANK
 CHIEF WARNS AGAINST UNREALISTIC
 EXPECTATIONS FOR PUTIN'S TERM

(U)
 CLASSIFIED BY A. DANIEL WEYGANDT, MINISTER-
 COUNSELOR FOR ECONOMIC
 AFFAIRS. REASONS 1.5 (B) AND
 (D).

1. (S) SUMMARY: IN A FAREWELL
 MEETING WITH DEPARTING
 ECON MINCOUNS, ALFA BANK CHIEF PETER AVEN
 WAS NOT
 OPTIMISTIC ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR MOVEMENT ON
 ECONOMIC
 REFORM
 EARLY IN PRESIDENT-ELECT PUTIN'S FIRST TERM

DECLASSIFIED
 PER E.O. 13526
 2012-1021-M
 RS 9/30/14

INSTEAD HE PREDICTED
"NOTHING TOO CATASTROPHIC,
NOTHING TOO GOOD" IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.
AVEN
CONCEDED THAT NOMINATION OF ANDREY ILLARIONOV AS
ECONOMIC
ADVISOR WAS A POSITIVE SIGN, BUT SUGGESTED
THAT THE ABSENCE OF A
MANDATE FOR ECONOMIC REFORM, OF
A PROVEN ECONOMIC TEAM, OR OF DEEP
PRESIDENTIAL
COMMITMENT TO THE CAUSE WOULD PRECLUDE SWIFT
ACTION.
AVEN
ADDED THAT THE LACK OF MANAGERIAL EXPERIENCE IN
PUTIN'S ENTOURAGE
WILL ALSO BE A SERIOUS HANDICAP:
PUTIN NEEDS PEOPLE FROM BUSINESS,
HE ARGUED, WHO CAN
"MANAGE" WHAT WILL CONTINUE TO BE A DIFFICULT
TRANSITION
AND TRANSLATE IDEAS INTO REALITY. FOR THAT
REASON, HE PREDICTED
THAT WHILE FDPM KASYANOV WILL BE
SELECTED AS PRIME MINISTER, HE
WILL ONLY BE AN INTERIM
FIGURE. PUTIN HAS NO ONE ELSE, HE SAID,
BUT "KASYANOV
IS NOT PREPARED FOR RADICAL STEPS." END SUMMARY.

2.

(S) EXPECTATIONS: AVEN OFFERED A SOBER ASSESSMENT
OF RUSSIA'S IMMEDIATE
FUTURE UNDER PUTIN, OPINING THAT
RUSSIA WOULD NOT GET THE "REVOLUTION
THAT IS NEEDED IN
THE NEAR FUTURE." INSTEAD, HE PREDICTED "NOTHING
TOO
CATASTROPHIC, NOTHING TOO GOOD." HE AGREED THAT
INVESTMENT
WOULD BE MORE SECURE UNDER PUTIN THAN
YELTSIN, THOUGH "PERHAPS NOT
SECURE ENOUGH." HE
EXPECTED THE COUNTRY COULD MANAGE MODEST GROWTH
RATES
OF 2-3 PERCENT BUT NOTED THAT AS A RESULT RUSSIA
WOULD
CONTINUE
TO LOSE GROUND RELATIVE TO ITS TRADING

COMPETITORS WHO ARE GROWING AT FASTER RATES. HE PREDICTED THAT THE PROBLEM OF REGULATION MIGHT BECOME WORSE RATHER THAN BETTER UNDER PUTIN.

3. ~~(S)~~ PUTIN'S ADVISOR: AVEN DID SEE GROUNDS FOR HOPE IN THE APPOINTMENT OF ANDREY ILLARIONOV AS ECONOMIC ADVISOR TO PUTIN. THE APPOINTMENT WAS AN EXCELLENT ONE, HE SAID, IN THAT ILLARIONOV IS "WESTERN AND NOT EASTERN" IN OUTLOOK AND WILL BE VERY STRAIGHTFORWARD WITH PUTIN, ALWAYS TELLING HIM WHAT HE THINKS. AVEN AGREED THAT AS ADVISOR ILLARIONOV WILL NOT BE INVOLVED IN CARRYING OUT DECISIONS, BUT EXPECTS HE WILL PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN POLICY FORMULATION AND IN IDEOLOGY. "PUTIN NEEDS LEAVENING AND EDUCATION IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE," AVEN SAID, AND ILLARIONOV IS WELL-EQUIPPED TO PROVIDE IT. HE EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT PUTIN SUPPORTS ALL OF HIS ADVISOR'S VIEWS, BUT EXPRESSED HOPE THAT ILLARIONOV WOULD HELP PUTIN "BECOME A BELIEVER" IN ECONOMIC REFORM. THE ABSENCE OF SUCH STRONG PRESIDENTIAL COMMITMENT TO REFORM, AVEN ARGUED, IS ONE CONSTRAINT MITIGATING AGAINST A FAST START OUT OF THE BOX FOR A NEW PUTIN ADMINISTRATION. A PRESIDENT NEEDS SUCH CERTITUDE HE SUGGESTED, GIVEN THE BROAD OPPOSITION HE WILL FACE.

4.
~~(S)~~ OTHER CONSTRAINTS: ADDITIONAL CONSTRAINTS IDENTIFIED BY AVEN INCLUDE THE ABSENCE OF A MANDATE FROM THE ELECTION FOR ECONOMIC REFORM, AS PUTIN

LARGELY AVOIDED OFFERING A DETAILED PROGRAM DURING THE CAMPAIGN, AND THE LACK OF A COHERENT ECONOMIC TEAM TO DEVELOP AND CARRY OUT POLICY. ILLARIONOV MUST HELP ASSEMBLE A TEAM, AVEN ARGUED, AS "PUTIN KNOWS NO ONE" BEYOND THE SMALL GROUP ALREADY IN GOVERNMENT OR IN THE STRATEGIC RESEARCH CENTER. OF THESE FIGURES, MOST LIKE DEPUTY FINANCE MINISTER KUDRIN OR GERMAN GREF LACK MANAGERIAL EXPERIENCE AND THE ABILITY TO TRANSLATE IDEAS INTO REALITY. AVEN NOTED THAT THIS HAS HAMPERED THE WORK OF THE STRATEGIC RESEARCH CENTER, WHICH IS STILL LARGELY FOCUSED ON CONCEPTS AND IDEAS RATHER THAN ON THEIR PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION.

5. ~~(S)~~ KASYANOV: TURNING TO PRESIDENT-ELECT PUTIN'S LIKELY CHOICE AS PRIME MINISTER, AVEN SUGGESTED THAT KASYANOV IS "VERY ORIENTAL," DESCRIBING HIM AS "MUTNY"-- THE RUSSIAN WORD FOR "CLOUDY WATER" THAT DOES NOT REVEAL ITS DEPTH. HE TERMED HIM A TYPICAL RUSSIAN BUREAUCRAT, THOUGH "ONE OF THE BEST," AND SAID PUTIN WILL CHOOSE HIM AS PRIME MINISTER BECAUSE HE HAS NO ONE ELSE. "HE WILL STAY FOR A WHILE," AVEN ADDED, BUT NOT FOR LONG AS HE IS "NOT PREPARED FOR RADICAL STEPS."

6. ~~(S)~~ BUSINESS-PEOPLE: AVEN WAS CATEGORICAL THAT IN THE NOT-TO-DISTANT FUTURE PUTIN WILL HAVE TO TURN TO PEOPLE FROM BUSINESS TO RUN THE GOVERNMENT. HE POINTEDLY EXCLUDED HIMSELF, NOTING THAT HE HAS NO INTEREST

IN SUCH A CHANGE OF CAREER, BUT POINTED TO
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 010365~~

E.O. 12958: DECL: 4/16/10

TAGS:

ECON, EFIN, EINV, PGOV, RS

SUBJECT: ALFA BANK CHIEF WARNS AGAINST
UNREALISTIC
EXPECTATIONS FOR PUTIN'S TERM

YOUNG STEEL MAGNATE
MORDASHEV, HEAD OF THE SEVERSTAL
STEEL MILL IN CHEREPOVETS AS THE
TYPE OF FIGURE PUTIN
NEEDS. "WE NEED SOMEONE WHO CAN BUILD SOMETHING,"
AVEN
SAID, ARGUING THAT THE NEW CLASS OF PROFESSIONALS
IN THEIR MID-THIRTIES
WHO HAVE STUDIED ABROAD AND ARE
FLUENT IN THREE TO FOUR LANGUAGES
FIT THE BILL. IF A
RUSSIAN LEADER CAN PROVIDE THEM WITH A "SENSE
OF
MISSION," AVEN ADDED, THEN THEY WILL BE PREPARED TO
MAKE THE
SACRIFICES NECESSARY TO PURSUE SUCH A CAREER.

