

Date Printed:
10-Apr-2000

DOC_NBR: 1993MOSCOW33021

CHANNEL: n/a
HANDLING: [REDACTED]

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9524
INFO AMCONSUL ST PETERSBURG

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DECAPTIONED

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM CHARGE COLLINS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RS, US
SUBJECT: YOUR OCTOBER 21-23 VISIT TO MOSCOW:
KEY FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

1. [REDACTED] - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: YOUR VISIT PROVIDES AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY FOR YOU TO MEET WITH RUSSIA'S SENIOR LEADERSHIP IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE RECENT POLITICAL CRISIS IN MOSCOW. YOU WILL WANT TO EXPLORE RUSSIAN THINKING ON NEXT STEPS IN THE DIFFICULT PROCESS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM. YOU WILL ALSO WANT TO MAKE CLEAR THE IMPORTANCE WE

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ATTACH TO RUSSIA CONDUCTING FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER, ACCOMPANIED BY A FREE AND OPEN NEWS MEDIA IN ACCORD MOSCOW'S INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS.

3. BUT THERE ARE ALSO A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT BILATERAL AND FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS WHICH WILL ALSO BE ON YOUR -- AND THE RUSSIANS' -- AGENDA. THESE INCLUDE SUCH ISSUES AS NATO EXPANSION, MOSCOW'S POLICIES TOWARD THE "NEAR ABROAD," BALTIC TROOP WITHDRAWALS, RELATIONS WITH UKRAINE AND

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ESPECIALLY UKRAINIAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS, INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS AGAINST ROGUE REGIMES, THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS, FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, AND THE STATUS OF VARIOUS BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS. YOUR BRIEFING BOOKS WILL COVER EACH ISSUE IN GREAT DETAIL; WE HAVE REPORTED SEPARATELY ON MOST OF THEM. BELOW WE OFFER OUR FINAL THOUGHTS ON HANDLING THEM WITH THE RUSSIANS.

4. IN RAISING THESE AND OTHER ISSUES, YOU WILL BE LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR VICE PRESIDENT GORE'S DECEMBER VISIT AND PRESIDENT CLINTON'S JANUARY MOSCOW SUMMIT MEETING WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN. TO ENSURE THEIR SUCCESS, WE WANT TO MAKE PROGRESS ON A NUMBER OF KEY ISSUES WHILE YOU ARE HERE. BUT PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY, YOU WILL WANT TO LEAVE THE RUSSIANS WITH THE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT AMERICA CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE YELTSIN GOVERNMENT AND ITS PRO-REFORM EFFORTS, AND THAT THE U.S. IS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN PROMOTING RUSSIA'S COMPLETE REINTEGRATION INTO THE

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FAMILY OF WESTERN STATES. END INTRODUCTION/SUMMARY.

THE DOMESTIC BACKGROUND ...

5. YOUR ARRIVAL COMES AS THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN FOR PARLIAMENT IS BEGINNING IN EARNEST; YOU WILL TOUCH DOWN EXACTLY ONE MONTH (ALMOST TO THE MINUTE) AFTER PRESIDENT YELTSIN DISSOLVED THE RUSSIAN PARLIAMENT AND CALLED FOR DECEMBER ELECTIONS TO THE NEW STATE DUMA. EVENTS SINCE THEN HAVE MOVED RAPIDLY -- SOMETIMES TRAGICALLY -- AND HAVE BEEN SUBJECT TO THE WORLD'S RAPT ATTENTION AND CAREFUL SCRUTINY. YOU WILL WANT TO SOUND OUT YELTSIN'S THINKING ON NEXT STEPS IN THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM NOW THAT REFORM'S CHIEF LOCUS OF OPPOSITION (THE SUPREME SOVIET) IS NO MORE. YOU WILL ALSO WANT TO REMIND THE RUSSIANS OF THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER (AND THEREAFTER), ACCOMPANIED BY A FREE AND INDEPENDENT NEWS MEDIA.

