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STATE 285017

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TAGS: OVIP (CHRISTOPHER, WARREN) PREL, BE, UN, MARR
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH RUSSIAN FM KOZYREV
DECEMBER 6, 1995, 9:00-10:00 A.M.
HOTEL CONRAD, BRUSSELS, BELGIUM

1. CLASSIFIED BY DEPUTY EXECUTIVE SECRETARY MICHAEL E.
GUEST. REASON 1.5 (D).

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2. PARTICIPANTS:

U.S.: SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER
AMBASSADOR HUNTER
JIM COLLINS, SINIS
JIM STEINBERG, S/P
NICK BURNS, P/A

RUSSIA: FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV
AMBASSADOR CHURKIN
VLADIMIR IVANOV, NOTETAKER
INTERPRETER

3. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER BEGAN BY REFLECTING THAT THE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK TUMMINIA
DATE/CASE ID: 6 MAR 2003 200001030

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TUESDAY NAC MEETING HAD FOCUSED HEAVILY ON IMPLEMENTING THE PEACE AGREEMENT IN BOSNIA. EVERY SPEAKER HAD EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT RUSSIA WILL PARTICIPATE IN

THIS PROCESS, INCLUDING IFOR. SECRETARY PERRY HAD WELCOMED THE COOPERATION WE HAVE ESTABLISHED IN THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE OPERATION, A POINT WHICH HAD GARNERED UNANIMOUS SUPPORT FROM HIS DEFENSE COLLEAGUES.

NATO-RUSSIA MOU
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4. THE SECRETARY GATHERED THAT WORK TO FORMALIZE THE NATO-RUSSIAN MOU IS CONTINUING AND THAT NATO HAD PROVIDED A SECOND DRAFT. HE ASKED WHETHER RUSSIA THOUGHT THE MOU COULD BE COMPLETED SOON. RESPONDING, KOZYREV QUESTIONED WHETHER A MOU IS NECESSARY. HE HAD

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DISCUSSED THIS THE PREVIOUS DAY WITH COLLEAGUES AND HAD CONCLUDED IT IS NOT CLEAR A PAPER IS NEEDED. SHEVTSOV HAD SAID HIS TALKS ARE PROCEEDING ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT AN AGREEMENT ON THE MILITARY ASPECTS WILL USE MECHANISMS AVAILABLE UNDER THE TERMS OF THE "BEYOND P4P" DOCUMENT. THIS MECHANISM PROVIDES FOR CONSULTATIONS ON POLITICAL ISSUES IN THE 16-PLUS-1 FORMAT. IN THAT CASE, WHY IS AN MOU NECESSARY?

5. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SAID THAT IN A TECHNICAL SENSE IT IS PROBABLY TRUE THAT WE DO NOT NEED A NEW DOCUMENT; EXISTING MECHANISMS CAN ENCOMPASS NEEDS THAT MAY ARISE FOR CONSULTATION. AT THE SAME TIME, THE RUSSIANS MIGHT WANT TO THINK THROUGH THE IMPLICATIONS OF NOT GOING FORWARD ON THE MOU, ESPECIALLY AS THERE IS PUBLIC EXPECTATION AN AGREEMENT WILL BE ACHIEVED. AMBASSADOR HUNTER NOTED THAT THE IDEA OF AN MOU HAD BEEN PUT FORWARD AS A WAY TO BE HELPFUL TO THE RUSSIAN SIDE IN MEETING THEIR NEED TO REGULARIZE AND FORMALIZE CONSULTATION ON ISSUES THAT MIGHT AFFECT RUSSIAN TROOPS IN IFOR. THE MOU IS NOT A NATO REQUIREMENT: THE MILITARY WILL HAVE AN AGREEMENT TO GOVERN THE TERMS OF THE MILITARY ROLE. FURTHERMORE, SECRETARY PERRY AND GENERAL GRACHEV HAVE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE ON HOW TO CARRY OUT CONSULTATIONS ON POLITICAL ISSUES.

6. KOZYREV SAID HE THOUGHT IT BEST THAT THE TALKS

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CONTINUE; WE SHOULD KEEP OPEN THE OPTION OF CONTINUING WORK ON THE MOU. IN THE MEANTIME, WE CAN WORK ON THE BASIS OF THE AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE.