7. ~~(S)~~ AVENS WISHLIST:
ASKED ABOUT HIS OWN PRIORITY
LIST OF REFORMS THAT PRESIDENT-ELECT
PUTIN SHOULD
PURSUE, AVEN CITED A FAMILIAR LITANY OF NEEDED
CHANGES,
INCLUDING LEGAL REFORM, TAX REFORM, REFORM OF
THE STATE APPARATUS,
DEREGULATION OF NATURAL
MONOPOLIES, AND A STRONG ANTI-CORRUPTION
PUSH. ON THE
LATTER, AVEN JUDGED THAT PUTIN COULD BEST ACT BY
SETTING
A GOOD EXAMPLE: "A NON-CORRUPTED TOP WILL
SPREAD" DOWN THROUGH THE
RANKS. AVEN ARGUED THAT
PUTIN CAN DO THIS FOR HE IS NOT BEHOLDEN
TO ANY
OLIGARCHS AND IS INSTEAD VERY INDEPENDENT. AVEN
DISCOUNTED

THE IDEA OF A SPECIAL TIE TO BEREZOVSKIY, NOTING THAT HE HIMSELF HAD INTRODUCED THE TWO. PUTIN PERIODICALLY MEETS AND SPEAKS TO THE OLIGARCHS, AVEN SAID, BUT THEY HAVE NO "INSTRUMENT OF INFLUENCE OVER HIM." AVEN CLAIMED TO SEE PUTIN ABOUT ONCE A MONTH FOR BROAD DISCUSSIONS OF REFORM.

8. (S) BANKING: AVEN NOTED THAT CBR CHAIRMAN GERASHCHENKO IS CONDUCTING HIMSELF AS IF HE IS SURE THAT HE WILL STAY ON IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. IT APPEARS THAT HE HAS A DIRECT PROMISE, AVEN SAID, AND AS A RESULT HE JUDGED THAT THERE IS VIRTUALLY "NO CHANCE" FOR SERIOUS REFORM OF THE BANKING SECTOR. AVEN NOTED THAT SBERBANK, THE STATE SAVINGS BANK, CONTINUES TO KILL ITS COMMERCIAL COMPETITION, WHICH CANNOT COMPETE WITH THE RATES IT OFFERS. HE ARGUED THAT SBERBANK, INSTEAD OF DOMINATING THE FIELD OF CORPORATE LENDING AS IT DOES, SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN RETAIL LENDING, FOR CONSUMER PURCHASES AND THE MORTGAGE MARKET. HOWEVER, HE STRESSED THAT ALFA IS DOING WELL, PARTICULARLY IN ITS INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS.

9. (S) COMMENT: AVEN IS AN OPINIONATED AND EXTREMELY WELL-CONNECTED INTERLOCUTOR. HIS APPRAISAL OF THE RUSSIAN SCENE WAS NOTABLE FOR ITS GENERALLY PESSIMISTIC TONE, AND ITS CAUTION ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR DRAMATIC REFORMS IN THE SHORT TERM. HE ALSO DID NOT REITERATE HIS RECENT COMMENTS IN THE PRESS THAT RUSSIA NEEDS A "PINOCHET" TO HELP IT TURN THE CORNER ON

ECONOMIC REFORM." END COMMENT.
COLLINS

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. email	Wolosky to Mark Brzezinski re: Boris Berezovskiy and Friends (5 pages)	06/16/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Emails
 Exchange-Non-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Wolosky and Berez...])
 OA/Box Number: 630000

FOLDER TITLE:

[05/05/2000-12/20/2000]

2012-1021-M
rs797

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 07/14/2000 8:57:28 AM
 FROM Kurtz, Paul B. (TNT)
 CLASSIFICATION ~~SECRET~~
 CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(c)(d)
 DATECLASSIFIEDON 07/13/2000
 DECLASSIFYON 07/14/2010
 SUBJECT FW: POTUS-Putin memo ~~(SECRET)~~
 TO Weiss, Andrew S. (RUE)

CARBON_COPY
 Chen, Darren T. (INTERN/TNT)
 Clarke, Richard A. (TNT)
 Cressey, Roger W. (TNT)
 Gordon-Hagerty, Lisa E. (TNT)
 Grandrimo, Nicole M. (TNT/INTERN)
 Green, Charles A. (TNT)
 Hanley, Timothy P. (INTERN/TNT)
 Hunker, Jeffrey A. (TNT)
 Kurtz, Paul B. (TNT)
 Lieberson, Donna P. (TNT)
 Montgomery, Mark C. (TNT)
 Mulligan, George D. (TNT)
 Owens, Bernard M. Jr. (TNT/INTERN)
 Pierce, Eric A. (TNT)
 Robinson, Jack A. (TNT)
 Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT)
 Roundtree, Beverly (TNT)
 Telleen, Erik K. (TNT/INTERN)
 Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)

TEXT_BODY

Andrew suggest we add a point on terrorism. See language in text.
 Not sure if I have the right name for the working group.

-----Original
 Message-----

From: Weiss, Andrew S. (RUE)
 Sent: Thursday, July
 13, 2000 23:10 PM

To: @INTECON - Economic Affairs; @NONPRO - Export
 Controls; Black, Steven K. (VP); Davidson, Leslie K. (VP); Hinckley,

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
 2012-1021-M
 8/19/15 KBH

Steedman (VP); @SEE - Southeast European Affairs; @EUROPE - European Affairs; Camp, Donald A. (NESA); Kurtz, Paul B. (TNT); Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT); @MULTILAT - Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs
Subject: POTUS-Putin
memo [~~SECRET~~]

Would appreciate comments by 10 a.m. Friday. Thanks.

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT Okinawa Bilat - Putin.doc
MEETING WITH
RUSSIAN PRESIDENT VLADIMIR PUTIN

KEY OBJECTIVES

- * Review Putin's plans on economy, reengagement with IFIs, Soviet-era debt.
Stress need for deeds over words. Highlight risk of losing momentum.
- * Press Putin for progress on Iran nuclear and missile nonproliferation issues, highlighting corrosive effect on relationship. Emphasize need for decisive action.
- * Highlight mounting questions about Putin's support for democratic principles, rule of law. Stress need for political solution in Chechnya, accountability for human rights abuses.

CONTEXT OF THE MEETING

Putin primarily wants to use Okinawa to demonstrate that he is fully accepted as an international statesman. He also intends to make a low-key pitch for support of his economic gameplan, to deflect criticism of Russian brutality in Chechnya, and, possibly, to rally international opposition to NMD. Putin will be very sensitive about whether being accorded the same reception as Yeltsin at previous summits and about Russia's desire for "full" membership in the G-8.

BACKGROUND

Long Hot Summer. Putin's arrival in Okinawa coincides roughly with the end of his honeymoon period. The political situation at home is far hotter than during your visit to Moscow, exacerbated by Putin's relentless travel schedule and government disarray and divisions. Putin is preoccupied by the end-game in his attempt to rein in Russia's governors. The bruising contest has revealed the limits of Putin's authority, alienated key constituencies, and sapped momentum from implementation of economic reforms and passage of legislation by the Duma.

Unlike Yeltsin, who tried to play a balancing role among Russia's fractious elites, Putin is fighting several other battles simultaneously. The recent crackdown on prominent oligarchs -- Gusinskiy/Media-MOST, Alekperov/LUKOil, Vyakhirev/Gazprom, Potanin/Oneksimbank -- has clear political overtones. While these figures are no angels, they also happen to own independent media outlets and relish their independence from the Kremlin. Other notorious power-brokers (Abramovich, Mamut) are escaping scrutiny from the tax police and procuracy; Putin's inner circle of security service veterans and the so-called Yeltsin "family" are reportedly pulling the strings.

The Putin administration is walking a very fine line between laying down new, more modern "rules of the game" and reverting to old methods of centralization, arbitrariness and intimidation -- thus chilling the investment climate and damaging Putin's reputation abroad. While criticism of Putin's tough-guy methods and highly elastic political value system is mounting in the liberal Russian press, his approval rating is still over 75%.

Sound Thinking on Economics. Putin continues to say all the right things on the economy, but he has trimmed his sails somewhat regarding international assistance. Putin's chances of success depend on taking advantage of

the current fragile economic upturn, galvanizing the rusted and suspicious bureaucratic apparatus behind his plan and selling the reforms politically. The boldness of his government's economic plan and the key economic themes of Putin's recent state of the nation address is unmistakable.