6. YELTSIN AND HIS MINISTERS WILL BE LOOKING TO USE

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YOUR VISIT TO BOLSTER THEIR AUTHORITY IN THE WAKE OF
YELTSIN'S DECISION TO DISSOLVE PARLIAMENT AND THE
BLOODSHED RESULTING FROM THE HARDLINERS' ATTEMPTED
UPRISING. WESTERN SUPPORT HAS CONTRIBUTED TO
YELTSIN'S VICTORY OVER THE OPPOSITION. YELTSIN AND
FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV WILL NEED TO APPEAR TO BE
DEFENDING RUSSIAN INTERESTS VIGOROUSLY, NOT CAVING
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[REDACTED]

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TO WESTERN DEMANDS. THEY ARE ALSO ACUTELY SENSITIVE
TO ANY ACTION BY US ON ISSUES SUCH AS FORMER
YUGOSLAVIA, LIBYA, HAITI, ETC., WHICH APPEAR TO TAKE
RUSSIA'S SUPPORT FOR GRANTED OR FAIL TO INVOLVE
PRIOR CONSULTATIONS AS A PARTNER IN DETERMINING A
COURSE OF ACTION. ON SOME OTHER ISSUES, ESPECIALLY
WHERE RUSSIAN ECONOMIC OR POLITICAL INTERESTS ARE
CONCERNED (SUCH AS ARMS SALES TO IRAN), THEY WILL BE
TOUGH. OVERALL, HOWEVER, THEY ARE LIKELY TO BE WITH
US WHEN IT REALLY MATTERS. ON OUR PART, WE WILL
WANT TO AVOID PUSHING YELTSIN AND KOZYREV TO DO
ANYTHING LIKELY TO COME BACK TO HAUNT THEM IN THE
DECEMBER ELECTIONS.

TO THE FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA

7. SINCE JANUARY, WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A SOLID
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INFO AMCONSUL ST PETERSBURG

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DOC_NBR: 1993MOSCOW33021

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KEY FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

DIALOGUE WITH THE RUSSIANS ON BILATERAL AND
MULTILATERAL QUESTIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE
GORE-CHERNOMYRDIN COMMISSION, THE TALBOTT-MAMEDOV
CHANNEL AND THE FREQUENT VISITS BY UNDER SECRETARY
DAVIS AND OTHER SENIOR U.S. OFFICIALS HAVE ALLOWED
US TO MOVE FORWARD ACROSS THE ENTIRE U.S.-RUSSIAN
AGENDA. YOUR BRIEFING BOOKS WILL ADDRESS THE
VARIOUS ITEMS ON THE AGENDA IN GREATER DETAIL, BUT
AS YOU DEPART WASHINGTON I WANTED TO FLAG SEVERAL

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CONTROVERSIAL AREAS AND OFFER SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR
HANDLING THEM. CAREFULLY MANAGING OUR POLICY
DISAGREEMENTS WILL BE THE KEY TO A SUCCESSFUL VISIT.

NATO EXPANSION

8. THE RUSSIANS -- INCLUDING PRESIDENT YELTSIN --
MAY WELL PRESS YOU ON NATO EXPANSION. THEY ARE VERY
MUCH AWARE THAT THE U.S. POLICY DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE
IS AT A KEY STAGE. DESPITE YELTSIN'S WELL-
PUBLICIZED REMARKS IN WARSAW TO THE EFFECT THAT
RUSSIA WOULD NOT SEEK TO BLOCK NATO MEMBERSHIP FOR
FORMER WARSAW PACT STATES, THIS ISSUE IS NEURALGIC
TO THE RUSSIANS. THEY EXPECT TO END UP ON THE WRONG
SIDE OF A NEW DIVISION OF EUROPE IF ANY DECISION IS
MADE QUICKLY. NO MATTER HOW NUANCED, IF NATO ADOPTS
A POLICY WHICH ENVISIONS EXPANSION INTO CENTRAL AND
EASTERN EUROPE WITHOUT HOLDING THE DOOR OPEN TO
RUSSIA, IT WOULD BE UNIVERSALLY INTERPRETED IN MOSCOW
AS DIRECTED AGAINST RUSSIA AND RUSSIA ALONE -- OR
"NEO-CONTAINMENT," AS FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV
RECENTLY SUGGESTED. THIS ISSUE IS AN ESPECIALLY
HIGH-PROFILE ISSUE IN THE RUN-UP TO THE DECEMBER

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ELECTIONS: YELTSIN NEEDS TO BE SEEN DEFENDING
RUSSIAN INTERESTS -- AND BEING TREATED AS ONE OF THE
FAMILY OF DEMOCRATIC STATES. IN YOUR MEETINGS, WHAT
THE RUSSIANS HOPE TO HEAR FROM YOU IS THAT NATO IS
NOT MOVING PRECIPITOUSLY AND THAT ANY POLICY NATO
ADOPTS WILL APPLY EQUALLY TO THEM. THEY WOULD ALSO

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WELCOME ANYTHING YOU CAN TELL THEM ABOUT ALTERNATIVES
TO MEMBERSHIP (E.G. THE "PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE").