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ELECTIONS AND ENLARGEMENT

7. NOTING THE IMMINENT FORMAL SIGNATURE OF THE BOSNIAN PEACE AGREEMENT IN PARIS, THE SECRETARY ASKED WHETHER

PRESIDENT YELTSIN WILL BE ABLE TO TRAVEL BY THAT TIME. KOZYREV RESPONDED THAT YELTSIN WILL NOT GO TO PARIS. YELTSIN HAD TOLD HIM HE INTENDED TO ASK PRIME MINISTER CHERNOMYRDIN TO GO. HOWEVER, CHERNOMYRDIN'S ATTENDANCE IS ALSO UNCLEAR. THE TIMING OF THE PARIS MEETING COULD NOT BE WORSE, COMING TWO DAYS BEFORE ELECTIONS FOR THE DUMA. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT WE HAVE A GOOD APPRECIATION OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

8. THE SECRETARY WANTED TO MAKE ONE OR TWO POINTS ABOUT NATO ENLARGEMENT, AN ISSUE THAT WAS DISCUSSED IN THE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED THE PREVIOUS DAY. FIRST, MOST OR ALL OF 1996 WILL BE TAKEN UP BY DISCUSSIONS WITH PARTNERS REGARDING THE IMPLICATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP FOR THEIR INDIVIDUAL STATES. THIS DISCUSSION WILL DEFINE WHAT WE HAVE CALLED PHASE II IN THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS. THE SECRETARY SAID HE EXPECTED THE NAC A YEAR FROM NOW TO TAKE UP THIS ISSUE AS WELL. SECOND, WE ARE PLEASED WITH RUSSIAN WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN P4P.

9. KOZYREV RESPONDED THAT PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAD RECEIVED PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LETTER ON THIS SUBJECT; HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER YELTSIN HAD HAD A CHANCE TO READ IT IN DETAIL. A REPLY WILL BE FORTHCOMING, BUT IT MAY TAKE

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SOME TIME. WITHIN THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, THERE ARE THREE SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT ON HOW TO APPROACH NATO. ONE SCHOOL ADVOCATES RUSSIA DEFEND ITS INTERESTS THROUGH ACTIVISM AND THREATS. A SECOND SCHOOL PROMOTES THE IDEA THAT RUSSIA SHOULD IGNORE NATO. THE THIRD, WHICH KOZYREV SUPPORTS, ARGUES FOR DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION,

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EVEN WHILE ARGUMENT, DIALOGUE AND DISAGREEMENT OVER ENLARGEMENT CONTINUES. IN SPEAKING WITH KOZYREV THE PREVIOUS DAY, PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAD STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE THIRD APPROACH.

10. THE SECRETARY SAID HE IS PLEASED KOZYREV AND YELTSIN SHARE THE THIRD VIEW. KOZYREV RESPONDED THAT . EVEN WITH THIS SUPPORT, ARGUMENT OVER NATO WILL CONTINUE FOR A WHILE; THUS ANSWERING PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LETTER SUBSTANTIALLY AND DEFINITELY WILL TAKE SOME TIME. THE SECRETARY REMARKED THAT HE HOPED KOZYREV WILL MAKE CLEAR TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD BEEN FAITHFUL TO THE PROMISES HE HAD MADE ON THIS SUBJECT.

KOZYREV'S DUMA RACE

11. THE SECRETARY ASKED KOZYREV TO VENTURE A PREDICTION ON HIS UPCOMING ELECTION. CLAIMING TO BE A BIT SUPERSTITIOUS ABOUT MAKING PREDICTIONS, KOZYREV SAID HE BELIEVES HE IS NOT TOTALLY WITHOUT CHANCES OF WINNING BUT THAT BEING OUT OF THE COUNTRY REDUCES THOSE CHANCES. NOW THE SCHEDULE IS MADE EVEN WORSE BY THE NEED TO GO TO PARIS. MORE GENERALLY, HE SAID, 43 BLOCS

PAGE 06 STATE 285017 111937Z ARE RUNNING IN THE ELECTION. THE COMMUNISTS AND NATIONALISTS (ZHIRINOVSKIY AND LEBED) SEEM TO HAVE THE BEST PROSPECTS, ALTHOUGH RUSSIA HAS NO RELIABLE POLLS LIKE GALLUP. THIS IS THE BAD NEWS. THE GOOD NEWS IS THAT CHERNOMYRDIN HAS A CHANCE. IN RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S COMMENT WISHING KOZYREV WELL, THE MINISTER EXPRESSED APPRECIATION BUT NOTED THAT ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT COULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

CFE

12. TURNING TO CFE, THE SECRETARY SAID WE HAD WELCOMED RUSSIA'S SUPPORT FOR THE STATEMENT ISSUED IN VIENNA ON NOVEMBER 17. NOW WE MUST COMPLETE THE AGREEMENT. AS HE HAD OBSERVED AT THE PREVIOUS DAYRS NAC, IT IS IMPORTANT TO TRY TO GET THIS DONE BY FEBRUARY. NIS COORDINATOR COLLINS SAID WE HAD MADE GOOD PROGRESS IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON A MAP FIX AS THE APPROACH THAT CAN BRING

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ABOUT A RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE. IN RECENT TALKS WE LARGELY HAVE AGREED ON THE MAP, BUT WE HAVE YET TO COMPLETE WORK ON DEFINING THE OFFSETTING MEASURES THAT MUST ACCOMPANY ANY CHANGE IN THE FLANK MAP TO ACHIEVE THE SUPPORT OF ALL THIRTY STATE PARTIES TO THE TREATY. KOZYREV ACKNOWLEDGED THE NEED TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE SOON AND TO PRESERVE THE POSITIVE WORKING TONE OF THE TALKS: WE SHOULD AVOID ENGAGING IN NOISY POLEMICS.