Implementation is everything. He recognizes that Russia must create a more inviting business climate that protects investor and property rights, collects reasonable taxes, enforces a predictable rule of law, and promotes competitiveness and growth. He also wants to rationalize public finance at all levels of government, to reduce opportunities for corruption and state interference in the economy, and to establish a sustainable social safety net.

The likely timing of a new IMF program is slipping to fall 2000. But Putin knows the importance of good relations with the IMF. He is likely to appeal for more flexibility from the Fund on structural reforms in recognition that Russia is setting its own economic priorities. In view of Russia's strong current financial position and strong resistance from key creditors, Putin is unlikely to make panhandling for debt relief (particularly reduction) a high priority at Okinawa. In his speech to parliament, Putin decried Russia's reliance on foreign handouts and beneficence.

Putin and PM Kasyanov have also recognized the tenuousness of the current economic "recovery," correctly chalking it up to external factors such as the high price of oil and other commodities. Because of current account inflows, the ruble is already under strong upward pressure undermining the domestic competitiveness, which has been such a boon to industry since late 1998. This in turn is creating new pressures on monetary policy, posing serious questions about the right exchange rate and inflation targets.

AGENDA

Economic Program, IFIs, and Debt. You should applaud announcement of a systematic program and ask about specific priorities and plans for implementation. You could explore what kind of political consensus or coalitions Putin expects to build in parliament, the regions, and the business community.

You should express support for Russia's reengagement with the IMF on a solid new program, which would send a positive signal to investors. An IMF deal would help set the stage for another possible round of interim debt rescheduling of Soviet-era obligations. We also expect that the World Bank can play a strong supporting role on key structural reforms (e.g., reducing barter, fiscal federalism, financial and social sector).

WTO. You should echo your big-picture message in Moscow about the wisdom of "going global" and accelerating efforts to join WTO. In the view of USTR, the key problem is the lack of high-level shepherds to coordinate the technical and legislative challenges. Putin's own buy-in for prioritizing WTO accession is fuzzy at best. He does not fully appreciate the benefits of using the accession process to leverage tough decisions on reforms.

Investment Climate. Most investors seem to be waiting for a track record from the new team. Bold, concrete moves would help, for example in the area of tax laws, corporate governance and shareholder rights, adoption of international accounting standards and enforcement of judgments. Our experts are working together on remaining issues in the Bilateral Investment Treaty. Passage of a solid money laundering law is a more distant prospect, but remains important both for international cooperation in the fight against cross-border financial crime and for improving Russia's business climate. We hope commercial missions - Bob Strauss, Commerce Secretary-designate Mineta - can be scheduled later in the

year. Finally, Jim Harmon is headed to Moscow at the end of July to seek progress on pending EXIM deals.

Bilateral Trade. If Putin raises the old hobby-horse of "market economy" status in anti-dumping cases, you should say that our experts have done a good job of clarifying the legal process and the pros and cons of switching status and that it's up to the GOR to decide whether to initiate a petition. The Bilateral Steel Dialogue, which was announced at the Moscow summit, will hold its first session in September and provides a good opportunity to study questions of structural impediments in key sectors.

Regional Issues. You should briefly review status on several fronts, beginning with the upcoming inaugural session of a working group on Afghanistan agreed at the Moscow summit. Tom Pickering and former SVR Director (and present Deputy Foreign Minister) Trubnikov will lead. On NATO-Russia, we want to send a signal that Putin's interest in closer cooperation has sparked brainstorming on our end.

On the Balkans you lay markers about Milosevic's destabilizing moves and our concerns about the situation in Montenegro. Putin will remain coy about the Milosevic problem, but you should call for creation of diplomatic working group modeled on the Afghan example. This group will help us attempt to bring our policies more in synch and deal with the problem of Russian credits and other support for the FRY regime. Finally, you should ask Putin for a readout on his trip to China and North Korea.

Arms Control. TO BE PROVIDED.

Nonproliferation. On the Iran nuclear issue, Putin is expecting a serious exchange, drawing upon your July 10 conversation and an extensive message from

the Vice President spelling out the details of Iran's program and its efforts to obtain sensitive technology from Russia. Russian-Iranian nuclear cooperation in areas proscribed by the 1995 Gore-Chernomyrdin commitments has intensified and now covers all areas of the nuclear fuel cycle.

You should emphasize that unless we make progress quickly, cooperative programs may be put at risk. You should highlight that the problem is causing serious damage to our relations and has far-reaching implications for international and regional security. To get around Atomic Energy Minister Adamov, a key source of the problem, you should suggest a special channel to discuss this issue. As a test case of Russian intentions, we have identified a Russian entity, the Efremov Institute, that is providing uranium enrichment technology. We have threatened to impose trade penalties unless the Russians take decisive action to shut down this activity. You should ask for an update on their investigation.

On the Iran missile problem, we have made some progress but have not achieved any breakthroughs, despite the efforts of our main interlocutors in the Russian space ministry. We need Putin to see the practical benefits of curtailing missile cooperation and implementing a work plan agreed on the margins of the Moscow summit. We have drawn a clear linkage between the work plan (Holum-Koptev) and allowing the commercial space launch quota to expire at the end of the year, which could be worth hundreds of millions to Russia. You should tell Putin that dramatic action to stop a habitual offender, Glavkosmos, could allow us to move forward on that decision, provided that it was matched by good faith efforts against the lesser offenders (MAI, MATI, et al).

Democracy, Chechnya. At the Moscow summit, you made clear to Putin that his support for democratic principles and freedoms was central to continued

international support for Russia and its international integration. You need to reinforce that message, while informing Putin that the credibility gap has widened in the aftermath of Gusinskiy's arrest and recent moves against oligarchs. Putin will offer self-serving justifications for his actions, but does not appreciate how damaging these problems can be for his international reputation. Likewise, Putin is still in denial about Chechnya. You should emphasize the need to get the political track moving, to support return of the OSCE Assistance Group to the region, and to ensure proper accountability for human rights abuses.

Terrorism. The first meeting of the US-Russian Counter Terrorism Working group is scheduled for late July. You should welcome this dialogue and request Putin's assistance in engaging other UNSC members on the need for additional sanctions against the Taliban, such as an arms embargo.

People-to-people. The Russians have proposed an early experts meeting to discuss their proposals on expanded cooperation on social and cultural issues - exchanges, status of women, fighting drug abuse, cultural preservation. You should embrace their initiative and offer to send a high-level team to Moscow. You could also note that Donna Shalala will be in Moscow July 20-21 to work on health issues under Binational Commission auspices.

2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5 (b)(d)

Declassify On: 07/05/10

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 07/13/2000 7:14:28 PM
FROM Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT)
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT russia-putin-oligarch [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY

You're out of a job, bud -- Putin going to do it for you...

-----Newswire

Text-----

s1234

Putin vows to continue
crackdown on oligarchs

MOSCOW, July 13 (UPI) - Amid a wave of criminal probes launched by the tax police and federal prosecutors against Russia's business tycoons, President Vladimir Putin on Thursday pledged to bring order to the economy "whether it's popular or not."

In an interview with the daily newspaper Izvestia, Putin admitted that tax-dodging "and other abuses (had) assumed a massive scale" during the past few years, when the state privatized entire sectors of the economy.

The privatizations of many former state enterprises were highly questionable, as they favored a small group of businessmen who became fabulously wealthy overnight after purchasing the jewels of Russian industry for a song.

These tycoons, popularly known as oligarchs, are now under attack from the authorities.

This week alone, the tax police and prosecutor general's office

have announced investigations against the owner of Norilsk Nickel,

the world's largest producer of nickel and palladium; LUKoil, Russia's

largest oil company; and AvtoVAZ, the nation's No. 1 automaker.

Putin

said it is clear that the oligarchs have "strained relations with

the law."

"How could they not be nervous?" he asked rhetorically.

The

president again distanced himself from the investigations, reiterating

that the prosecutor general's office is an independent body, and

that

the probes into business dealings are within the law.

Putin

said his government has a duty to bring order to the economy and

that it would work "energetically" to do so, whether anyone liked

the

results or not.

Excerpts of Putin's interview were released

to news agencies and television

networks ahead of publication.

Earlier,

Putin publicly threw his support behind the numerous investigations.

Paraphrasing

a Russian saying, Putin on Wednesday told state-run ORT

television

that Russia's tycoons were akin to "fishermen who have already

caught

a lot and want to keep the situation as it is." He called that

"unacceptable

for the Russian people or our partners abroad."

"There are, of course,

people who feel comfortable in conditions of disorder,"

he said,

without elaborating.

The tax police raids and investigations by

prosecutors have prompted

an outcry among the oligarchs, who have

appealed to Putin to speak out

against the strong-arm tactics or

explain publicly what is going on,

and, in one case, even threatened

to strike back through the courts.

