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AMEMBASSY BAKU
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AMEMBASSY BISHKEK
AMEMBASSY ASHGABAT
AMEMBASSY YEREVAN
AMEMBASSY ALMATY
AMEMBASSY DUSHANBE
AMEMBASSY TBILISI
AMEMBASSY MINSK
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY BRATISLAVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 337089

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, RS, NATO

SUBJECT: DECEMBER 21 NAC: GUIDANCE FOR DISCUSSION OF THE
VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO RUSSIA

1. (CONFIDENTIAL--ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. AMBASSADOR HUNTER MAY DRAW ON FOLLOWING POINTS TO BRIEF
ALLIES ON THE VICE PRESIDENT'S DECEMBER 14-16 VISIT TO
MOSCOW.

3. BEGIN POINTS.

-- VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND A LARGE DELEGATION WHICH
INCLUDED THE SECRETARIES OF DEFENSE, HEALTH AND HUMAN
SERVICES, AND COMMERCE, AND SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE STATE
DEPARTMENT, TREASURY, NASA, THE NUCLEAR REGULATORY
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COMMISSION, OPIC, AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL VISITED
MOSCOW DECEMBER 14-16 FOR THE FOURTH SEMI-ANNUAL SESSION OF
THE GORE-CHERNOMYRDIN COMMISSION.

-- TOGETHER WITH RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER CHERNOMYRDIN, THE
VICE PRESIDENT SIGNED THREE AGREEMENTS (ARCTIC POLLUTION,
INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE AND EDUCATION, AND
CUSTOMS ASPECTS OF SPACE COOPERATION); 12 STATEMENTS OR

MEMORANDA OF UNDERSTANDING ON TRADE AND SCIENTIFIC AND

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TECHNICAL COOPERATION SUBJECTS WERE ISSUED BY THE CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMISSION'S EIGHT COMMITTEES; AND SIX JOINT STATEMENTS WERE ISSUED.

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-- THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S PRIVATE AND PLENARY MEETINGS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER WERE PRODUCTIVE AND POSITIVE, AS WERE THE COMMITTEE MEETINGS. TECHNICAL IN SUBSTANCE, THE WORK OF THE GORE-CHERNOMYRDIN COMMISSION HAS ESTABLISHED PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CABINET OFFICERS AND SUB-CABINET OFFICIALS OF A WIDE RANGE OF AGENCIES IN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. BEYOND THE PERSONAL CONTACTS, THE COMMISSION HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT MECHANISM IN BROADENING AND DEEPENING U.S.-RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP BY MAKING CLEAR TO GROUPS AND BUREAUCRACIES OUTSIDE THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AREA THAT PARTNERSHIP HAS TANGIBLE AND MUTUAL BENEFITS.

-- THE VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT HAD IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY DIMENSIONS WHICH ARE OF GREATEST INTEREST TO THIS GROUP. IT WAS A TIMELY VISIT, COMING JUST AFTER FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV'S UNEXPECTED ANNOUNCEMENT DECEMBER 1 THAT HE WOULD NOT BE APPROVING THE INDIVIDUAL PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM

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DOCUMENTS IN VIEW OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE NAC COMMUNIQUE REGARDING NATO ENLARGEMENT, AND FOLLOWING PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN IN BUDAPEST ON DECEMBER 5 ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR A RE-DIVISION OF EUROPE AND THE EMERGENCE OF A "COLD PEACE."

-- THE VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT SIGNIFICANTLY AND DIRECTLY ADDRESSED THE SOURCES OF U.S.-RUSSIAN FRICTIONS REFLECTED IN FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV'S AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S STATEMENTS, AND RESULTED IN IMPORTANT REAFFIRMATIONS OF: THE RELEVANCE AND VALIDITY OF U.S.-RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP; OF BOTH SIDES' DESIRE TO DEVELOP THAT PARTNERSHIP AND; OF BOTH SIDES' DESIRE TO MANAGE THEIR DIFFERENCES THROUGH PRIVATE DIALOGUE AND TO RE-INVIGORATE THE U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIP. IN THAT RESPECT, IT WAS SIGNIFICANT THAT THE RUSSIANS MADE NO LINKAGE BETWEEN RECENT FRICTIONS AND THE PROGRESS OF WORK ON ANY OF THE NUMEROUS ELEMENTS OF OUR BILATERAL COOPERATION.

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-- BESIDES MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, THE VICE PRESIDENT SPENT AN HOUR WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN, THEN RECUPERATING FROM MINOR SURGERY, IN HIS HOSPITAL ROOM. PRESIDENT YELTSIN WAS WELL, AND ENERGETIC. IN ADDITION, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE TALBOTT MET FOR 90 MINUTES WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV, AND ALSO WITH MR. RYURIKOV IN THE KREMLIN.

-- IN THESE MEETINGS WITH THE RUSSIAN PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN MINISTER, OUR OFFICIALS FOCUSED ON THE OVERALL ISSUES OF EVOLVING EUROPEAN SECURITY ARCHITECTURE, INCLUDING EXPANSION OF THE ALLIANCE, OVER WHICH THE RUSSIANS HAD
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EXPRESSED CONCERN.

-- THERE WAS AGREEMENT THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV WILL MEET SOMETIME IN JANUARY TO CONTINUE THESE DISCUSSIONS, AND ALSO THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER WILL THEMSELVES RETURN TO THE ISSUES IN THE FUTURE.