CHECHNYA
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13. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT CHECHNYA IS AGAIN COMING TO OUR ATTENTION BECAUSE OF A CLIMATE OF INCREASING VIOLENCE. ALTHOUGH WE ARE HOPING FOR PROGRESS, THINGS SEEM TO MOVING IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION. KOZYREV RESPONDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT FINDS ITSELF IN A CATCH-22 SITUATION. ON THE ONE HAND, THE ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE IS STIMULATED BY PREPARATIONS FOR ELECTIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS NO WAY TO LAY A FOUNDATION FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WITHOUT HOLDING ELECTIONS FOR THE AUTHORITY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK THAT WOULD PERMIT NEGOTIATION OF A SETTLEMENT.

RUSSIAN BANKS
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14. THE SECRETARY NOTED HE HAD RECEIVED KOZYREV'S LETTER ABOUT REGISTRATION OF RUSSIAN BANKS IN THE UNITED STATES. HE ASSURED KOZYREV THAT WE WILL WORK WITH THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT TO RESPOND WITHIN THE LIMITS OF OUR LAWS AND REGULATIONS. KOZYREV THANKED THE SECRETARY FOR HIS EFFORTS AND FOR HIS PROMPT REPLY TO KOZYREV'S EARLIER LETTER. THE PROBLEM HAD ARISEN IN PART BECAUSE RUSSIAN BANKS DO NOT KNOW WHAT STATUS THEY NEED OR WANT.

ABM TREATY
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15. KOZYREV RAISED THE STATUS OF TALKS ON THE ABM DEMARCATION AGREEMENT AND FOLLOW-UP TO HYDE PARK'S DISCUSSIONS ON THAT SUBJECT. COLLINS INFORMED HIM THAT OUR NEGOTIATING TEAM HAD INSTRUCTIONS TO MEET WITHIN THE

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FRAMEWORK OF THE SCC TO SEEK PROGRESS ON THE BASIS OF
THE PRINCIPLES AGREED TO IN MOSCOW IN MAY AND SUBSEQUENT
UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT THE BASIS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

BOSNIA
- - - -

16. IN CLOSING, THE SECRETARY RETURNED TO THE
IMPORTANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ACHIEVED IN
DAYTON. KOZYREV SAID HE SHARED THE SECRETARY'S
ASSESSMENT AND ASKED ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR
CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON IFOR. THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED
THE STATE-OF-PLAY ON IFOR CONSIDERATION IN THE HOUSE AND
SENATE, UNDERSCORING THAT THE PRESIDENT IS DETERMINED TO
PROCEED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT. THE
ADMINISTRATION HAS NOW RECEIVED SUPPORT FROM FORMER
PRESIDENTS BUSH AND FORD; THAT WILL HELP STRENGTHEN
SUPPORT AMONG REPUBLICANS. IN THE END, HE SAID,
CONGRESS LIKELY WILL PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR OUR TROOPS BUT
IN A WAY THAT MAKES CLEAR THAT THE DECISION TO ENGAGE
OUR FORCES WAS PRESIDENTIAL.

17. KOZYREV THANKED THE SECRETARY FOR THE MEETING AND
EXPRESSED HIS PERSONAL ADMIRATION FOR THE SECRETARY'S
CONTRIBUTION IN BRINGING ABOUT THE DAYTON AGREEMENT.
DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER INVANOV HAD TOLD HIM THE
CRITICAL ROLE THE SECRETARY HAD PLAYED. KOZYREV ALSO
EXPRESSED APPRECIATION THAT THE SECRETARY HAD CALLED HIM
WHEN THE U.S. HAD NEEDED SUPPORT ON THE UN RESOLUTIONS
IMMEDIATELY AFTER DAYTON. THE CALL FROM THE SECRETARY

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AND THEN ONE FROM THE SERBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HAD BEEN
EXTREMELY HELPFUL IN MAKING THE CASE TO PRESIDENT
YELTSIN THAT RUSSIA HAD TO SUPPORT ACTION ON THE
RESOLUTIONS IN ORDER TO BUTTRESS DAYTON'S RESULT.
CHRISTOPHER

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