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SECTION 01 OF 06 SECTO 17027
DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: OVIP (CHRISTOPHER, WARREN), PREL, RU
SUBJECT: SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT YELTSIN, 10/22/93, MOSCOW

1. - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT YELTSIN OPENED THE OCTOBER 22 MEETING BY PROVIDING A BRIEF RUNDOWN ON THE EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER 21 AND OCTOBER 3-4, EXPRESSING SPECIAL APPRECIATION TO PRESIDENT CLINTON AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER FOR THEIR EARLY AND EXTREMELY SUPPORTIVE BACKING. HE REVIEWED THE ELECTORAL SCENE, NOTING THAT WORK HAD BEGUN BY POLITICAL PARTIES, THAT ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD FOR THE PARLIAMENT, AND THAT A

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REFERENDUM WOULD TAKE PLACE ON THE CONSTITUTION BASED ON THE TEXT APPROVED BY THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE EARLIER THIS YEAR. THIS WOULD MARK THE END OF THE SOVIET ERA AND THE INCORPORATION OF A TRUE DEMOCRATIC FUTURE FOR RUSSIA. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER CONVEYED PRESIDENT CLINTON'S HIGH APPRECIATION OF PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S ACTIONS DURING THE RECENT CRISIS AND PASSED ON HIS GOOD WISHES AND CONTINUING STRONG SUPPORT. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER ACCEPTED, ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT CLINTON, PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S INVITATION TO VISIT IN THE SECOND WEEK IN JANUARY. TURNING TO THE QUESTION OF NATO EXPANSION, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER EXPLAINED THE U.S. APPROACH OF ESTABLISHING A PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE, AND STRESSED THAT THE APPROACH TO FUTURE NEW MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE WAS INCLUSIVE AND NON-DISCRIMINATORY. PRESIDENT YELTSIN CALLED IT A

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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BRILLIANT PROPOSAL, PLEDGED HIS FULL SUPPORT, AND
THANKED PRESIDENT CLINTON FOR HIS LEADERSHIP ON THIS
ISSUE WHICH COULD HAVE PROVED EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR
RUSSIA TO HANDLE. END SUMMARY.

3. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER MET PRESIDENT YELTSIN AT
ZAVIDOVO, OUTSIDE MOSCOW, FOR 45 MINUTES ON THE
AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 22. YELTSIN WAS ACCOMPANIED BY
FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV, FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISOR
RYURIKOV, AND PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT ILYUSHIN.
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR AT
LARGE STROBE TALBOTT AND AMBASSADOR PICKERING. BOTH
SIDES HAD INTERPRETERS PRESENT.

4. PRESIDENT YELTSIN WARMLY GREETED SECRETARY

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CHRISTOPHER ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE MEETING ROOM AND
DURING THE EXCHANGE OF GREETINGS, THE SECRETARY TOLD
PRESIDENT YELTSIN HOW MUCH PRESIDENT CLINTON ADMIRES
ALL THAT HE HAS DONE IN RECENT WEEKS AND PARTICULARLY
HIS FIRMNESS IN PURSUING SUCH A STEADY COURSE IN THE
FACE OF HEAVY DIFFICULTIES. IN RETURN, PRESIDENT
YELTSIN NOTED THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD PURSUED AN
EQUALLY STEADY COURSE EVER SINCE HE HAD COME INTO THE
WHITE HOUSE. HE HAD BEEN FULLY AND RAPIDLY SUPPORTIVE
OF PRESIDENT YELTSIN IN VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES
AND THE PRESIDENT WANTED PRESIDENT CLINTON (HIS FRIEND

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BILL, AS HE KEPT SAYING) TO KNOW HOW MUCH HE
APPRECIATED THIS.

