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JANUARY 14, 1994

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY: Geoffrey W. Chapman, Senior Reviewer, A/GIS/IPS
3/25/2019

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SECRET SECTION 01 OF 07 MOSCOW 001457

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E.O. 12356 DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, E.AID, EFIN, US, RS
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S DINNER WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN
JANUARY 14, 1994

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT

2. THIS CABLE IS FORWARDED FOR YOUR CLEARANCE.
3. SUMMARY: IN A SERIES OF DISCUSSIONS ABOUT DOMESTIC AND WORLD AFFAIRS ON THE EVENING OF JANUARY 13TH. PRESIDENT YELTSIN AND PRESIDENT CLINTON TALKED ABOUT THE TRILATERAL AGREEMENT FOR UKRAINE AND ITS CHANCES FOR SUCCESS. THEY ALSO DISCUSSED ATTITUDES IN THE COUNTRY AMONG THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE, PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S NEW EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE THE PARLIAMENT, AND RUSSIAN INTEREST IN REDUCING ARMS TRADE WITH IRAN AND OPENING UP THE SANCTIONS REGIME AGAINST IRAQ IN AN EFFORT TO ENSURE IRAQI REPAYMENT OF A PORTION OF ITS DEBT TO RUSSIA.

THERE WAS A DISCUSSION OF MILITARY COOPERATION AS WELL AS BOSNIA. PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN BOTH DISCUSSED THE NATURE OF THE U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIP AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THAT RELATIONSHIP TO THE FUTURE OF WORLD STABILITY AND PEACE, PARTICULARLY IN EUROPE AND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE. PRESIDENT YELTSIN SIGNALLED A POSSIBLE CHANGE IN HIS CABINET, DROPPING FORMER PRIME MINISTER GAYDAR TO WORK IN THE LOWER-HOUSE OF THE NEW FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

PRESIDENT CLINTON EXPLAINED THE CONCEPT OF ENSURING A LONG TERM PEACE IN EUROPE THROUGH FRANK CONSULTATION AND STRONG AND CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES, BUT WITH CARE TAKEN TO ENSURE RESPECT FOR THE INTEREST OF OTHERS.
END SUMMARY.

4. THE PRESIDENT MET WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN AT THE DACHA AT NOVA OGAREVA OUTSIDE OF MOSCOW ON JANUARY 14TH FOR A DINNER IN WHICH A NUMBER OF BUSINESS ISSUES AROSE. THIS MEMCOM RECORDS THE BUSINESS DISCUSSION. THE PRESIDENT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, SECRETARY BENSON, NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR LAKE, AMBASSADOR AT LARGE STROBE TALBOTT AND AMBASSADOR PICKERING. PRESIDENT YELTSIN WAS ACCOMPANIED BY PRIME MINISTER CHRNOMYRDIN, FIRST DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SOSKOVETS, FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV, DEFENSE MINISTER GRACHEV AND BY HIS LEGAL ADVISOR ILLYUSHIN.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY: Geoffrey W. Chapman, Senior Reviewer, A/GIS/IPS 3/25/2019

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5. AFTER OPENING PLEASANTRIES, PRESIDENT CLINTON NOTED THE IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHED TO HAVING HAD A CHANCE TO SEE RUSSIAN PEOPLE ON THE STREETS OF MOSCOW. HE TOLD PRESIDENT YELTSIN THAT HE HAD PASSED ON HIS CONCERNS TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S ADVISORS ABOUT THE PEOPLE AND THEIR REACTIONS.

6. PRESIDENT YELTSIN CHANGED THE SUBJECT AND NOTED MRS. YELTSIN HAD CALLED HIS ATTENTION TO A WONDERFUL ARTICLE "IZVESTIA" NEWSPAPER HAD RUN ON PRESIDENT CLINTON. THE ARTICLE ALSO COVERED MRS. CLINTON'S ACTIVITIES.