The businessmen have succeeded

in involving Boris Nemtsov, a former deputy

prime minister once

considered among Russia's leading "young reformers,"

in negotiations
on their behalf. On Thursday, their defense tactics
produced some
results as Putin agreed to hold a roundtable meeting with
leading
businessmen and government officials to work out a statement
of
principles regarding the status of businesses in their relationship

with the government. Putin agreed to hold those talks during a
meeting
with Nemtsov, who was representing several oligarchs now
under investigation.

The oligarchs have complained privately that
some are in a more privileged
position than others when it comes
to criminal investigations. For example,
Boris Berezovsky and Roman
Abramovich, two of the wealthiest oligarchs
and men with particularly
strong ties to the Kremlin's inner circle
during the later years
of Boris Yeltsin's presidency, have been among
the few to have
escaped the current wave of criminal probes unscathed.

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Message:

WWN-UPI-1-20000713-17585900-bc-russia-putin-oligarch Content:

SRVINTNEWS

SRVUSBUS Content: ECON POL Content: 04000000 11000000

UPI- 007/13/2000

17:58:02

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. email	Wolosky to Frederick Rosa re: Russia Fraud Investigator (3 pages)	07/26/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Non-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Wolosky and Berez...])
OA/Box Number: 630000

FOLDER TITLE:

[05/05/2000-12/20/2000]

2012-1021-M
rs797

RESTRICTION CODES

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- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. email	Wolosky to Rosa re: Oligarch Gusinskiy (11 pages)	07/31/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Non-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Wolosky and Berez...])
OA/Box Number: 630000

FOLDER TITLE:

[05/05/2000-12/20/2000]

2012-1021-M
rs797

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Exchange Mail

[W6]

DATE-TIME 08/04/2000 6:15:50 PM
 FROM Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
 CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
 CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(b)
 DATECLASSIFIEDON 08/04/2000
 DECLASSIFYON 08/05/2010
 SUBJECT THE KREMLIN AND BIG BUSINESS: A NEW ERA?
~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
 TO Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT)
 CARBON_COPY
 TEXT_BODY

-----Message Text-----

S

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 MOSCOW 015383

E.O. 12958:
 DECL: 8/3/10
 TAGS: ECON, EFIN, EINV, PGOV, RS
 SUBJECT: THE KREMLIN
 AND BIG BUSINESS: A NEW ERA?

REF: MOSCOW 14664

(U) CLASSIFIED
 BY A. DANIEL WEYGANDT, ACTING DEPUTY
 CHIEF OF MISSION. REASONS
 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY: PRESIDENT PUTIN'S CORRECT, BUT
 FAR
 FROM CORDIAL JULY 27TH MEETING WITH LEADING RUSSIAN
 BUSINESSMEN,
 TOGETHER WITH THE RECENT WAVE OF
 INVESTIGATIONS INTO TAX FRAUD AND
 OTHER MISDEEDS BY
 LEADING RUSSIAN FIRMS AND BUSINESSMEN, SUGGESTS
 THAT A

DECLASSIFIED
 PER E.O. 13526
 2012-1021-M
 RS 9/30/14

NEW ERA IN RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT-BUSINESS RELATIONS
MAY
BE
OPENING. IN PLACE OF THE INTERMIXING OF ECONOMIC
AND POLITICAL
POWER THAT LED TO THE COINING OF THE
TERM "OLIGARCH," PUTIN APPEARS
DETERMINED TO DISTANCE
GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS, DRAWING ON BUSINESS'
EXPERTISE
AND CONNECTIONS WHEN IT IS USEFUL TO HIM,
BUT MAKING CLEAR THAT
HE IS AN INDEPENDENT ACTOR WITH
NO DEBTS TO PAY. WHETHER HIS STATED
GOAL OF KEEPING
ALL BUSINESSMEN "EQUIDISTANT" FROM THE STATE WILL
BE
FULFILLED, HOWEVER, REMAINS UNCLEAR. WHILE THE
RECENT
CRACKDOWN
SUGGESTED THAT CERTAIN BUSINESS LEADERS
CLOSELY TIED TO THE GOR
ARE STILL OFF-LIMITS, COMMENTS
BY PUTIN AND GOR OFFICIALS HINT THAT
EVEN BUSINESSES
WITH TIES TO KREMLIN ALLIES, SUCH AS SIBNEFT, COULD
BE
BE TARGETED FOR TAX VIOLATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. ~~(C)~~ WORDS:

FROM THE TIME HE ASSUMED THE RUSSIAN
PRESIDENCY ON AN ACTING BASIS
AT THE START OF THE
YEAR, PRESIDENT PUTIN HAS SENT CLEAR VERBAL
SIGNALS
THAT THE YELTSIN ERA, WITH ITS INTERMIXING OF
ECONOMIC
AND
POLITICAL POWER, IS OVER. THE THEME MADE ITS
FIRST MODEST APPEARANCE
IN HIS "OPEN LETTER ON THE EVE
OF THE MILLENNIUM," WHERE HE SPOKE
OF THE NEED FOR
OLIGARCHS TO BE KEPT "EQUIDISTANT" FROM THE STATE.
SOON,
IN THE PRE-ELECTION PERIOD, PUTIN'S RHETORIC
BECAME TOUGHER. HE
TOLD RADIO MAYAK IN AN INTERVIEW
IN FEBRUARY, FOR INSTANCE, THAT
THOSE WHO SEEK TO

"MESH" THE STATE AND CAPITAL WOULD NO LONGER EXIST AS A CLASS. PUTIN ALSO REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED THAT ALL SHOULD BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW, FROM SO-CALLED OLIGARCHS TO THE NODEST SHOE REPAIRMAN. HE ALSO PLEDGED NOT TO INTERFERE IN ONGOING INVESTIGATIONS OF THE PROCURACY AND OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES.

3. (S)
AND DEEDS: WHETHER PUTIN'S RECENT ACTIONS LIVE UP TO THIS AMBITIOUS AGENDA HAS BEEN HOTLY DEBATED IN MOSCOW. CRITICS POINT TO THE FACT THAT THE CRACKDOWN OF RECENT MONTHS HIT KREMLIN CRITICS, INCLUDING MOST NOTABLY MEDIA-MOST MAGNATE VLADIMIR GUSINSKIY, AND LEFT UNSCATHED SUCH KREMLIN INSIDERS AS BORIS BEREZOVSKIY AND RONAN ABRAMOVITCH. OTHERS WHO WERE TARGETED ALSO HAD CONNECTIONS TO THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION: LUKOIL'S VAGIT ALEKPEROV, FOR INSTANCE, LIKE GUSINSKIY, SUPPORTED "FATHERLAND-ALL RUSSIA". SOME CRITICS, LIKE FORMER "UNITY" PARTY DEPUTY VLADIMIR RYZHKOV, SUGGESTED THAT VLADIMIR POTANIN (NORILSK NICKEL) AND ANATOLIY CHUBAYS (UES) HAD BEEN TARGETED FOR THEIR SUPPORT OF THE "UNION OF RIGHT FORCES." GIVEN THAT PARTY'S STRONG SUPPORT FOR PUTIN, HOWEVER, SUCH SUGGESTIONS SEEM STRAINED. CHUBAYS, IN FACT, HAS BEEN HARDLY INCONVENIENCED BY THE AS YET UNPURSUED PLAN OF THE ACCOUNTING CHAMBER TO LOOK INTO FOREIGN OWNERSHIP OF UES SHARES, A MOVE THAT IN ANY EVENT WAS INITIATED BY THE DUMA RATHER THAN THE GOVERNMENT.

INTERESTINGLY, WHILE SPS LEADER BORIS NEMTSOV TOLD THE AMBASSADOR IN JULY THAT HE BELIEVED A "PERSONAL VENDETTA" EXPLAINED THE ASSAULT ON GUSINSKIY, HE OFFERED NO POLITICAL/PERSONAL RATIONALE FOR THE OTHER INVESTIGATIONS.

4. ~~(C)~~ A TELLING DEFECTION: THE RECENT POLITICAL TRAJECTORY OF BORIS BEREZOVSKIY SUGGESTS, HOWEVER, THAT MORE THAN SETTLING SCORES MAY BE AT WORK. WE UNDERSTAND THAT FROM AN EARLY STAGE IN THE PUTIN ADMINISTRATION, BEREZOVSKIY LOST HIS PRIVILEGED ACCESS TO THE KREMLIN, AND WAS REQUIRED TO APPLY FOR PERMISSION EACH TIME HE WISHED TO VISIT THERE. HIS DECISION TO LEAVE THE DUMA AND PUBLICLY OPPOSE PUTIN'S FEDERAL REFORMS IS A CLEAR SIGNAL THAT HE NO LONGER FELT SURE OF KREMLIN PROTECTION. THE RECENT INVESTIGATION INTO AVTOVAZ, IN WHICH BEREZOVSKIY REPORTEDLY HAS AN INTEREST, THE REOPENING OF THE INVESTIGATION INTO EMBEZZLEMENT FROM AEROFLOT, AND APPARENT PLANS BY THE GOR TO TAKE BACK CONTROL OF TELEVISION CHANNEL MAKES CLEAR THAT HIS PERCEPTION OF HIS CHANGING FORTUNES WAS NOT FAR OFF.