THE BALTICS

9. THE RUSSIANS HAVE WITHDRAWN ALL OF THEIR TROOPS
FROM LITHUANIA AND HAVE ONLY TWENTY THOUSAND OR SO
SOLDIERS LEFT IN LATVIA AND ESTONIA, ABOUT WHICH THEY
ARE NEGOTIATING. YELTSIN HAS MADE THE POLITICAL
DECISION TO WITHDRAW RUSSIAN FORCES FROM THE
BALTICS, BUT THE RUSSIANS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT
TIMING WILL DEPEND, IN LARGE PART, ON THE
AVAILABILITY OF HOUSING. TODAY WE ARE DELIVERING
PRESIDENT CLINTON'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S
OCTOBER 6 LETTER ON THE BALTICS; YOUR DISCUSSIONS
WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS EXCHANGE.

THE "NEAR ABROAD"

10. MOSCOW'S POLITICAL AND MILITARY POLICIES TOWARD
THE SO-CALLED "NEAR ABROAD" HAVE BEEN VARIOUSLY
INTERPRETED AS EFFORTS TO REGENERATE THE USSR,
RUSSIAN NATIONALIST NEO-IMPERIALISM, OR THE NORMAL
REACTION OF ANY SOVEREIGN STATE TO ARMED TURMOIL
ALONG ITS BORDERS. WHEN YOU DISCUSS THE SPECIFIC
CASES -- GEORGIA, NAGORNO-KARABAKH, TAJIKISTAN, THE

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TRANS-DNIESTER, REINTEGRATION WITHIN THE CIS -- YOU
WILL FIND THE RUSSIANS SENSITIVE TO BEING SINGLED
OUT FOR ANY CRITICISM THAT THEY ARE TRYING TO

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REESTABLISH THE SOVIET OR RUSSIAN EMPIRES. WE HAVE STRESSED THAT THE BEST WAY TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDING IS TO CONSULT WITH THE U.S. AND OTHERS AND BE AS OPEN AS POSSIBLE. BUT THE RUSSIANS ARE GROWING IMPATIENT WITH FINGER-WAGGING WARNINGS ABOUT RUSSIAN ACTIONS ALONG THE PERIPHERY THAT ARE UNACCOMPANIED BY SIGNS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS WILLING TO GET SERIOUSLY INVOLVED IN THE PROBLEM. ON THE QUESTION OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR RUSSIAN "PEACEKEEPING," YOU CAN POINT OUT THAT THE U.S. HAS BEEN MORE ATTENTIVE AND FORTHCOMING THAN ANY OTHER UNSC MEMBER, ALBEIT WHILE INSISTING ON APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS AND SAFEGUARDS.

UKRAINE

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11. THIS IS AN AREA WHERE THE RUSSIANS ALTERNATE BETWEEN APPRECIATION FOR THE U.S. STANCE ON A NON-NUCLEAR UKRAINE AND WORRY THAT THE U.S., BY ACCIDENT

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OR DESIGN, IS ENCOURAGING UKRAINIAN PRETENTIONS TO
RETAIN NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS A COUNTER TO MOSCOW'S
PRESUMED IMPERIAL AMBITIONS. CURRENTLY, THE
RUSSIANS SEEM TO BE TILTING TOWARD ANGST. YOUR
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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PRE-DEPARTURE STATEMENT THAT YOU WILL BE URGING THE
UKRAINIANS TO FULFILL THEIR ARMS CONTROL
OBLIGATIONS, HOWEVER, HAS PLAYED WELL IN MOSCOW. IT
WILL BE IMPORTANT THAT YOU BRIEF THE RUSSIANS FULLY
ON THE APPROACH YOU INTEND TO TAKE WITH THE
UKRAINIANS.