5. AT PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S INVITATION, THE PARTY MOVED
TO THE MEETING TABLE. PRESIDENT YELTSIN BEGAN THE
CONVERSATION BY NOTING THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A MESSAGE
FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON REGARDING THE SECRETARY'S VISIT
IN WHICH PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD ASKED HIM TO RECEIVE
THE SECRETARY. HE NOTED THAT THE MESSAGE REFERRED TO
A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT QUESTIONS FOR THE TWO OF THEM TO

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DISCUSS. HE REMARKED THAT WITH THE UNITED STATES IT
IS OBVIOUS THAT THERE ARE ALWAYS QUESTIONS TO DISCUSS
TOGETHER AND HE WAS READY TO DO SO. HE ALSO INDICATED
THAT HE HAD HIS OWN LIST OF QUESTIONS WHICH HE WOULD
LIKE TO DISCUSS AND HE HOPED THAT SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER WOULD AGREE WITH THIS. THE SECRETARY
SAID, OF COURSE, BUT HE DID NOT WISH TO PROLONG THE
MEETING ESPECIALLY SINCE HE HAD INTRUDED ON PRESIDENT
YELTSIN'S STAY AT HIS COUNTRY HOUSE. PRESIDENT
YELTSIN SAID THAT ONE OBVIOUS QUESTION IS THE COMING
VISIT OF PRESIDENT CLINTON TO RUSSIA AND SOME OF THE
APPROACHES THAT WE TAKE TO THAT QUESTION. I WOULD
LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH YOU, HE SAID TO THE SECRETARY,
SUGGESTIONS WHICH WE THEN COULD PASS ON TOGETHER TO
PRESIDENT CLINTON. WE CAN HAVE VERY INTERESTING
CONVERSATIONS WITH THE TWO OF US
HERE TOGETHER. WE SHOULD DISCUSS THE SCHEDULE OF THE
VISIT. PRESIDENT CLINTON SHOULD COME NOT JUST TO
MOSCOW BUT PERHAPS ALSO TO ST. PETERSBURG. THERE IS
THE QUESTION OF AN AGENDA AS WELL. WE CAN PERHAPS
DISCUSS THE GENERAL QUESTION AND AGREE ON THE MAJOR
POINTS AND AFTER THAT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE COULD BEGIN TO PUT
TOGETHER THE DETAILED PROGRAM AND IDEAS FOR THIS VERY
IMPORTANT VISIT. "YOU SHOULD KNOW," PRESIDENT YELTSIN
SAID, "THAT I HAVE A VERY LARGE INTEREST IN MAKING
THIS VISIT A FULL SUCCESS. THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA WILL
WELCOME PRESIDENT CLINTON WITH ENTHUSIASM." WE
OURSELVES HAVE BEEN SPEAKING TO THE MEDIA ABOUT
PRESIDENT CLINTON IN ORDER TO CONVEY TO THE PEOPLE OF
RUSSIA A SENSE OF THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE GOVERNMENT

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ATTACHES TO THIS VISIT. WE WANT HIM TO APPEAR NATURAL
AND WITHOUT ANY SPECIAL EMBELLISHMENT. WE WANT TO
GIVE HIM FULL CREDIT FOR WHAT HE HAS DONE IN HIS SHORT
TIME IN OFFICE.

6. PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE
SECRETARY HAD A GOOD MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER
CHERNOMYRDIN. HE SAID IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO BRIEF THE
SECRETARY ON THE ACTUAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY.
FOLLOWING THE EVENTS IN OCTOBER, THE COUNTRY HAS
CALMED DOWN APPRECIABLY. THERE IS NO LONGER THE
PROBLEM OF DUAL AUTHORITY. THERE IS ONE GOVERNMENT
AND IT IS VIGOROUS FROM TOP TO BOTTOM AND FROM FEDERAL
CENTER TO THE LOCAL AREAS. THERE ARE NO STRIKES AND
NO APPRECIABLE UNREST IN THE COUNTRY. THERE IS NO
OVERT DISCONTENT AND THE CRIME RATE IS DOWN FOR THE
FIRST TIME IN THE LAST TWO YEARS. THIS IS
PARTICULARLY WORTH NOTING, HE EMPHASIZED. THERE IS

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NOW AN ACTIVE PROCESS TO PREPARE AN ELECTION, WITH THE
APPOINTMENT OF THE CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION AND
DISTRICT COMMISSIONS. CONSTITUENCIES, FOR THE FIRST
TIME, HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED AND FOR THE FIRST TIME,

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POLITICAL PARTIES ARE FORMING ON A REALISTIC BASIS. THIS WILL BE THE FIRST FREE AND FAIR ELECTION FOR THE PARLIAMENT SINCE 1917 AND IT MARKS A CLEAR END OF SOVIET POWER.