5. ~~(C)~~ THE UNTOUCHABLE?: CENTRAL TO CONTINUED CRITICISM OF THE KREMLIN FOR FAILURE TO ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF "EQUIDISTANCE" HAS BEEN THE CONTINUED IMMUNITY OF ROMAN ABRAMOVICH FROM INVESTIGATION. KREMLIN INSIDER GLEB PAVLOVSKIY MADE CLEAR TO POLOFF

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~A~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 MOSCOW 015383

E.O. 12958: DECL: 8/3/10

TAGS:

ECON, EFIN, EINV, PGOV, RS

SUBJECT: THE KREMLIN AND BIG BUSINESS:
A NEW ERA?

IN JULY THAT THE KREMLIN PERCEIVES A DIFFERENCE

BETWEEN

HIM AND POTANIN, BEREZOVSKIY AND GUSINSKIY.

IN CONTRAST TO THE

LATTER, HE SUGGESTED, ABRAMOVICH

IS A "GOOD" OLIGARCH WHO DOES "HELPFUL"

WORK IN THE

OIL BUSINESS, AND DID NOT CROSS THE KREMLIN THROUGH
TAX

AVOIDANCE, FUNNELING MONEY TO THE REGIONS, OR
SUPPORTING THE OPPOSITION.

6.

~~(C)~~ NEXT IN LINE?: MORE RECENTLY, HOWEVER, A CHANGE
IN TONE HAS

OCCURRED. FINANCE MINISTER KUDRIN

RECENTLY COMMENTED CRITICALLY

ON THE TAX RECORD OF

ABRAMOVICH'S SIBNEFT OIL COMPANY (WHICH PAYS
SEVEN-

FOLD LESS IN TAXES ON EACH BARREL OF OIL IT PRODUCES
THAN

ITS RIVALS, INCLUDING LUKOIL). PUTIN HIMSELF

SHARPLY QUESTIONED

SIBNEFT OFFICIALS ON THE ISSUE

DURING THE JULY 27TH ROUNDTABLE.

HOWEVER,

ABRAMOVICH'S BUSINESS EMPIRE EXTENDS FAR BEYOND
SIBNEFT

AND ANY MOVE AGAINST SIBNEFT COULD BE LIMITED
TO THE COMPANY AND

NOT TOUCH ABRAMOVICH PERSONALLY.

FURTHERMORE, GIVEN THAT THE KREMLIN

HAS BEEN THE

OBJECT OF CRITICAL PRESS DUE TO THE LACK OF
"EQUIDISTANCE"

OF ABRAMOVICH, MAMUT AND DERIPASKA,

COMPARED TO OTHER OLIGARCHS,

THE SWIPES AGAINST

SIBNEFT COULD BE AN ATTEMPT TO DEFLECT SUCH CRITICISM.

7.

~~(S)~~ A CHILLY EMBRACE: THE NEW DYNAMICS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS WERE ON DISPLAY AT THE JULY 27TH ROUNDTABLE, WITH PUTIN STERNLY ADMONISHING LEADING BUSINESSMEN THAT THEY THEMSELVES HAD HELPED CREATE THE RUSSIAN STATE IN ITS CURRENT FORM, AND SHOULD NOT COMPLAIN AT THE REFLECTION THAT FACED THEM IN THE MIRROR AS A RESULT. IN CONTRAST TO MEETING INITIATOR BORIS NEMTSOV, WHOSE INITIAL MORE ROBUST VISION OF THE SESSION INCLUDED CONCLUSION OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS DELINEATING THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF EACH SIDE, PUTIN REJECTED ANY SUCH EFFORT TO PUT GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS ON AN EQUAL FOOTING. THE KREMLIN ALSO BLOCKED SUGGESTIONS THAT GUSINSKIY, BEREZOVSKIY AND AMBRAMOVICH BE INCLUDED IN THE GUEST LIST.

8.

~~(C)~~ STRAIGHT TALK: IN HIS EXCHANGES WITH LEADING BUSINESSMEN, ALL OF WHOM HE OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK, PUTIN WAS TERSE AND DIRECT. HE REITERATED HIS LONGSTANDING POLICIES, REASSURING THOSE PRESENT THAT THE WHOLESALE REOPENING OF PAST PRIVATIZATIONS IS NOT ON HIS AGENDA. BUT HE RULED OUT A GENERAL AMNESTY FOR PAST WRONGDOING, SAYING THAT HE WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH INVESTIGATIONS BY LAW-ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES. AS NOTED ABOVE, HE QUESTIONED SIBNEFT CHIEF YEVGENIY

SHVYDLER
OVER WHY HIS FIRM PAID SO LITTLE TAX. HE
WARNED ALL PRESENT THAT
THEY SHOULD ABANDON ATTEMPTS
TO PUT THEIR SUPPORTERS IN GOVERNMENT
"POWER
STRUCTURES." TO VLADIMIR POTANIN, WHO HAS PROTESTED
HIS
INNOCENCE IN RESPONSE TO PROCURACY ALLEGATIONS
THAT HE UNDERPAID
BY 140 MILLION USD FOR A CONTROLLING
STAKE IN NORILSK NICKEL, PUTIN
ASKED IF HE WAS SURE HE
COULD DEMONSTRATE THIS FACT IN COURT. WHEN
POTANIN
REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY, PUTIN REPORTEDLY RESPONDED
"WELL,
GO AHEAD AND PROVE IT," ADDING "WHAT ARE YOU
AFRAID OF THEN?"

9.

~~(C)~~THE KREMLIN'S STATEMENT: IN PLACE OF THE
AGREEMENT AND JOINT
STATEMENT NEMTSOV ENVISIONED, THE

KREMLIN PUT OUT A SIMPLE STATEMENT
OUTLINING THE
MEETING'S CONTENT. NO MENTION WAS MADE OF THE
BUSINESSMEN'S
CONCERN ABOUT ONGOING LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.
THE STATEMENT INCLUDED
PUTIN'S ASSURANCE THAT
PRIVATIZATIONS WOULD NOT BE REVIEWED, BUT
ADDED THAT
HE MADE THE POINT THAT IT IS "UNACCEPTABLE FOR
COMPETING
COMPANIES TO TRY TO USE STATE STRUCTURES AND
LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES
TO ACHIEVE THEIR GOALS." IN
THE ONE CONCRETE RESULT OF THE SESSION,
THE STATEMENT
NOTED THAT AN ADVISORY COUNCIL WOULD BE SET UP TO
ADVISE
THE PRESIDENT AND THE GOVERNMENT ON ISSUES OF
INTEREST TO BUSINESS.
THIS SUGGESTION OF PRIME
MINISTER KASYANOV, WHO WITH MINISTERS
KUDRIN AND GREF
ALSO ATTENDED THE SESSION, CLEARLY AIMS TO CALL
ON

BUSINESS WHEN
IT IS IN THE GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST TO DO
SO. THIS HAPPENED MOST
RECENTLY JUST IN THE WEEK
BEFORE THE MEETING, WHEN KASYANOV CONVENED
BUSINESS
LEADERS AND URGED THEM TO LOBBY THE FEDERATION
COUNCIL
IN
FAVOR OF TAX REFORM.

10. ~~(S)~~ MIXED REACTIONS: THOSE PRESENT PUT
THE BEST
FACE ON THE MEETING AFTERWORDS, CITING PUTIN'S
ASSURANCE
THAT PRIVATIZATION WOULD NOT BE REOPENED.
BORIS NEMTSOV SAID THE
SESSION WAS A SIGN THAT THE
"PERIOD OF PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION OF
CAPITAL" IS AT AN
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 MOSCOW
015383

E.O. 12958: DECL: 8/3/10
TAGS: ECON, EFIN, EINV, PGOV,
RS
SUBJECT: THE KREMLIN AND BIG BUSINESS: A NEW ERA?

END, AND
BUSINESS CAN NOW GET DOWN TO NORMAL WORK.