7. PRESIDENT YELTSIN THEN RETURNED TO THE INITIAL COMMENT ABOUT PEOPLE BEING WORRIED. THEY ARE CRITICAL OF US AND THEY ARE CERTAINLY RIGHT, HE SAID. TO DO BETTER, I HAVE SENT SERGEI ALEXANDROVICH FILATOV, THE KREMLIN CHIEF-OF-STAFF, TO LEARN ABOUT YOUR SYSTEM. WE ARE TRYING TO FIND OUT ABOUT HOW TO BE MORE EFFICIENT AT OUR WORK AND TO SPREAD THE RESPONSIBILITIES TO THOSE WHO CAN CARRY THEM OUT. THE COLLABORATION BETWEEN OUR COLLAGUES IN THE CABINET IS STRONG AND WE HAVE A STRONG CABINET.

8. PRESIDENT CLINTON NOTED THAT IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO SPREAD AROUND THE DECISION MAKING. "IF I DON'T HAVE TO MAKE A DECISION, I ASK THE CABINET TO DO IT." PRESIDENT YELTSIN AGREED AND SAID THAT IT IS THE SAME IN HIS OWN GOVERNMENT. MRS. YELTSIN HAD TOLD HIM THAT IT APPEARED AS IF THE AMERICANS HAD A GOOD ORGANIZATION FOR RUNNING THEIR GOVERNMENT AND QUESTIONED WHY HE DID NOT TAKE SOME LESSONS FROM THEM.

9. PRESIDENT CLINTON NOTED THAT THERE IS AN OLD SAYING ABOUT A PROPHET WITHOUT HONOR IN HIS OWN COUNTRY. HE THEN COMPLIMENTED VICE PRESIDENT GORE, NOTING THAT HE RELIED HEAVILY ON THE VICE PRESIDENT WHO HAS AN EXCELLENT MIND, DOES MANY DIFFERENT THINGS AND DOES THEM WELL. PRESIDENT CLINTON THEN THANKED PRESIDENT YELTSIN FOR WORKING SO CLOSELY WITH VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND PRIME MINISTER CHERNOMYRDIN AND THE LATTER FOR HIS LEADERSHIP IN THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION.

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10. PRESIDENT CLINTON TURNED THEN TO THE RECEPTION WHICH HE HAD JUST COME FROM AT SPASO HOUSE NOTING THAT HE HAD MET MANY REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS PARTIES. PRESIDENT YELTSIN ASKED IF MEMBERS OF THE UPPER-HOUSE WERE THERE AND PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID THAT THEY HAD BEEN. PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID THESE PARLIAMENTARIANS REMINDED HIM OF HOME. MANY HAD DIFFERENT IDEAS AND SOME OF THEM WERE QUITE GOOD. WE TRY TO MAKE IT A PRACTICE OF LOOKING AT THESE GOOD IDEAS AS A WAY TO IMPROVE OUR JOB PERFORMANCE. PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID HE VERY MUCH AGREED AND THAT HE TOO WANTED TO WORK WITH THE PARLIAMENTARIANS ON THEIR IDEAS.

11. PRESIDENT CLINTON REMARKED THAT ONE OF THE BIGGEST SURPRISES FOR HIM IN COMING INTO OFFICE WAS GAINING A CLEAR VIEW OF WHAT HE COULD DO AND WHAT HE COULD NOT DO AS PRESIDENT. IN SOME AREAS IT IS MUCH HARDER TO ACT THAN OTHERS, HE SAID, AND IN SOME AREAS HE CAN DO MORE. HE ALSO NOTED TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN THAT HE WAS IMPRESSED BY SOME OF THE IMPROVED FIGURES ON THE ECONOMY WHICH HAD BEEN DISCUSSED THAT MORNING, INCLUDING THE REDUCTION OF THE DEFICIT FROM 20 TO 9 PERCENT, THE IMPROVED FIGURES ON BRINGING DOWN INFLATION, AND THE FIGURES WHICH SHOWED THAT THE RUBLE WAS BEING STABILIZED OVER TIME.

12. PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID THERE ARE STILL LOTS OF DIFFICULTIES AHEAD IN 1994. "SINCE LAST JANUARY WHEN

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THE PRIME MINISTER AND I FIRST GOT ENGAGED IN THESE PROBLEMS THERE HAVE BEEN MANY CHANGES AND DIFFICULTIES. THE GENTLEMAN SITTING NEXT TO THE PRIME MINISTER, FIRST DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SOSKOVETS IS PARTICULARLY AWARE OF THESE SINCE HE REPRESENTS OUR INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION SECTOR. IF THINGS GO WRONG THEY ARE GOING TO BE HIS RESPONSIBILITY."