[REDACTED]

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7. YELTSIN SAID RUSSIA IS NOW BEGINNING TO EXERCISE ITS DEMOCRACY MUCH AS IT IS DONE IN THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE AND THINGS ARE FULLY ON TRACK. THE PARTIES AND THE BLOCS ARE MAKING THEIR NOMINATIONS. THERE WILL BE 225 SEATS FOR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PARTIES ELECTED AT LARGE PROPORTIONATELY IN THE COUNTRY. THERE WILL BE 225 REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TERRITORIES ELECTED IN THEIR DISTRICTS. WHAT HAS COME AS A SURPRISE TO US, PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID, IS THE VERY LARGE INTEREST IN THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE ELECTIONS. THE PARTIES ARE ACTIVE AND VIGOROUS, WHILE THE FASCIST GROUPS AND PARTIES HAVE HUNKERED DOWN. THEY ARE THE ONES TO BLAME AND THEY BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ATTEMPTED MILITARY BLACKMAIL.

8. MOVING ON, PRESIDENT YELTSIN EMPHASIZED THAT HE WAS ALSO GOING AHEAD WITH THE NEW CONSTITUTION DRAFT. HE WANTED A DECISION ON ITS ADOPTION IN A REFERENDUM TO ACCOMPANY THE ELECTION ON DECEMBER 12. THE TEXT WILL BE THE ONE APPROVED BY THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE WHICH HAD BEEN ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF MANY OTHER GROUPS. THIS DRAFT WILL ENSHRINE POPULAR DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA AND THE VOTE WILL, OF COURSE, TAKE PLACE ON IT ON DECEMBER 12. RUSSIA WILL THEN HAVE A CONSTITUTION UP TO THE STANDARDS OF THE BEST WESTERN DEMOCRACIES.

9. PRESIDENT YELTSIN ALSO NOTED THAT AS RUSSIA CONTINUED TO MOVE AHEAD, IT WOULD BE MOVING CONSISTENTLY WITH THE PARTIES TO END THE OLD

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TOTALITARIAN REGIME, WITH THE POWER ASSIGNED TO THE SOVIETS, MOCKING THE PEOPLE, AS HE DESCRIBED IT, SINCE 1917. HE EMPHASIZED, AGAIN, THAT RUSSIA WOULD BE ADOPTING A NEW DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION WHICH MET THE HIGHEST STANDARDS. HE CONCLUDED BY SAYING, "IT ONLY REMAINS FOR US TO RE-BURY LENIN."

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10. THE SECRETARY IN REPLY NOTED THAT JUST BEFORE HE LEFT HE HAD A GOOD MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON. THE PRESIDENT WANTED HIM SPECIFICALLY TO COVER THREE SUBJECTS AND HE WOULD DO SO QUICKLY IN ORDER NOT TO TAKE TOO MUCH TIME FROM THE PRESIDENT WHILE HE WAS RESTING AT HIS COUNTRY RESIDENCE.

11. THE SECRETARY SAID FIRST THAT HE WANTED TO BRING CONGRATULATIONS ON HOW PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAD HANDLED RECENT EVENTS. PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD FOLLOWED EVENTS CLOSELY AND PERSONALLY. HE WAS EXTREMELY INTERESTED IN PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S SUPERB HANDLING OF THE CRISIS

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AND ADMIRING THE RESTRAINT WHICH THE PRESIDENT HAD PRACTICED AFTER SEPTEMBER 21. HE JOINED IN REGRETTING THAT ACTION HAD TO BE TAKEN WHEN THE REVOLT LED TO VIOLENCE. BUT THE WAY YOU DID IT WAS THE LEAST THREATENING AND CAUSED THE LEAST LOSS OF LIFE. PRESIDENT YELTSIN RESPONDED WITH A THANK YOU.