"THE OLIGARCHS HAVE
BECOME SICK OF BEING OLIGARCHS,"
HE TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE, AND
WANT TO BE "LAW-ABIDING
TAXPAYERS." NOT ALL PRESENT SHARED NEMTSOV'S
POSITIVE
APPRAISAL. SEVERAL COMMENTED ANONYMOUSLY IN THE
MOSCOW
PRESS THAT THE MEETING HAD NOT BEEN USEFUL. IN
A POST-MEETING PRESS
CONFERENCE, KAKHA BENDUKIDZE OF
URALMASH, UNITED MACHINE-BUILDING
PLANTS, DISTANCED
HIMSELF FROM THE POSITIVE ASSESSMENT OF OTHER
PARTICIPANTS,
COMMENTING IRONICALLY THAT PERHAPS HE

HAD BEEN IN A DIFFERENT MEETING.

11.

~~(S)~~ COMMENT: FROM THE KREMLIN'S PERSPECTIVE, THE GOAL OF THE SESSION (AS WAS ADMITTED BY ONE ANONYMOUS SOURCE IN THE BUSINESS DAILY "VEDEMOSTIY") WAS TO "PUT THE OLIGARCHS IN THEIR PLACE," AND DISPEL ANY PRETENSIONS THEY MIGHT CONTINUE TO ENTERTAIN AS TO THEIR INFLUENCE OVER NATIONAL POLICY. UNLIKE YELTSIN, PUTIN CLEARLY DOES NOT FEEL INDEBTED TO BIG BUSINESS, AND APPEARS DETERMINED TO REIN IT IN, AS HE HAS REINED IN THE NATION'S REGIONAL ELITES. REGARDLESS OF WHETHER ANY FORMER "OLIGARCH" IS EVER PROSECUTED, THE RECENT CRACKDOWN HAS MADE PUTIN'S POINT: THE FORMER UNTOUCHABLES HAVE BECOME TOUCHABLE. PUTIN IS NOT DEPENDENT ON OLIGARCHS, THEY ARE DEPENDENT ON HIM, AND IT IS NOT CLEAR AT THIS POINT THAT HE WILL HELP THEM.

12. ~~(S)~~ THE OUTCOME OF THIS CAMPAIGN MAY BE TO TURN OLIGARCHS INTO SOMETHING RESEMBLING TAXPAYING BUSINESSMEN, AS NEMTSOV SUGGESTS THEY WANT TO BE. TO THIS POINT, SOME ARE BEING JAWBONED INTO IT (ABRAMOVICH, CHUBAYS) AND OTHERS INTIMIDATED (ALEKPEROV, POTANIN) AND STILL OTHERS FORCED (GUSINSKIY). THE TREATMENT METED OUT TO EACH APPEARS TO BE RELATED TO POLITICS AND PERSONALITIES, NOT UNUSUAL ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. END COMMENT. ORDWAY

Exchange Mail

(007)

DATE-TIME 10/01/2000 10:32:00 AM
 FROM Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
 CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
 CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(b)(d)
 DATECLASSIFIEDON 10/01/2000
 DECLASSIFYON 10/02/2010
 SUBJECT U/S PICKERING MEETING WITH BORIS BEREZOVSKIY
~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
 TO Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT)
 CARBON_COPY
 TEXT_BODY

fyi

-----Message Text-----

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 190013

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/30/10

TAGS:

PGOV, PHUM, RS

SUBJECT: U/S PICKERING MEETING WITH BORIS BEREZOVSKIY
 (SEPT.
 18, 2000, NEW YORK)

CLASSIFIED BY U/S FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS THOMAS
 R.

PICKERING. REASONS: 1.5 B AND D.

1. (C) SUMMARY: RUSSIAN MEDIA
 MAGNATE BORIS BEREZOVSKIY
 TOLD U/S PICKERING IN NEW YORK THAT PUTIN
 IS GOING DOWN
 THE PATH OF PERON OR PINOCHET - NOT SEEKING AN
 AUTHORITARIAN
 STATE PER SE, BUT PURSUING THE GOAL OF A
 DEMOCRATIC STATE VIA AN
 AUTHORITARIAN PATH. PUTIN, HE
 SAYS, HAS UNDERMINED THE INDEPENDENCE
 OF THE SEPARATE
 BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT AND IS INTENT ON RE-
 CENTRALIZING

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 PER E.O. 13526
 2012-1021-M
 RS 9/30/14

POWER.
HE HAS STRIPPED THE REGIONS OF THE RIGHT TO PURSUE
THEIR OWN FOREIGN
INVESTORS AND FIRED ELECTED MAYORS AND
GOVERNORS. PUTIN IS ALSO
PURSUING STATIST ECONOMIC
POLICIES WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING THE PRIVATE
SECTOR. PUTIN
NOW SEEKS TO GAIN "TOTAL CONTROL" OF THE THREE TV
STATIONS
THAT DOMINATE THE MASS MEDIA. (BEREZOVSKIY HAS THUS
PLACED
HIS ORT TELEVISION HOLDINGS IN A SPECIAL TRUST HELD
BY A GROUP
OF INDEPENDENT JOURNALISTS.) BEREZOVSKIY
CLAIMED TO WANT TO BUILD
A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC "LOYAL
OPPOSITION" AND NOTED THAT, IN VIEW OF
THE PRESTIGE OF THE
UNITED STATES AMONG MOST RUSSIANS, MORE PUBLIC
U.S.
CRITICISM OF PUTIN'S MEASURES WOULD FIND RESONANCE
IN
RUSSIA.
HE ADMITS HE LACKS A LEADER FOR THIS APPROACH; A
CRITICAL FACTOR
FOR SUCCESS. HE ADDED THAT PUTIN FEARS
NEITHER THE U.S. NOR NATO,
BUT THINKS THE U.S. HOLDS
POSITIONS THAT RUN COUNTER TO RUSSIAN
INTERESTS.
PICKERING NOTED THAT, WHILE YELTSIN HAD A CLEAR
STRATEGY
BUT
WAS CONFUSED ON TACTICS, PUTIN WAS AT THE MOMENT
UNPREDICTABLE IN
BOTH STRATEGY AND TACTICS. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) RUSSIAN MEDIA MAGNATE
BORIS BERZOVSKIY CALLED ON
U/S PICKERING OCTOBER 18 ON THE MARGINS
OF THE UNGA IN NEW
YORK. BERZOVSKIY WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ALEC
GOLDFARB
AND
VLADIMIR VORONKO. U/S PICKERING WAS ACCOMPANIED BY
P
STAFF
(NOTETAKER). BERZOVSKIY OPENED BY OUTLINING HIS

THREE GOALS FOR HIS TRIP TO NEW YORK: TO GIVE HIS VISION OF CURRENT STATE OF EVENTS IN RUSSIA; TO SEND A MESSAGE ON THE NEED FOR DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION TO PUTIN; AND, TO OPEN COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE RUSSIAN EXPATRIATE COMMUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES. OVERSEAS RUSSIANS, HE SAID, NEED TO DEVELOP A MODERN AND SUPPORTIVE RELATIONSHIP TO MOTHER RUSSIA. NOTING HE WAS GOING STRAIGHT TO BRIGHTON BEACH AFTER THE MEETING, HE PLACED THE NEW YORK CITY RUSSIAN COMMUNITY AT 900,000 AND 4 MILLION IN THE ENTIRE U.S. (A FIGURE PICKERING SAID SOUNDED HIGH).

3.
(S) BEREZOVSKIY BEGAN BY RECOUNTING THAT YELTSIN HAD INITIATED SOUND, LOGICAL REFORMS, NOT ONLY LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM BUT CHANGING THE RUSSIAN MENTALITY. NO LONGER DO PEOPLE DEPEND ON THE STATE, HE SAID, BUT ON THEMSELVES. PUTIN, HE AVERRED, NEEDS TO CONTINUE WITH THIS LONG EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS. YELTSIN TURNED THE COUNTRY 180 DEGREES, BUT PUTIN NOW APPEARS INTENT ON CONTINUING SOME OF YELTSIN'S OWN STRATEGIC MISTAKES WHILE ADDING NEW ONES OF HIS OWN. PUTIN IS CONTINUING YELTSIN'S ERRORS IN CHECHNYA, HE SAID, AS WELL AS THE FAILING TO ATTEND TO THE ISSUE OF PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION. PUTIN, CLAIMED BEREZOVSKIY, IS DESTROYING THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM BY HIS MOVES AGAINST THE COURTS AND THE LEGISLATURE. THE DUMA, HE SAID, IS "NOW JUST A RUBBER STAMP OF THE KREMLIN."