13. PRESIDENT YELTSIN THEN SAID TOMORROW WE EXPECT WE CAN DISCUSS MILITARY, SECURITY, AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS QUESTIONS, EXCEPT OF COURSE FOR UKRAINE WHICH IS NOW SETTLED AND ON WHICH WE EXPECT TO HAVE A SIGNING. HE NOTED TO THE PRESIDENT THAT HE WOULD BE TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE AMERICAN INFORMATION ON UKRAINE. (EARLIER, PRESIDENT CLINTON SPOKE TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN ABOUT SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THAT HAD COME UP OVER THE DAY, IN CONFORMING THE AGREEMENT TEXT AND SOME CHANGES THE RUSSIANS HAD WANTED TO INTRODUCE, AND ASKED HIM NOT TO DO SO.) YELTSIN CONTINUED THAT THIS WAS A GOOD AGREEMENT AND THAT IT WAS GOOD FOR ALL THE PARTIES. HE NOTED THE TWENTY-EIGHT AND ONE-HALF MONTHS THAT THE UKRAINIANS HAD AGREED, IN THE SECRET LETTER, TO BE THE PERIOD WITHIN WHICH THEY WOULD DISMANTLE AND MOVE ALL WARHEADS OUT OF UKRAINE. AND TOMORROW, PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID, "WE WILL MEET AND THEN GO INTO THE ROOM AND SIGN THE OTHER AGREEMENTS AND ANSWER A FEW QUESTIONS. THAT HAS ALL BEEN AGREED BY OUR PROTOCOL PEOPLE AND AFTER THAT WE WILL NOT PAY ANYMORE ATTENTION TO KRAVCHUK, WHO WILL LEAVE."

14. PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID, HE WOULD WORK TO HONOR THE AGREEMENTS. PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID THAT HIS PEOPLE HAD TO DO THE TECHNICAL WORK IN UKRAINE ON THE MISSILES. HE SAID, "WE CAN NOT BE RESPONSIBLE, HOWEVER, FOR THE STATE OF AFFAIRS OF THOSE WARHEADS AND MISSILES IF WE ARE NOT PERMITTED ACCESS TO THEM OR TO RECEIVE THEM BACK IN THIS COUNTRY." WHEN WE DISMANTLE THEM WE WILL GET BACK THE NUCLEAR FUEL. AS YOU KNOW, HE TOLD PRESIDENT CLINTON, WE WILL GIVE UKRAINE ONE HUNDRED TONS OF URANIUM (REFERRING TO THE FUEL ASSEMBLIES CONTAINING LOW-ENRICHED URANIUM) AND WE WILL RECEIVE BACK THE FIRST TWO HUNDRED WARHEADS.

15. PRESIDENT YELTSIN THEN SAID "IZVESTIA" HAD WRITTEN THAT IF THEY WERE WRITING THE PROGRAM FOR BILL CLINTON IN RUSSIA THEY WOULD HAVE DONE IT DIFFERENTLY. THEY RECOMMENDED MORE INFORMAL MEETINGS AND WITH DIFFERENT CIRCLES. THEY SAID YOU SHOULD SPEAK WITH MORE RANK AND FILE PEOPLE. PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID THAT OF COURSE HE HAD DONE IT TODAY AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN AGREED THAT WAS VERY GOOD.

16. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION ABOUT THE MEAL, PRESIDENT YELTSIN NOTED THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE STILL A PRIMARY EXPORTER OF RIFLES AND CARBINES. THEY HAD NOT YET PRIVATIZED THEIR ARMS INDUSTRY SO ALL THEIR EXPORTS WERE CONSIDERED TO BE A STATE MONOPOLY. WE NOTE YOUR REQUEST ABOUT IRAN AND IRAQ. WE DO NOT INTEND TO EXPORT TO IRAN. HE TOLD PRESIDENT CLINTON THAT WITH

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RESPECT TO IRAN AND THE REPORTS THAT WE ARE BUILDING A TANK FACTORY IN IRAN, ARE TOTALLY INCORRECT. WE ARE NOT DOING SO. HE ADDED THAT WE HAD ONLY TRANSFERRED ONE SUBMARINE. THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN MADE BY THE FORMER USSR AND RUSSIA HAD CARRIED IT OUT.