[REDACTED]

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12. THE RUSSIANS ARE CONCERNED THAT THE U.S. NOT
EXPAND MILITARY COOPERATION WITH UKRAINE

[REDACTED]

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THE RUSSIANS DEEPLY
APPRECIATED THE APPROACH THE U.S. TOOK AT THE
AUGUST 26 TRILATERAL MEETING IN LONDON OF
ENCOURAGING MOSCOW AND KIEV TO AGREE BILATERALLY ON
SPECIFICS UNDER A TRILATERAL UMBRELLA. THE RUSSIANS
HAVE TAKEN THE POSITION THAT THE AGREEMENTS ON
NUCLEAR DISMANTLEMENT AND MAINTENANCE REACHED WITH
UKRAINE AT THE OCTOBER 3 YALTA SUMMIT ARE STILL
VALID

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SANCTIONS

13. AN ISSUE THAT COULD BE TROUBLESOME IS UN
SANCTIONS AGAINST SERBIA, LIBYA AND IRAQ. IN EACH
CASE, THE RUSSIANS MAKE THE CASE THAT THEY ARE
LOSING LARGE SUMS OF DESPARATELY-NEEDED CASH BECAUSE
OF THE SANCTIONS REGIMES. IN THE CASE OF SERBIA,
MOSCOW ALSO SEES BELGRADE AS HAVING FULFILLED MANY
OF THE PRECONDITIONS FOR A LIFTING (OR AT LEAST
LOOSENING) OF SANCTIONS. WITH REGARD TO LIBYA AND
IRAQ, THE RUSSIANS HAVE ALSO INDICATED THEY WANT TO
BE CONSULTED AND NOT TAKEN FOR GRANTED ON SANCTIONS
ISSUES. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

OTHER REGIONAL ISSUES

14. ON OTHER REGIONAL ISSUES, YOU WILL WANT TO
EMPHASIZE U.S.-RUSSIAN COOPERATION, ESPECIALLY WHEN
DISCUSSING THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS. KEEPING
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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THE RUSSIANS IN THE LIMELIGHT AS CO-SPONSORS OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS PAYS OFF IN KEEPING THE POSITIVE
ASPECTS OF OUR PARTNERSHIP FRONT AND CENTER.
KOZYREV WILL ALSO WELCOME ANY U.S. PRAISE FOR
RUSSIA'S ROLE IN AREAS SUCH AS ANGOLA, AND THE MFA
RECENTLY PROPOSED THAT RUSSIA PLAY A SIMILAR ROLE IN
ETHIOPIA, WHERE MOSCOW STILL BELIEVES IT HAS
INFLUENCE WITH SOME OF THE CONFLICTING PARTIES. ON
YUGOSLAVIA, APART FROM THE SANCTIONS QUESTIONS, YOU
WILL FIND THE RUSSIANS CONCERNED ABOUT THE
POSSIBILITY OF RENEWED SERB-CROATIAN FIGHTING. YOU
WILL ALSO WANT TO HEAR THEIR VIEWS OF THE LIKELIHOOD
TO SERBIAN ACTION IN KOSOVO. THEY ARE ESPECIALLY
CONCERNED HERE ABOUT BEING KEPT FULLY IN THE LOOP ON
ANY PROPOSED ACTIONS.

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OUTSTANDING AGREEMENTS

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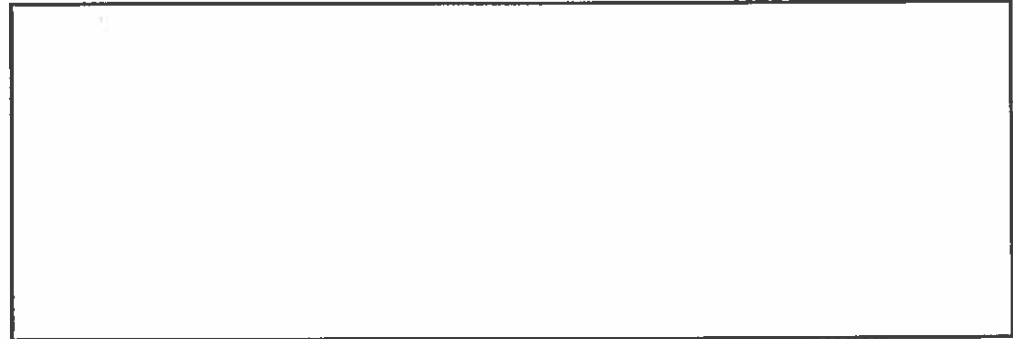
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15. UNDER SECRETARY DAVIS AND OTHER SENIOR U.S.
OFFICIALS WILL BE IN TOWN IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO YOUR
ARRIVAL DISCUSSING SEVERAL OUTSTANDING ISSUES.