-- BEYOND THESE UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT CHANNELS, THE VICE PRESIDENT AND DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT SOUGHT TO IDENTIFY, TOGETHER WITH THEIR RUSSIAN INTERLOCUTORS AREAS OF RUSSIAN MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT NATO ENLARGEMENT. WE REVIEWED WITH THE RUSSIANS EXACTLY WHAT THE NAC COMMUNIQUE SAYS AND DOES NOT SAY. THE VICE PEREIDENT NOTED THAT 1995 WILL BE A YEAR OF STUDIES AND CONSULTATIONS. THE VICE PRESIDENT AFFIRMED THE ALLIANCE'S INTENT TO TAKE IN NEW MEMBERS AND THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN IN SEPTEMBER THAT NATO EXPANSION WAS INEVITABLE, AND STRESSED THAT THE PROCESS WOULD BE GRADUAL AND TRANSPARENT. THE VICE PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO AGREEMENT ON WHEN THE ALLIANCE WILL TAKE IN NEW MEMBERS, OR WHAT COUNTRIES ARE THE MOST LIKELY CANDIDATES. WE ALSO UNDERSCORED OUR INTENT TO MANAGE ENLARGEMENT IN A MANNER THAT ENHANCES THE SECURITY OF ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES THROUGH A GRADUAL, TRANSPARENT AND DELIBERATE PROCESS.

-- RUSSIAN LEADERS AND RUSSIAN OFFICIALS DISCUSSED THE NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE RUSSIAN DOMESTIC POLITICAL

SCENE OF NATO EXPANSION WHICH COULD BE PERCEIVED AS
PRECIPITIOUS AND CONTRIBUTING TO THE SECURITY OF OTHERS' AT
THE EXPENSE OF RUSSIA'S OWN SECURITY. THE RUSSIANS SAID
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THEY HAD INTERPRETED PRONOUNCEMENTS SINCE THE SEPTEMBER
WASHINGTON SUMMIT TO MEAN THAT THE UNITED STATES AND NATO
WERE SUBORDINATING, IF NOT ABANDONING, INTEGRATION TO NATO
EXPANSION. THE RUSSIANS SAID THEY HAD INTERPRETED
PRONOUNCEMENTS SINCE THE SEPTEMBER WASHINGTON SUMMIT TO
MEAN THAT THE UNITED STATES AND NATO WERE ABANDONING, IF
NOT SUBORDINATING, INTEGRATION TO NATO EXPANSION. BASED ON
OUR DISCUSSIONS WE BELIEVE IT IS POSSIBLE THAT RUSSIAN
LEADERS AND OFFICIALS MISUNDERSTOOD THE CONTEXT AND MEANING
OF THE NAC COMMUNIQUE. THIS MISUNDERSTANDING WAS PARTLY
DRIVEN BY PRESS ACCOUNTS WHICH EMPHASIZED THE NATO
DIMENSION OF EUROPEAN SECURITY ARCHITECTURE TO THE NEGLECT
OF, OR ABSENT ANY REFERENCE TO, THE CSCE, PFP, WEU, EU, AND
OTHER BODIES OR MECHANISMS IN WHICH NON-MEMBERS OF THE

ALLIANCE CAN PROJECT THEIR INTERESTS IN EUROPEAN SECURITY
ISSUES.

-- RUSSIAN LEADERS AND OFFICIALS DID NOT ENDORSE NATO
ENLARGEMENT. NOR DID THEY CLAIM A VETO OVER IT. THEY
AFFIRMED THAT NATO ENLARGEMENT POSES DIFFICULTIES FOR THEM
BECAUSE NATO IS STILL PERCEIVED IN RUSSIA AS A MILITARY
ALLIANCE SYSTEM WHICH IS EITHER DIRECTED AT THEM, OR IS
MAINTAINED AND PLANS TO EXPAND PENDING THE FAILURE OF
RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY AND RUSSIAN ECONOMIC REFORM. RUSSIAN
LEADERS AND OFFICIALS DID INDICATE, HOWEVER, THAT THEY ARE
PREPARED TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS, AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS,
ABOUT NATO.

-- WE RESPONDED TO THESE CONCERNS BY UNDERSCORING OUR
COMMITMENTS BOTH TO NATO EXPANSION AND TO BUILDING AN
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UNDIVIDED, SECURE, AND STABLE EUROPE. WE EMPHASIZED THAT
DYNAMIC AND STRONG RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NATO AND RUSSIA,
BETWEEN THE U.S. AND RUSSIA, AND BETWEEN THE OTHER MEMBERS
OF THE ALLIANCE AND RUSSIA, ARE ESSENTIAL TO FUTURE
EUROPEAN AND RUSSIAN SECURITY. WE ALSO REPORTED THAT WE
HAVE FULFILLED BOTH THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF OUR
UNDERTAKING THAT EXPANSION WOULD TAKE PLACE THROUGH A
GRADUAL AND TRANSPARENT PROCESS WITH NO SURPRISES FOR
ANYONE, INCLUDING MOSCOW.

-- WE ADVISED THE RUSSIANS THAT WE HOPED THEY WOULD BE
ABLE TO SIGN THE IPP DOCUMENTS IN THE NEAR FUTURE (WE
EXPECT THIS WILL HAPPEN BEFORE SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND
FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV MEET IN JANUARY). THE VICE
PRESIDENT PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY STATED THAT THE U.S.
GOVERNMENT HOPED THE MATTER OF CHECHENYA WOULD BE ENDED
WITH MINIMAL BLOODSHED AND THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. THE VICE
PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED THIS WAS AN INTERNAL RUSSIAN MATTER.

END POINTS.

4. BRATISLAVA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
CHRISTOPHER

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