17. TURNING TO IRAQ, PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID THAT THEY WANTED TO REDUCE THE SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ. THE IRAQIS OWE RUSSIA OVER SIX BILLION DOLLARS. THE RUSSIANS HAD HOPED, REALISTICALLY, OF GETTING BACK THREE BILLION DOLLARS IF IRAQ COULD SELL OIL. THEY

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WILL NEED AMERICAN HELP TO DO SO AND IT WAS NOT JUST A POLITICAL QUESTION FOR RUSSIA. ALL THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS HAD TO DO WAS TO RELEASE THE RESTRICTIONS ON IRAQI EXPORTS, PARTICULARLY ON OIL. IT CAN BE VERY IMPORTANT FOR RUSSIA IN TERMS OF RECOVERING ITS DEBTS FROM IRAQ. IF THE UNITED STATES WILL SUPPORT THIS STEP, RUSSIA WILL GET THREE BILLION DOLLARS FROM THE IRAQIS. KOZYREV INTERRUPTED AT THIS POINT TO EMPHASIZE THAT PRESIDENT YELTSIN WAS TALKING ABOUT THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL, NOT JUST THE U.S.

18. PRESIDENT YELTSIN CONTINUED THAT BY RUSSIAN CALCULATIONS THEY WOULD GET BACK ABOUT ONE-HALF OF THE DEBT.

19. THE PRESIDENT RESPONDED THAT IT MIGHT NOT BE A GOOD IDEA FOR RUSSIA. OIL PRICES ARE DEPRESSED AT THE PRESENT TIME AND IF IRAQ SOLD MORE OIL IT WOULD FURTHER DESTABILIZE THE OIL PRICE PICTURE AND THIS WOULD EFFECT RUSSIA. HE ASKED SECRETARY BENSON ALSO TO COMMENT. SECRETARY BENSON SAID THE FUEL MARKET HAD JUST GONE THROUGH A VERY SERIOUS SLIP AND IN THE FUTURE MORE SLIPS WERE EXPECTED. MORE WOULD CERTAINLY COME IF THE IRAQIS STARTED PUMPING SIGNIFICANT AMOUNTS OF OIL. OUR CONCLUSION IN THE UNITED STATES IS THAT RUSSIA WOULD LOSE MORE ON SALES THAN IT WOULD GAIN ON DEBT. THE PRESIDENT SAID THERE WERE ALSO POLITICAL QUESTIONS HERE, NOT JUST ECONOMIC ONES WHICH ARE IMPORTANT TO US, INCLUDING IRAQ'S CONTINUED MISBEHAVIOR AND FAILURE TO OBSERVE U.N. RESOLUTIONS. PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID THAT HE HAD TALKED TO HIS MINISTERS ABOUT THIS. THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT HAD MADE OIL CALCULATIONS AND THAT IT WAS ADVANTAGEOUS FOR THE RUSSIAN ECONOMY. BUT RUSSIA MUST HAVE YOUR SUPPORT IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO DO IT. U.S. INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS PARTICULARLY STRONG. RUSSIA HAS INFLUENCE THERE TOO, OF COURSE. BUT WE ARE NOT TALKING ABOUT REMOVING THE SANCTIONS, JUST LESSENING THE SANCTIONS ON IRAQI OIL.

20. KOZYREV AGAIN INTERRUPTED AND SAID IT IS RUSSIA'S IMPRESSION THAT THE U.S. HOLDS THE TOUGHEST POSITION ON THIS PARTICULAR CASE.