12. CONTINUING, THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT ON SUNDAY, OCTOBER 3, THE PRESIDENT ALSO CLOSELY FOLLOWED EVENTS AND WANTED TO TELL PRESIDENT YELTSIN THAT WE IN

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WASHINGTON FELT THE SERIOUS NATURE OF THE CRISIS AND
THAT OUR THOUGHTS WERE WITH YOU IN MOSCOW ALL DAY. WE
WERE GREATLY RELIEVED WHEN YOU RE-ESTABLISHED CONTROL.

13. THE SECRETARY ALSO NOTED THAT WE FELT THAT
FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR RYURIKOV HAD MADE AN IMPORTANT
STATEMENT ON SUNDAY EVENING, MOSCOW TIME, WHICH
ESTABLISHED CONFIDENCE IN THE WORLD OUTSIDE. PRIME
MINISTER CHERNOMYRDIN AND FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV HAD
ALSO DONE SUPERB WORK AND IT WAS A HIGH COMPLIMENT TO
PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S JUDGEMENT AND TASTE.

14. THE SECRETARY NOTED THE HOLDING OF THE FIRST
COMPLETELY DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN
RUSSIA SINCE 1917 AND THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WOULD
LIKE TO OFFER TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN ANY WAY THAT
WOULD BE USEFUL. THERE ARE ALREADY NUMBERS OF OUR
EXPERTS HERE WHO COULD BE HELPFUL BUT WE WOULD LIKE TO
ASSIST IN ANY WAY IN WHICH WE COULD DO SO.

15. PRESIDENT YELTSIN NOTED THAT HE HAD ALREADY
EXTENDED INVITATIONS TO OBSERVERS FROM THE G-7, THE
COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND THE CSCE. IT WOULD BE GOOD TO
HAVE REPRESENTATIVES TO VISIT DIFFERENT REGIONS OF
RUSSIA. THEY WOULD HELP TO SEE THAT THE ELECTION IS
DIRECT AND FREE AND MEETS THE HIGHEST DEMOCRATIC
STANDARDS. WITH RESPECT TO THE IDEA OF ASSISTANCE,
THIS WAS A NEW OFFER AND HE WOULD LIKE TO THINK IT
THROUGH AND TAKE IT UNDER ADVISEMENT AND WOULD BE
RESPONDING. PRESIDENT YELTSIN NOTED THAT THEY HAD
ALREADY SET UP AN INTERAGENCY COMMITTEE TO COORDINATE

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ASSISTANCE AND HELP FROM OTHER COUNTRIES, AS THE SOLE
COORDINATING BODY. HE AGAIN THANKED SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER FOR THE OFFER OF ELECTION TECHNIAL AID AND
WOULD GET BACK TO US WITH HIS THOUGHTS.

16. PRESIDENT YELTSIN NOTED THAT FOR THE PAST
SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS ANY ELECTION IN RUSSIA HAD BEEN
CONDUCTED THROUGH THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THESE WERE
NOT ELECTIONS WHICH WERE FAIR TO OTHERS. BUT THERE
HAD, OF COURSE, BEEN FREE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND
NOW THIS WAS THE FIRST PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION UNDER
THE NEW RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY.

17. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER THEN TURNED TO HIS SECOND

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SUBJECT. HE SAID THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WISHED TO CONFIRM HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE INVITATION TO COME TO RUSSIA AND WOULD LIKE TO COME IN THE SECOND WEEK OF JANUARY AFTER THE NATO SUMMIT. WHILE IT IS NOT CLEAR

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THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL BE ABLE TO VISIT ANY RUSSIAN CITY BESIDES MOSCOW, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AGREED THAT ST. PETERSBURG SHOULD CERTAINLY BE CONSIDERED. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY MIGHT BE YEKATERINBURG, "YOUR HOME CITY AND A CITY IN WHICH THE U.S. MAY SOON BE OPENING A CONSULATE."

18. PRESIDENT YELTSIN REPLIED ENTHUSIASTICALLY, "THAT WOULD BE A GREAT HONOR FOR ME. WE WILL LOOK FORWARD TO THIS AND WILL WARMLY WELCOME PRESIDENT CLINTON."