4. ~~(S)~~
PICKERING CONCURRED THAT PUTIN HAS UNDERMINED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTAL BRANCHES, WHILE DOING AWAY WITH THE FEDERATION COUNCIL AND LIMITING THE AUTONOMY OF THE OBLASTS. THE GOAL APPEARS TO BE THE RECENTRALIZATION OF POWER. BEREZOVSKIY STATED THAT CONTROL OF THE MASS MEDIA IS ALSO BEING CONCENTRATED, CLAIMING THAT 90 PERCENT OF ALL TV INFLUENCE IS CONCENTRATED IN THE TOP THREE CHANNELS: ORT, NTV ("NOT MASS MEDIA, IT HAS GOOD URBAN, BUT NOT RURAL OR NATIONAL COVERAGE") AND RTR ("WEAK, WITH NO POLITICAL POWER").

5. ~~(S)~~ BEREZOVSKIY STATED THAT HE BELIEVES THAT PUTIN DOES NOT ACTIVELY SEEK THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN AUTHORITARIAN STATE, JUST THAT HE BELIEVES A DEMOCRATIC STATE CAN BE ESTABLISHED VIA THE AUTHORITARIAN PATH. HE LIKENED PUTIN TO PERON AND PINOCHET. ASKED IF HE THOUGHT PUTIN WAS ALSO MOVING TOWARDS A STATIST ECONOMY, BEREZOVSKIY REPLIED "ABSOLUTELY," NOTING THE REGIONS WERE NO LONGER PERMITTED TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN BUSINESS RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN INVESTORS. STILL, BEREZOVSKIY SAID, "PUTIN IS BETTER THAN PRIMAKOV," ALTHOUGH HE IS "NO INTELLECTUAL." HE ADMITTEDLY INHERITED A TERRIBLE SITUATION, SAID BEREZOVSKIY, BUT SEEKS SIMPLE SOLUTIONS WHERE THERE ARE NONE. NONETHELESS, HE CLAIMED, HE IS OPTIMISTIC THAT THE COUNTRY IS GENERALLY PROCEEDING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION (PUTIN ASIDE) AND "MILLIONS OF RUSSIANS REMAIN OPTIMISTIC."

6. (S) ASKED ABOUT HIS OWN BUSINESS SITUATION, BEREZOVSKIY STATED "THEY CAN PUT ME IN JAIL BUT IT WON'T HELP." HE EXPLAINED THAT HE HAS PLACED HIS OWNERSHIP SHARES OF ORT TV INTO A SHARE TRUST CONTROLLED BY A GROUP OF JOURNALISTS. HE STRESSED HE WAS NOT DIVESTING HIMSELF OF ORT. THE PRESIDENT OF RUSSIA COULD PROPOSE TO REPLACE THE CURRENT GENERAL MANAGER ("NOT A STRONG MAN, BUT.."). A QUALIFIED MAJORITY OF THREE-FOURTH'S OF THE TOTAL

SHARES, HOWEVER, WOULD BE NEEDED IN ORDER TO APPROVE SUCH A MOVE. ASKED BY PICKERING WHY THE KURSK AFFAIR WAS HANDLED SO POORLY, BEREZOVSKIY REPLIED THAT PAVLOVSKY AND THE FSB LEADERSHIP WERE "STALINISTS" WHO DID NOT UNDERSTAND THAT THESE ARE NOT SOVIET TIMES. NOT ONLY ARE OTHER INFORMATION STREAMS AVAILABLE TO PEOPLE, BUT THE PEOPLE HAVE ALSO CHANGED IN THEIR EXPECTATIONS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT.

7. (S) BEREZOVSKIY STATED THAT THIS WAS A CLEAR EXAMPLE OF WHY, IF RUSSIA TRULY WANTED TO DEVELOP A LIBERAL SYSTEM, IT NEEDED TO CREATE "A REAL OPPOSITION, NOT A POTEMKIN ONE." BEREZOVSKIY HAD SOUGHT TO DEVELOP, HE SAID, A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION. "BUT PUTIN MOVED LEFT, SO I ASKED FOR A RIGHT OPPOSITION." EVEN AFTER HE EXPLAINED THE IDEA OF A LOYAL, DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION TO PUTIN, HE SAID, PUTIN "REACTED AGGRESSIVELY,"

CHALLENGING
AND QUESTIONING BEREZOVSKIY'S EVERY MOVE. PUTIN
MADE
A
STRATEGIC ERROR, HE ANALYZED, "BY PICKING A FIGHT
WITH THE
BUSINESS
ELITE." THE GOVERNORS HAD BEEN DIVIDED IN 1999.
BUT AFTER PUTIN
ATTACKED ONE OF THEM, THEY WERE UNITED IN
SUPPORTING PUTIN. AFTER
HE BECAME PRESIDENT, EACH OF THE
GOVERNORS SAW PUTIN AS "HIS" PRESIDENT
- ONLY TO FEEL
BETRAYED AFTER HE REDUCED THEIR POWER AND TOOK
THEM
OUT OF
THE FEDERATION COUNCIL.

8. ~~(S)~~ THE CENTRAL ISSUE NOW,
SAID BEREZOVSKIY, IS
WHETHER RUSSIAN SOCIETY ACCUMULATES ENOUGH
OF THE "POWER
OF FREEDOM" TO LIMIT PUTIN. TACTICALLY, HE SAID HE
HAS
CONCLUDED THAT "IT IS USELESS TO FIGHT PUTIN; IT IS
BETTER
TO
PRESS HIM." THE FSB HAS SOME POWER OVER PUTIN, BUT
IVANOV HAS THE
MOST INFLUENCE. VOLOSHYN, HE ARGUED, IS A
BIGGER INTELLECT THAN
PUTIN, BUT HAS "NO CHANCE AT ALL" OF
REPLACING PUTIN. ONLY HIGH
WORLD OIL PRICES WERE KEEPING
THE ECONOMY AFLOAT, AND PUTIN, WHO
DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THE
PRIVATE SECTOR OR THE EFFECTS OF HIS OWN
DECISIONS, HAS NO
IDEA OF HOW TO HELP THE ECONOMY. THE YOUNGER
GENERATION
IS
LEAVING RUSSIA, HE CLAIMED, TRUSTING NEITHER PUTIN
NOR
THE FUTURE.
GOVERNMENT CONFISCATIONS AND TAXES WERE ALSO
FORCING MORE OF THE
ECONOMY UNDERGROUND AND TOWARD HIDING
THEIR ASSETS.

9. ~~(C)~~ ASKED BY PICKERING IF PUTIN FEARS EITHER THE UNITED STATES OR NATO, BEREZOVSKIY REPLIED, "NO, BUT HE THINKS THE U.S. HOLDS A POSITION (THAT IS) AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF RUSSIA." PUTIN'S MAIN GOVERNMENTAL SUPPORT RESTS ON THE MILITARY AND THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. HE FEARED THAT PUTIN'S INNER CIRCLE IS ISOLATED AND "DO NOT KNOW REALITY." ONE EXAMPLE: PUTIN TRULY BELIEVES MILOSEVIC WOULD WIN A FAIR VOTE IN SERBIA BECAUSE THE FSB TELLS HIM SO. PUTIN, SAID BEREZOVSKIY, MEETS EVERY TWO WEEKS WITH YELTSIN. YELTSIN HAS REPORTEDLY TOLD PUTIN TO JETTISON MANY OF THE FSB PEOPLE SURROUNDING HIM, BUT PUTIN HAS REFUSED TO DO SO. WHEN HE FEELS THREATENED, BEREZOVSKIY SAID PUTIN WITHDRAWS, SUSPECTS THE WORST AND LOOKS FOR THE SIMPLEST OF SOLUTIONS. HE SAID PUTIN DOES NOT LIKE THE CURRENT DEFENSE MINISTER AND WILL LIKELY NOMINATE A CIVILIAN POLITICIAN (ONE ACCEPTABLE TO THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP) TO REPLACE HIM. HE SPECULATED THAT SERGEI IVANOV OR KUDRIN MIGHT BECOME PRIME MINISTER. HE SAID THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ZUGANOV ARE TRYING TO SUPPORT PUTIN. HE PLACED ZHIRINOVSKY'S POPULAR SUPPORT AT LESS THAN FIVE PERCENT, NOTING HE HAD SUPPORTED PUTIN'S REFORM OF THE FEDERATION COUNCIL. HE SAID ROSSEL, RUTSKOI AND SHAYMEYEV WERE THE STRONGEST GOVERNORS WORTH WATCHING.

10. ~~(S)~~ PICKERING SUMMARIZED THE VIEW AT THIS JUNCTURE. RUSSIA'S FUTURE REMAINS IN PUTIN'S HANDS.