21. PRESIDENT CLINTON ASKED AGAIN WHETHER IRAQIS WERE COMPLYING WITH U.N. RULES?

22. YELTSIN NOTED IN RESPONSE THAT THE IRAQIS WERE NOT IN EVERY RESPECT. WE AGREE, HE SAID, THAT THE ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITIES IN THE IRAQ HAVE NOT CHANGED. WE ALSO AGREE WITH YOU ON THE BORDERS WITH KUWAIT. IT WAS A VERY IMPORTANT RESOLUTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE BY IRAQ, BUT NOT EVERYWHERE. BUT WE HAVE GIVEN THEM A VERY TOUGH LESSON TO LEARN. CAN'T WE CONSIDER, IN SOME MANNER, FINDING A WAY TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO MAKE MORE PROGRESS? IN THIS CASE, WE NEED THE SUPPORT OF THE OTHER PERMANENT FOUR MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

23. KOZYREV ALSO SAID THAT THE IRAQIS WERE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO USE OLD PRICES TO CALCULATE THE DEBTS. WE HAVE WITH RESPECT TO THAT, TALKED TO THEM AS WELL ABOUT AN AGREEMENT TO USE SOME KIND OF MECHANISM TO OFF-SET THE DEBTS THE WAY WE DID WITH THE INDIAN DEBTS. IN THAT CASE, HE SAID, IRAQI ITSELF DOES NOT GAIN ANYTHING. ALL OF OIL INCOME WILL BE USED TO PAY BACK THEIR OLD DEBTS TO RUSSIA.

24. THE DISCUSSION ENDED WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON AGAIN REPEATING THE DIFFICULTIES THIS WOULD CAUSE.

25. AFTER ANOTHER INTERLUDE IN THE CONVERSATION, PRESIDENT YELTSIN BEGAN BY NOTING THAT THE SECURITY SERVICES OF BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES WERE WORKING BETTER TOGETHER THAN THEY HAD BEFORE. WE CANNOT DO IT, HE SAID, WITH JAPAN AND KOREA, ONLY WITH YOU. THERE ARE NO CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE SERVICES ON BOTH SIDES AND WE ARE QUITE SATISFIED WITH WHAT IS HAPPENING. HE SAID

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HE WAS SURPRISED THAT THE "AMERICAN SECRET SERVICE" WAS UNDER THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT. PRESIDENT YELTSIN SUMMARIZED BY SAYING AGAIN THAT THE SPECIAL SECURITY (INTELLIGENCE) SERVICES WERE WORKING WELL TOGETHER AND THAT THE AMERICAN SECRET SERVICE HAD HELPED IN MAKING THE VISIT A SUCCESS. PRESIDENT CLINTON NOTED THAT HE HOPED THAT THE RUSSIAN SECURITY PEOPLE WERE POSSIBLY FRIGHTENED BY HIS VISIT TO THE STREET CROWD THIS AFTERNOON NEAR THE KREMLIN, BUT THEY DID AN EXCELLENT JOB. PRESIDENT YELTSIN IN RETURN NOTED THAT AT TIMES HE HAS GONE INTO A CROWD OF A HUNDRED-THOUSAND PEOPLE AND THAT HIS SECURITY PROTECTION SERVICE HAS DONE AN EXCELLENT JOB.