WE WILL BE PROVIDING YOU WITH UPDATES ON THESE
ISSUES AS THEY DEVELOP. HOWEVER, GIVEN PRE-ELECTION
POLITICS, GETTING PRESIDENT YELTSIN TO TAKE
CONTROVERSIAL STEPS, SUCH AS RATIFYING AND BEGINNING
TO IMPLEMENT START II WHILE HE IS EXERCISING RULE BY

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DECREE, WILL BE A SERIOUS UPHILL STRUGGLE.

16. ON ISSUES SUCH AS THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY CENTER (ISTC), WE CAN READILY SUPPORT THE RUSSIANS' STATED INTENTION OF MAKING THE CENTER OPERATIONAL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND ENCOURAGE THEM TO INDEED MOVE QUICKLY. THE ISTC AGREEMENT IS CLEARLY IN RUSSIA'S INTEREST AND WAS BEING HELD UP BY THE SUPREME SOVIET BASED MORE ON PIQUE THAN POLICY. DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MAMEDOV TOLD US THAT FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV WILL ALSO RAISE THE NUCLEAR REACTOR SAFETY AGREEMENT WITH YOU. WE NOW HAVE AN AD REFERENDUM AGREEMENT, BUT STILL NEED TO SETTLE ONE OUTSTANDING LIABILITY QUESTION. WE BELIEVE YOU SHOULD UNDERSCORE U.S. INTEREST IN A MAXIMUM JOINT EFFORT TO WORK OUT THE REMAINING PROBLEM IN TIME FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO MOSCOW -- IF NOT SOONER.

INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION

17. AT OUR URGING, CANADA, JAPAN AND MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN SPACE AGENCY HAVE AGREED TO WORK

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INTENSIVELY TO DEVELOP A PLAN FOR RUSSIAN INVOLVEMENT AS A FULL PARTNER IN THE INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION. IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS AHEAD, THE CURRENT PARTNERS AND THE RUSSIANS WILL HAVE MUCH TO DO TO SET THE OVERALL AND TECHNICAL FRAMEWORK FOR RUSSIA'S PARTICIPATION AS A FULL PARTNER. YOU SHOULD URGE THE RUSSIANS TO MAKE MAXIMUM EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD.

SETTING THE STAGE FOR UPCOMING VISITS

18. FINALLY, IN ADDITION TO THE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF YOUR VISIT, YOU -- ALONG WITH THE RUSSIANS -- WILL BE LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR VICE PRESIDENT GORE'S UPCOMING VISIT AND PRESIDENT CLINTON'S JANUARY SUMMIT WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN. YOUR DISCUSSIONS CAN HELP TO ENSURE THEIR SUCCESS BY

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LAYING OUT THE ROAD MAP FOR PROGRESS ON THE VARIOUS ISSUES INVOLVED. THIS WILL ALLOW THE MOSCOW SESSION OF THE GORE-CHERNOMYRDIN COMMISSION TO FINALIZE OTHER AGREEMENTS FOR CONCLUSION DURING THE JANUARY SUMMIT. YOU CAN ALSO USE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO REITERATE THE VICE PRESIDENT'S FULL COMMITMENT TO THE GORE-CHERNOMYRDIN PROCESS AND HIS INTENTION THAT THE COMMISSION'S WORK PRODUCE A RANGE OF SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS THAT VISIBLY DEMONSTRATE THE EXTENT OF OUR EXPANDING COOPERATION.

19. BUT PERHAPS JUST AS IMPORTANTLY, YOU WILL WANT

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TO LEAVE THE RUSSIANS WITH THE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT AMERICA CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE YELTSIN GOVERNMENT AND ITS PRO-REFORM EFFORTS. IN ADDITION, YOU WILL WANT THE RUSSIANS TO KNOW THAT THE U.S. IS ACTIVELY PROMOTING RUSSIA'S COMPLETE REINTEGRATION INTO THE FAMILY OF WESTERN STATES. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE ARMORED ASSAULT ON THE RUSSIAN "WHITE HOUSE," YOUR VISIT (THE FIRST BY A SENIOR WESTERN OFFICIAL SINCE OCTOBER 4) WILL BE A DEFINITIVE SIGNAL THAT YELTSIN IS NOT BEING HELD TO BLAME FOR THE BLOODSHED, WHICH HE TRIED REPEATEDLY TO AVOID. THIS IS A SIGNAL THAT SHOULD BE SENT -- TOGETHER WITH THE NEED FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS -- AND IT WILL BE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED BY YOUR HOSTS.

COLLINS

[REDACTED]

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