HE IS
NONETHELESS CONFUSED AND UNABLE TO MOVE FORWARD
ON MAY
ISSUES
THAT ARE IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES. AN
ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT
MIGHT HELP SOME (AND OIL EXPORTS ARE
HELPING), BUT WE SEE NO LONG-TERM
EFFORTS BY PUTIN IN THAT
REGARD. YELTSIN MAY HAVE BEEN UNPREDICTABLE
IN TACTICS,
BUT HE HAD A PLAN - AND CONFIDENCE IN THAT PLAN.
PUTIN
IS
PROVING UNPREDICTABLE IN BOTH TACTICS AND STRATEGY.

11. (S)
BEREZOVSKIY NOTED "ORT IS SILENCED, WE CANNOT
CRITICIZE HIM; NO
CHANCE." ORT'S MOST INFLUENTIAL
JOURNALIST AS WELL AS THE INFORMATION
MANAGER HAD BOTH
BEEN FIRED BY THE GOVERNMENT. BEREZOVSKIY WAS
STUMPED
WHEN
THEN ASKED BY PICKERING WHO NOW COMPETES WITH
PUTIN
FOR NATIONAL
LEADERSHIP OR HOW A NATIONAL OPPOSITION COULD

BE DEVELOPED IF
ORT WAS, AS BEREZOVSKIY PUT IT, "90
PERCENT MUZZLED." BEREZOVSKIY
SAID LEADERS WOULD ARISE IF
THE PEOPLE WERE NOT AFRAID TO STEP FORWARD.
THE USG, HE
ARGUED, SHOULD BE MORE CRITICAL PUBLICLY OF PUTIN'S
MISTAKES.
THE USG IN GENERAL, AND PRESIDENT CLINTON IN
PARTICULAR, ENJOY
BROAD PUBLIC SUPPORT AND APPRECIATION.
TALBOTT

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. email	Wolosky to Clarke re: [Russia] (1 page) [Partial] KBH 8/19/2015	10/01/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Non-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Wolosky and Berez...])
OA/Box Number: 630000

FOLDER TITLE:

[05/05/2000-12/20/2000]

2012-1021-M
rs797

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 10/01/2000 10:49:17 AM
FROM Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
CLASSIFICATION SECRET
CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(c)
DATECLASSIFIEDON 10/01/2000
DECLASSIFYON 10/02/2010
SUBJECT EO 13526 1.4d [SECRET]
TO Clarke, Richard A. (TNT)
CARBON_COPY Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT)
TEXT_BODY Berezovsky was in the US in late September, and was feted by US-Russia Business Council (Bob Strauss's group) and the Council on Foreign Relations. In New York, on the margins of UNGA, he met with U/S Pickering.

Later this week (5-7 OCT), Harvard's Kennedy School and the US-Russia Business Council host the 4th Annual US-Russian Investment Symposium. Expected attendees include Mikhail Khodorkovsky (keynote speaker), Pyotr Aven (CEO Alfa Bank, which owns Tyumen Oil), German Gref (SPAG advisor) and Vladimir Evtushenkov (Chairman of Sistema, Luzhkov's holding company).

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

2012-1021-M
8/19/15 KBH

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. email	Wolosky to Clarke re: Berezovksy / USA (2 pages)	11/09/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Non-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Wolosky and Berez...])
OA/Box Number: 630000

FOLDER TITLE:

[05/05/2000-12/20/2000]

2012-1021-M
rs797

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 11/30/2000 8:05:12 PM
FROM Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT RE: Berezovsky in NY [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Weiss, Andrew S. (RUE)

CARBON_COPY**TEXT_BODY**

would think we would want to avoid having him stay in us indefinitely, given pending criminal investigations. among other things, we might find ourselves in the position of being asked to execute a warrant. do you know whether he has asked usg to stay? (and do you agree that he should not be encouraged to stay indefinitely)

-----Original

Message-----

From: Weiss, Andrew S. (RUE)
Sent: Thursday, November
30, 2000 7:57 PM
To: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
Cc: Clarke, Richard
A. (TNT); @CRIME; @RUSSIA - Russia/Ukraine
Subject: RE: Berezovsky
in NY [UNCLASSIFIED]

I don't know anything firmsorry.

-----Original

Message-----

From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
Sent: Thursday, November
30, 2000 7:19 PM
To: Weiss, Andrew S. (RUE)
Cc: Clarke, Richard
A. (TNT); @CRIME; @RUSSIA - Russia/Ukraine
Subject: RE: Berezovsky
in NY [UNCLASSIFIED]

He is planning to serve out his exile in the united states?

-----Original Message-----

From: Weiss, Andrew
S. (RUE)

Sent: Thursday, November 30, 2000 7:00 PM
To: Wolosky,
Lee S. (TNT)
Cc: Clarke, Richard A. (TNT); @CRIME; @RUSSIA - Russia/Ukraine
Subject: RE:
Berezovsky in NY [UNCLASSIFIED]

Yep - still in NYC. He came down
about 10 days ago to see Pickering.

-----Original Message-----

From: Wolosky,
Lee S. (TNT)
Sent: Thursday, November 30, 2000 6:59 PM
To: @RUSSIA
- Russia/Ukraine
Cc: Clarke, Richard A. (TNT); @CRIME
Subject: Berezovsky
in NY [UNCLASSIFIED]

@Russia: Do you have any information the
wire report below, which seems to indicate that Boris Berezovsky
is in New York with no plans to return to Russia anytime soon. Thanks.

a0766

^BC-Russia-Berezovsky,0579

^Tycoon

Berezovsky laments wasted money on Putin

^By ANGELA CHARLTON= ^Associated
Press Writer=

MOSCOW (AP) Pining for his once-immense political
influence,

tycoon Boris Berezovsky on Thursday lamented that he
spent part of his

fortune on boosting President Vladimir Putin,
who later turned his back

on him.

Berezovsky accused Putin

of skewering democracy and dissent

in Russia but dismissed concerns

that his own influence-peddling under

former President Boris Yeltsin

was in any way undemocratic.

``There are huge damages from what
Putin has done to me over

the past year," Berezovsky said in an

interview with The Associated

Press from New York. He added that

the damage has also been economic.

Berezovsky, a wily former

mathematician, is in self-imposed exile from Russia to avoid a criminal investigation that he calls politically motivated. He said Thursday he had no plans to hurry back to Russia anytime soon.

He claimed to have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to finance Putin's election this spring and to have helped Putin win an unspecified sum from two Swiss companies targeted in the investigation.

The Kremlin has denied the claim. "I gave my own money, not just from my companies but from my own pocket to ... support the presidential campaign. It was hundreds of thousands of dollars," Berezovsky said. "Putin's election campaign received money from Forus and Andava, which I founded to help Aeroflot." Berezovsky is one of Russia's most prominent "oligarchs," mighty moguls who built business empires through shady privatization deals in the 1990s and used Kremlin ties to advance their own business interests. He was also widely seen as having great influence over Yeltsin's

decision-making circle as a reward for his financing of Yeltsin's re-election campaign in 1996.

Berezovsky still has holdings in Russian media, oil, cars, aluminum and airlines. But since Putin's election, Berezovsky has fallen from Kremlin favor and is under criminal investigation, which he says proves Putin's slide toward authoritarianism.

"I regret that the president turned so shortsighted and weak,"

Berezovsky said. "He got scared of an opposition, and reverted to his old-school KGB ways."

Human rights groups have accused Putin, a former KGB agent, of cracking down on independent

journalists, environmentalists and rebels
in breakaway Chechnya.
Putin maintains he is cleaning up Russian politics
and business
after years of chaos and corruption.
Russians cheered when Putin
promised to stem the oligarchs'
influence, having long reviled
the tycoons for building fortunes while
the rest of the country
sank into poverty. Still, some oligarchs remain
in Kremlin favor.

``It wasn't the oligarchs who damaged the Russian democratic
process,
it was the oligarchs who were 90 percent responsible for pushing

it forward," Berezovsky argued.
The companies Berezovsky
said financed Putin's campaign, Andava
and Forus, are suspected
of misappropriating \$970 million from Russia's
national airline
Aeroflot. Berezovsky has repeatedly ignored summons
for questioning
in the case.

``It was all clean. These companies made a profit
like any
successful Western company," he insisted.
Also Thursday,
Berezovsky announced he was donating \$3 million
to the Sakharov
Museum and human rights center in Moscow, which had
planned to
close on Friday because it had no money.
APE- 11/30/2000 17:40:47

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. email	Rosa to Wolosky re: Russian Presidential Administration (5 pages)	12/20/00	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Non-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Wolosky and Berez...])
OA/Box Number: 630000

FOLDER TITLE:

[05/05/2000-12/20/2000]

2012-1021-M
rs797

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