26. PRESIDENT YELTSIN THEN SAID THAT HE WAS WORKING HARD WITH THE PARLIAMENT. HIS CLOSE COLLEAGUE, FIRST DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SHUMEIKO, HAD BEEN RUNNING HARD FOR SPEAKER OF THE NEW UPPER-HOUSE. HE HAD COME WITHIN TWO VOTES OF WINNING BUT THAT HAD NOT YET HAPPENED. (SUBSEQUENTLY, THE NEXT DAY SHUMEIKO DID WIN BY A VOTE OR TWO.) PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID THAT THEY HAD BADLY WANTED HIM TO WIN IN THE FEDERAL UPPER-HOUSE. THE UPPER-HOUSE WOULD HAVE STRONG RESPONSIBILITIES AND COULD NULLIFY LEGISLATION OF THE LOWER-HOUSE. IT WAS THEREFORE IMPORTANT FOR PRESIDENT YELTSIN TO HAVE SHUMEIKO WORKING CLOSELY WITH HIM AND IT WAS ALSO IMPORTANT TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE OF WHO WOULD BE THE LEADER OF THE NEW LOWER-HOUSE, THE STATE DUMA. A DEBATE WAS STILL GOING ON. HAPPILY, YELTSIN NOTED, THAT ZHIRINOVSKIY HAD JUST WITHDRAWN. RYBKIN WAS A COMMUNIST AND WAS NOT SOMEONE THAT YELTSIN WANTED. YELTSIN IN EFFECT SAID THAT HE WANTED LUKHIN THERE, THE CURRENT AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON. HE WAS THE CENTRIST. HE WAS NOT NECESSARILY WITH YELTSIN, BUT HE WOULD SUPPORT THE YELTSIN LINE. HE WAS AN INTELLIGENT MAN AND HE WOULD AVOID CONFRONTATION. HE HAS POLITICAL "SMARTS" AND HE UNDERSTANDS THE BALANCE OF FORCES. THE PROBLEM WOULD INVOLVE A SIGNIFICANT STRUGGLE AND WOULD CONTINUE TOMORROW. PRESIDENT CLINTON ASKED IF THERE WERE ONLY TWO CANDIDATES FOR SPEAKER. PRIME MINISTER CHERNOMYRDIN SAID NO THERE WERE NINE CANDIDATES, BUT SOME HAD ALREADY WITHDRAWN AND OTHERS WOULD PROBABLY DROP OUT AS THE VOTING WENT ON. PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID THAT DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SHAKRAY WAS ALSO THERE AND HE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE HIM. ZHIRINOVSKIY HAD DROPPED AND IT WAS NOW A NARROW SLATE. THE OUTCOME WAS STILL UNCERTAIN.

27. YELTSIN ADDED THAT, WITH RESPECT TO THE FRACTIONS IN THE LOWER-HOUSE, IT WAS STILL A KIND OF 50-50 BALANCE. THERE WAS GREAT HOPE AMONG HIS FOLLOWERS FOR GETTING HELP FROM THE SOME 65 REGIONAL DEPUTIES IN THE LOWER-HOUSE WHO WERE STILL DECLARED TO BE INDEPENDENTS. "WE HAVE HOPE FOR THEM," HE SAID, "AND WE WANT IT TO GO WELL IN THE GOVERNING PROCESS. MORE IMPORTANTLY," PRESIDENT YELTSIN ADDED, "GAYDAR WAS THE LEADER OF RUSSIA'S CHOICE IN THE PARLIAMENT. HE WAS BOTH INTELLECTUAL AND WISE AND KNOWS THE SITUATION VERY WELL AND WE HAVE GREAT HOPE FOR HIS INFLUENCE ON THE LOWER-HOUSE." (PRESIDENT YELTSIN CLEARLY IMPLIED THAT GAYDAR WOULD BE OUT OF THE GOVERNMENT AND WORK ONLY IN THE DUMA.)

28. AFTER ANOTHER INTERLUDE, PRESIDENT YELTSIN SAID THAT HE HAS MAINTAINED A STEADY WEIGHT AT 100 KILOS (220 LBS MORE OR LESS) FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS. HE SAID THAT WHEN HE WAS PLAYING TENNIS ACTIVELY HE WEIGHED A LITTLE LESS -- 85 KILOS. HE SAID THAT HIS OVERALL HEIGHT IS 187 CENTIMETERS AND THOUGHT THAT HE WAS A LITTLE SHORTER THAN PRESIDENT CLINTON. HE HAD NOTICED

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THAT IN THE PICTURES.

29. PRESIDENT CLINTON ASKED PRESIDENT YELTSIN ABOUT WHETHER HE CONTINUED TO KEEP UP WITH HIS SPORTING ACTIVITIES. PRESIDENT YELTSIN TURNED ASIDE THE QUESTION BY SAYING THAT WE ARE BOTH STRONG PEOPLE. WE BOTH LIKE COMPETITION AND HARD WORK. WE VALUE THE GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP WITH AMERICA AND WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT IT COVERS FULLY OUR POLITICAL AND MILITARY INTERESTS.

30. PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID WE WISHED WE COULD PUT IT TO WORK IN BOSNIA. HE SAID HE DID NOT SEE IT FUNCTIONING IN THAT AREA. ALL THE FACTIONS WANT TO DO IS FIGHT AND HE SAID THAT HE HAD SPOKEN TO THE PRIME MINISTER A BIT ABOUT IT LAST NIGHT IN THE CAR COMING IN FROM THE AIRPORT. KOZREV NOTED THAT NEXT MONDAY

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NEGOTIATIONS WILL BEGIN AGAIN. HE SAID WE WILL DO ALL THAT WE CAN TO GET THE SERBS TO COOPERATE. WE MUST ALSO NOW WORK TOGETHER ON THE MUSLIMS AND THE CROATS WHO SEEM MUCH LESS CALM AND MORE PRONE TO MAKE TROUBLE.

31. PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID, LAST YEAR THE DIFFICULTIES WERE OVER THE SERBS. WE DON'T WANT TO IMPLY THAT IT WAS ONLY THE SERBS, BUT LAST YEAR THE SERBS WERE A SERIOUS PROBLEM. NOW THE SCENE HAS SHIFTED AND THE MUSLIMS AND THE CROATS ARE CONTINUING TO BE DIFFICULT. THE MOST WORRISOME PROBLEM IS THE CONTINUING HEAVY FIGHTING BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND CROATS IN THE CENTER OF BOSNIA AND THE CROAT UNWILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE THE MUSLIMS WITH ADEQUATE ACCESS TO THE SEA.

32. YELTSIN THEN NOTED THAT RUSSIA STILL HAS TO CONTEND WITH ALL THE CONFLICTS GOING ON IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION. WE CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY NO ONE HELPS US VERY MUCH. IT IS VERY PAINFUL FOR US. THE ALLEGATIONS OF IMPERIAL ASPIRATIONS ARE HARMING US AND ARE NOT CORRECT. WE WANT LESS BLOODSHED. IN MOLDOVA WE MOVED IN AND STOPPED THE BLOODSHED. WE HAVE ALSO DONE THE SAME THING IN SOUTH OSSETIA. WE INTEND TO TRY TO HELP IN GEORGIA. I HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH SHEVARDNADZE AND WE HAVE HELPED SHEVARDNADZE. TO SHOW MY INTEREST AND SUPPORT I INTEND TO VISIT GEORGIA IN LATE FEBRUARY

33. PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID THAT GENERAL GRACHEV JUST HAD A GOOD VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND WE ENJOYED TALKING WITH HIM ABOUT THESE ISSUES INCLUDING THE ONES THAT WE HAVE JUST TOUCHED ON. HE ASKED GENERAL GRACHEV IF HE HAD ESTABLISHED GOOD CONTACTS WITH THE AMERICAN MILITARY.

34. GRACHEV SAID THAT HE HAD DONE SO AND THAT THE TWO MILITARIES HAD MUCH IN COMMON, PERHAPS MORE THAN ANY OTHERS. HE WAS VERY PLEASED THAT THEY HAD ESTABLISHED THE DIRECT TELEPHONE LINK AND THAT HE HAD A GOOD CONVERSATION WITH SECRETARY ASPIN LAST WEEK. THEY WOULD LIKE CLOSER COOPERATION. IN JULY, THERE WOULD BE A BILATERAL MILITARY EXERCISE IN RUSSIA INVOLVING ELEMENTS OF THE 27TH MOTORIZED RIFLE DIVISION AND THE AMERICAN 3RD INFANTRY DIVISION. GRACHEV SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO INVITE BOTH PRESIDENTS TO ATTEND. YELTSIN ADDED, "WHY NOT TAKE PART AND BE PRESENT WHEN IT HAPPENS." PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID THAT IT WOULD PROBABLY BE BEST AT THIS STAGE NOT TO TAKE PART, BUT TO SEE HOW THINGS DEVELOP.

35. PRESIDENT YELTSIN THEN SAID THAT HE WAS INTERESTED IN KNOWING WHETHER PRESIDENT CLINTON WAS GOING TO DAVOS TO ATTEND THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM WHICH A LOT OF LEADERS WOULD ATTEND. PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID THAT HE HAD NO PLANS TO DO SO AND YELTSIN SAID THEN, "I WON'T

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EITHER."

