

Feb 93 Strube note

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Good morning, Mr. Secretary.

For the next several hours,
my colleagues and I hope to help you begin to prepare for your
meeting at the end of the month with Foreign Minister Kozyrev.

We have divided the formal program in two parts,
the first hour on Russia itself,
the second on the challenges and opportunities it poses our govern-
ment.

Before I introduce the first briefer,
let me take a few minutes to offer a highly personal, highly objec-
tive suggestion about how to think about what is happening in Russia.

The subjects before us today are, generally speaking, not cheerful
or encouraging one.

The problems seem so immense that it is easy to work oneself into
something close to despair.

In your office about 10 days ago, Mr. Secretary,
in our first discussion in our new capacities,
you asked if I had read the recent writings of Peter Reddaway on
the subject
and whether I shared his bleak assessment and prognosis.

I understand why you asked.

If Reddaway is correct and the situation is as hopeless as he says,
then, quite bluntly, we're probably wasting our Saturday,

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or at least that portion of it in which were talk about possible solutions to the problems,

because there would be no solutions.

If the pessimists are right, our policy toward the former Soviet Union should be a variation of the old policy of containment in the darkest days of the Cold War:

that is, we should establish a hermetic seal, a kind of quarantine, around that vast and unhappy stretch of real estate, then let disaster ensue, while concentrating our efforts, reactively, on containing its spread. But that is not the right diagnosis nor the right prescription.

True, Russia and the former Soviet Union constitute the single biggest and most dangerous political mess on the face of the earth.

It's the biggest in sheer size, stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific, across eleven time zones

-- biggest in the number of ethnic and territorial disputes -- 160 -- simmering, and in some cases boiling, all across the Eurasian landmass

-- biggest in the number and destructive power of armed forces -- that could be brought into the action if the situation blows.

-- and biggest in terms of the OEI, the ominous economic indicators

-- 50% inflation monthly,

25% decline in GNP --

which together and severally could trigger more political turmoil.

But that's not the whole story.

In fact, I would argue, it's not even the main story.

What's been happening in the former USSR these past several years is often described as the second Russian revolution.

That is actually an extreme understatement.

In fact, the Russians are conducting three revolutions at once: they are transforming themselves from a totalitarian system to a democracy,

from a command economy to a market,

and from a multinational empire to a nation state.

Moreover, on each score, they have had some tentative success.

-- They have reduced and nearly eliminated terror as the central organizing principle of political life.

-- They are inching toward the adoption of institutions, laws, and constitutional and parliamentary procedures to replace the tradition of Kremlin rule.

-- There are the first, unpretty but vigorous stirrings of private enterprise,

and they are groping toward a modern -- which is to say post-imperial -- definition of Russian statehood.

Taken together, these three simultaneous transformations, however fragile, constitute nothing less than a miracle,

the greatest political miracle of our era

and one of the greatest in human history.

If it continues, it has the potential of matching in positive sig-

nificance the birth of our own country, of our system, and of our role in the world.

That, Mr. Secretary

-- in, I hope, easy-to-swallow capsule form --

is my prescribed antidote to the pessimism

-- the Reddaway syndrome, as it were --

that you might otherwise succumb to listening to the diagnosis of what ails Russia that you will now hear from my colleagues, starting with Doctor Graham of the Policy Planning Staff.

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RUSSIA

BRIEFING FOR SECRETARY OF STATE
WARREN CHRISTOPHER

FEBRUARY 6, 1993, SATURDAY
10:00-12:00

MODERATOR: Strobe Talbott

Opening Remarks (approx. 5 minutes)

(Note. Each segment will be introduced with short introductory remarks setting out the issues for discussion.)

Russia Briefing

I. Russian Internal Political Situation (20 min.)

Introductory Remarks: Tom Graham - S/P

- Social situation/nationalities issues
- Impact and possible results of April referendum
- Role of institutions: parliament, military, KGB
- Yeltsin's political future

Kojper

Discussion

II. Russian Economy (20 min.)

Introductory Remarks: Cliff Bond - EUR/ISCA

- Economic situation and forecast
- Reform's accomplishments and prospects
- IMF program

Discussion

III. Russia's View of the World (20 min)

Introductory Remarks: Martha Mautner - INR/CEE

- Conflict on the periphery
- International crises
- Relations with the U.S.

Fyodor

Discussion

Thompson
1993
CEE

Martha

Thompson

L.R.

BREAK (5 min)

Foreign Policy Challenges and Opportunities

IV. Helping Russia Build Democracy and a Market Economy
(20 min)

Introductory Remarks: Nick Burns - NSC

- Humanitarian/technical assistance
- Macro-economic support
- Investment and private sector involvement

Discussion

V. Security Issues (20 min)

Introductory Remarks: James Timbie - T

Robert Einhorn - PM

- Security and arms control
- Proliferation and arms sales

Discussion

VI. Hot Spots for Your Meeting with Foreign Minister Kozyrev
(20 min)

Introductory Remarks: Steven Coffey - EUR/ISCA

- Summit Preparations
- Kozyrev's Objectives
- Elements of Your Agenda

Discussion



In opening our first session,

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I described what is happening in Russia as a political miracle.

As we turn now to the challenge facing American policy,

I would frame the issue as a matter of doing what we can from the outside, marginal and modest as it may be, to keep that miracle going.

That means helping Russia build democracy and a market economy.

To outline what is already happening in that area and what more we might do,

here is Nick Burns.

Nick works with Toby Gati on the NSC staff.

He has already proved invaluable to me and to my colleagues in establishing a State-NSC partnership

that will, I feel confident, guarantee our leadership over what I also feel confident will be an interagency process that will set a new standard in collegiality and effectiveness.

Nick....