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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with Russian President Boris Yeltsin (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President President Boris Yeltsin Interpreter: Dmitri Zarechnak Notetaker: Nicholas Burns

DATE, TIME February 10, 1993, 1:51 - 2:14pm AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hello. Mr. President. (U)

President Yeltsin: Hello. Mr. President. How are you? (U)

<u>The President</u>: I am fine. Thank you for taking a few minutes to speak with me today. (U)

I have just written you about a more active American policy toward Bosnia. I wanted to call you personally and go over the main points. (8)

First, we will be much more engaged in the search for a diplomatic solution. I have appointed the NATO Ambassador Reginald Bartholomew as my full-time representative at the talks. He will leave his NATO post and undertake this full-time. (8)

As his first task, I have asked him to go to Moscow to give you a fuller sense of our thinking and, even more importantly, to get your thoughts first hand. I know that you and I need to cooperate closely on this. (8)

Second, if a fair and workable agreement can be reached the U.S. would be prepared to participate with the UN, NATO, and others to implement it. This itself will help address one key concern of the Bosnians. And I would hope if agreement can be reached that Russia would participate in it. (8)

We want to work to strengthen the Vance/Owen plan; but I think it has to be modified to be successful. (SY

Third, getting a good agreement will require us to raise the price of aggression and ethnic cleansing. I believe we should enforce the no-fly zone, accelerate work on a war crimes

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tribunal, and tighten sanctions enforcement against Serbia. And, I want to get back to you with some specific ideas on that last point. (8)

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I have also reiterated President Bush's warnings to Belgrade about the consequences of spreading the war to Kosovo. Enforcing the no-fly zone could give our warnings credibility. (8)

All the parties will have to compromise; and we are going to tell the Bosnians that this is their best chance for a fair outcome. I hope you will convince the Serbs they must also compromise. (\$)

We also are looking for other ways we can help the humanitarian effort, and we hope to have some specific ideas to share with you soon on that. (\mathcal{S})

I know this is a very difficult problem for you; I appreciate Russia's historic ties with Serbia and don't want to cause trouble for you at home. But if ethnic cleansing is seen as a successful way to deal with minority problems, then ethnic Russians outside Russia could be at risk too. (8)

I am looking forward to meeting you soon so that we can discuss the many issues on our agenda. (\mathscr{D})

I know Secretary Christopher will meet with Foreign Minister Kozyrev on February 25 in Geneva. At that time, they can finalize arrangements for our meeting. I very much support you and believe the U.S. can be of help. I believe that, together, we can bring a successful conclusion to the crisis in Bosnia. Thank you Mr. President. (8)

<u>President Yeltsin</u>: Mr. President, thank you very much for calling. I want to thank you for your kind words and for your wishes of cooperation between our two countries and for giving priority to your relations with Russia. (\$%)

I am looking forward to the February 25 meeting between Kozyrev and Christopher. I do hope they will come up with ideas for the country where we will meet and the timing. We have a number of issues that must be discussed between you and me.

Concerning Yugoslavia, I personally fully support the Vance-Owen plan - these are two distinguished people, one of whom is American. We will certainly bring pressure to bear on the Serbs. (\$)

On the whole, certain changes may be introduced to Vance-Owen but on the whole I don't believe there is an alternative to that plan. We are now working with the leaders of former Yugoslavia, Milosevic, Karadzic and others. I was really discouraged and distressed that Karadzic spoke on behalf of the Serbs while he was in the U.S. and departed from Vance-Owen in his speech at the UN. I think it would be useful if the U.S. took measures to bring the Moslems to hear the voice of reason. Our Ambassador to

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the UN, Vorontsov, will be ready to cooperate with your special representative. We hope that when Vance-Owen is endorsed by the UN Security Council, it will be supported too, including in enforcing the No-Fly-Zone. But force should be used only as a means of support for the Vance-Owen plan. Let me say again -- we will do our best to use our influence to convince the Serbs. (8)

Also, taking account of the negative views that Karadzic expressed to the Vance-Owen plan, perhaps the U.S. could use its clout to get the Serbs in the U.S. to motivate Karadzic to endorse the plan. (8)

I want to thank you for your views on the priority and importance of the U.S.-Russian relationship. I would like to say again that when Kozyrev and Christopher meet, I do hope you will have proposals for our meeting. I hope the meeting will take place real soon. I don't think the meeting should be postponed later than mid-March. After all, the world at large is looking forward to the outcome of the summit of the U.S. President and the President of Russia. Everyone is waiting to see if your foreign policy will change. I think that the policies of our two countries will cause a reaction and echoes in the policies of smaller countries. I am really looking forward to our meeting real soon. (8)

The President: Thank you very much. (U)

<u>President Yeltsin</u>: I just want to promise to do our best to bring pressure on the Serbs, especially Milosevic. Thank you for calling, Mr. President. I really appreciate the call and think calls should take place on a regular basis. (8)

The President: I agree. Thank you very much and good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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