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19. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER THEN TURNED TO HIS THIRD SUBJECT WHICH HE NOTED WOULD BE MORE SUBSTANTIVE. HE SAID THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON PARTICULARLY WANTED HIM TO TALK WITH YOU ABOUT PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S RECENT LETTER ON NATO. WITH A GREAT DEAL OF CARE AND STUDY, PRESIDENT CLINTON DECIDED ON WHAT RECOMMENDATION TO

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MAKE TO THE NATO SUMMIT IN JANUARY. "IN THIS RESPECT YOUR LETTER CAME AT EXACTLY THE RIGHT TIME AND IT PLAYED A DECISIVE ROLE IN PRESIDENT CLINTON'S CONSIDERATION." THERE COULD BE NO RECOMMENDATION TO IGNORE OR EXCLUDE RUSSIA FROM FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE FUTURE SECURITY OF EUROPE. AS A RESULT OF OUR STUDY, A "PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE" WOULD BE RECOMMENDED TO THE NATO SUMMIT WHICH WOULD BE OPEN TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE NACC INCLUDING ALL EUROPEAN AND NIS STATES. THERE WOULD BE NO EFFORT TO EXCLUDE ANYONE AND THERE WOULD BE NO STEP TAKEN AT THIS TIME TO PUSH ANYONE AHEAD OF OTHERS.

20. PRESIDENT YELTSIN JUMPED IN AT THIS POINT AND ASKED IF HE UNDERSTOOD CORRECTLY THAT ALL COUNTRIES IN CEE AND THE NIS WOULD, THEREFORE, BE ON AN EQUAL FOOTING AND THERE WOULD BE A PARTNERSHIP AND NOT A MEMBERSHIP. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER REPLIED, "YES, THAT IS THE CASE, THERE WOULD NOT EVEN BE AN ASSOCIATE STATUS." YELTSIN REPLIED, "THIS IS A BRILLIANT IDEA, IT IS A STROKE OF GENIUS."

21. PRESIDENT YELTSIN THEN SAID THAT THIS SERVES TO DISSIPATE ALL OF THE TENSION WHICH WE NOW HAVE IN

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RUSSIA REGARDING EAST EUROPEAN STATES AND THEIR ASPIRATIONS WITH RESPECT TO NATO. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN AN ISSUE FOR RUSSIA PARTICULARLY IF IT LEFT US IN A SECOND CLASS STATUS. NOW, UNDER YOUR NEW IDEA WE ARE ALL EQUAL AND IT WILL ENSURE EQUAL PARTICIPATION ON THE BASIS OF PARTNERSHIP. IT IS AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION FROM THE UNITED STATES. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WILL BE LEADING THE EUROPEANS. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THERE IS AN IDEA OF PARTNERSHIP FOR ALL AND NOT NEW MEMBERSHIP FOR SOME. WAXING ENTHUSIASTIC, PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID, "IT REALLY IS A GREAT IDEA, REALLY GREAT." HE SAID "TELL BILL I AM THRILLED BY THIS BRILLIANT STROKE."

22. THE SECRETARY SAID, "WE WILL TELL HIM THAT YOU BOUGHT HIS RECOMMENDATION WITH REAL ENTHUSIASM." PRESIDENT YELTSIN REPLIED, "OF COURSE, YES, YES."

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26. PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID THAT HE HAD NOTED THAT, OF LATE, THE U.S. PRESS HAD BEEN SOUNDING "PESSIMISTIC NOTES" CONCERNING OUR ALLIANCE/PARTNERSHIP. HE, HOWEVER, WAS ABSOLUTELY CONVINCED THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WAS NO PESSIMIST. HE HAD COMPLETE TRUST IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN PRESIDENT CLINTON. HE CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT HE APPRECIATED IMMENSELY PRESIDENT CLINTON'S EARLY CONTINUING AND EXTREMELY GENEROUS SUPPORT AND THAT HE WANTED TO PASS ON HIS HIGHEST ESTEEM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

27. IN A SHORT CONVERSATION UPON LEAVING, PRESIDENT

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YELTSIN, ONCE AGAIN ASKED THAT HIS VERY GOOD WISHES BE PASSED ON TO PRESIDENT CLINTON.

CHRISTOPHER

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