36. PRESIDENT CLINTON THEN SAID THAT OUR CONGRESS WILL BE IN SESSION AND I NEED TO BE WORKING WITH THEM. PARTICULARLY ON SOME OF MY IMPORTANT DOMESTIC INITIATIVES. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD MEET IN JULY AT THE G-7 MEETING IN NAPLES AND THAT WE CAN WORK OUT A GOOD SET OF ARRANGEMENTS THERE.

37. PRESIDENT CLINTON THEN ADDED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO INVITE PRESIDENT YELTSIN TO PAY AN OFFICIAL STATE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE AUTUMN OF 1994.

38. YELTSIN RESPONDED THAT IT WOULD BE VERY GOOD AND HE WOULD LOOK FORWARD TO IT. THEY WOULD ALSO CONTINUE THEIR CONTACTS INTENSIVELY BETWEEN MEETINGS, URGING MORE LETTER EXCHANGES AND TELEPHONE CALLS. PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID THAT THIS SCHEDULE WILL GIVE US OPPORTUNITIES TO MEET DIRECTLY IN THE SUMMER AND FALL. OUR ELECTIONS WILL BE IN THE FALL AND IT WILL BE GOOD FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO SEE HOW WE ARE WORKING TOGETHER.

39. PRESIDENT CLINTON TURNED TO GENERAL GRACHEV AND SAID THAT THE EXERCISES ARE CLEARLY BEING PLANNED FOR THE SUMMER AND THEY WILL FIT INTO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE. IN EFFECT, PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE CAN DO MUCH MORE IN ENCOURAGING PROGRESS AND AVOIDING FRIGHTENING THE OTHER EUROPEANS.

40. YELTSIN SAID THAT HE HAD TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE IN FULL SUPPORT OF IT AND PRESIDENT CLINTON THANKED HIM

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41. GRACHEV THEN ADDED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A DECISION FROM THE TWO PRESIDENTS ON AN EARLY MEETING WITH THE NEW AMERICAN SECRETARY OF DEFENSE. PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID HE WOULD LIKE THE IDEA VERY MUCH.

42. MINISTER GRACHEV SAID THAT HE HAD MET LES ASPIN IN GARMISCH. HE HAD TALKED TO SECRETARY GENERAL WOERNER AT NATO ABOUT EXPLAINING RUSSIA'S NEW MILITARY DOCTRINE. THEY HAD AGREED THAT IN FEBRUARY, ALTHOUGH NO DATE WAS YET FIRMED UP, TO MEET AGAIN IN GERMANY TO EXPLAIN THE MILITARY DOCTRINE TO ALL THE OTHER MINISTERS FROM THE NATO COUNTRIES. COULD SECRETARY INMANN PERHAPS ATTEND THAT MEETING?

43. PRESIDENT CLINTON THEN REPLIED THAT HE WAS NOT SURE BECAUSE SECRETARY INMANN WOULD HAVE TO BE CONFIRMED BEFORE HE COULD UNDERTAKE SUCH A MEETING, PARTICULARLY OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY.

44. PRESIDENT YELTSIN THEN SAID IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE DEFENSE MINISTER EXPLAIN THE NEW MILITARY DOCTRINE. WOERNER AT NATO HAD ASKED HIM ABOUT IT. HE SAID HE WOULD BE SENDING HIS DEFENSE MINISTER OFF FOR THAT. HE WILL HAND OUT COPIES OF THE DOCTRINE SO YOU ALL CAN STUDY AND CRITICIZE IT.

45. YELTSIN SAID THAT THE U.S.-RUSSIAN POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WAS CLEARLY MOST IMPORTANT TODAY IN THEIR APPROACH TO SECURITY AND STABILITY. WE ALL HAVE TO THINKING ABOUT HOW WE CAN CONTRIBUTE TO STABILIZATION. THIS WOULD APPLY TO ALL AREAS OF THE WORLD AND WE CERTAINLY AGREE WITH YOU ON NATO. RUSSIA HAS TO BE THE FIRST COUNTRY TO JOIN NATO. THEN THE OTHERS FROM CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE CAN COME IN. THERE SHOULD BE A KIND OF CARTEL OF THE U.S., RUSSIA, AND THE EUROPEANS TO HELP TO ENSURE AND IMPROVE WORLD SECURITY.

NON-SECRET

