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Mon Apr 10 10:31:31 1995 [MOSCOW 11782] D COPY 1 OF 1 Page 1 OF 6 PTP4624 RELEASE IN PTP4624 FULL SECRET PAGE 01 MOSCOW 11782 01 OF 04 081929Z DECLASSIFIED @INFO: D(01) @INFO: S(01) @COMMENT: COPY FOR FAXING TO SECRETARY IN CALIFORNIA @INFO: NSCE(00) P(01) S(01) SS(04) @COMMENT: NSC EYES ONLY FOR BERGER AND OVP-FUERTH ---- -L @INFO: SSO(01) TD(01) @COMMENT: REPEATED TOSEC BY S/S-O @ACTION: SWO(00) ACTION NODS-00 INFO LOG-00 CCOE-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W ------O 081934Z APR 95 FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW . TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8092 SECRET SECTION_01 OF 04 MOSCOW 011782 DECAPTIONED A state of the sta NODIS EYES ONLY TO THE SECRETARY E.O. 12356: DECL 4/8/05 TAGS: PREL, US, RS SUBJECT: MAIL CALL -- MY LUNCH WITH ANDREI SECTION 01 OF 04 MOSCOW 11782 1. - SECRET -- ENTIRE TEXT. CHRIS: ANDREI KOZYREV TOLD ME IN A ONE-ON-ONE TODAY (SATURDAY) THAT A YELTSIN REPLY TO PRESIDENT CLINTON'S EUROPEAN SECURITY LETTER IS ON THE WAY. HIS DESCRIPTION OF ITS CONTENTS TRACKS CLOSELY WITH THE PREVIEW WE'D ALREADY GOTTEN FROM MAMEDOV OF THE DRAFT. IT WILL ASK THE PRESIDENT TO WRITE BACK WITH FURTHER ASSURANCES ON HOW RUSSIA'S SECURITY, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS WILL BE PROTECTED AS NATO EXPANDS, SPECIFICALLY ON THE NOW-FAMOUS FOUR QUESTIONS. KOZYREV SAYS THAT A SATISFACTORY PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSE MIGHT MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR RUSSIA TO SIGN THE PFP DOCUMENTS IN THE NEAR FUTURE, PERHAPS EVEN BEFORE THE SUMMIT. FOREWARNED AND FOREARMED, I TOLD HIM THAT IT SOUNDED AS THOUGH THE RUSSIAN SIDE IS UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-13804 Doc No. C06699730 Date: 06/25/2019

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TRYING TO SELL US THE SAME HORSE FOR THE THIRD OR FOURTH TIME; THAT DRAWING OUT THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS HAS ALL THE EARMARKS OF FURTHER MOVING THE GOAL POST; THAT SUCH STALLING TACTICS ON PFP WILL NOT/NOT SLOW DOWN NATO'S IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECEMBER NAC DECISION; THAT BY REFUSING TO PLAY ON PFP AMD THE NATO-RUSSIA DIALOGUE, RUSSIA RISKS ISOLATING ITSELF; THAT WE BELIEVED IT WAS AGREED THE EXCHANGE WOULD CONSIST OF TWO LETTERS ONLY, ONE IN EACH DIRECTION, AND THAT NO FURTHER U.S. LETTER WAS NECESSARY OR APPROPRIATE; THAT OUR GOVERNMENT HAS NO/NO INTENTION OF NEGOTIATING WITH RUSSIA OVER FUTURE NATO POLICY VIA PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

4. ALL THAT SAID (SEVERAL TIMES AND WITH GREAT EMPHASIS), I PRESSED KOZYREV HARD ON WHAT WOULD HE BELIEVED WOULD CONSTITUTE THE AMERICAN RESPONSE NECESSARY TO ENABLE RUSSIAN PFP SIGNING. HIS REPLY WAS AMBIGUOUS --INDEED, SELF-CONTRADICTORY. HE ALTERNATED BETWEEN TWO ANSWERS. ANSWER NUMBER ONE: ALL. THAT'S REQUIRED IN RESPONSE TO THE NEW YBLITSIN LETTER IS A U.S. PRESIDENTIAL CCOMMITMENT TO TREAT THE FOUR RUSSIAN CONCERNS AS "LEGITIMATE" AND TO SEEK, THROUGH ENGAGEMENT OF THE OTHER ALLIES, A GOOD-FAITH NATO EFFORT TO REACH MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AMSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS BY THE TIME NATO ACTUALLY TAKES IN NEW MEMBERS. ANSWER NUMBER TWO: WHAT'S REQUIRED IS A SPECIFIC, FAIRLY DETAILED U.S. PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSE NOW TO BACH OF THE FOUR QUESTIONS -- ESSENTIALLY A WRITTEN VERSION, SIGNED BY POTUS, OF THE TALKING POINTS YOU USED ORALLY WITH KOZYREV IN GENEVA. I REITERATED WHY NUMBER TWO WAS NOT/NOT ACCEPTABLE (THE PRESIDENT CAN'T COMMIT THE ALLIANCE ON THESE ISSUES; WE DON'T WANT TO GET INTO AN OPEN-ENDED CORRESPONDENCE; THEFEOR QUESTIONS ARE APPROPRIATE FOR THEFEOR QUESTIONS ARE APPROPRIATE AND APPESIGNATURE, BUT NOT/NOT FOR PRE-SIGNATURE BIFATERAL HAGGLING). S' U X X'T ZXCTTOM LIDF LA FUESTION 5. I PLAYED BACK TOGHIN WHAT HE'D SAID, TAT' POINTING OUT THE INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN THE

5. I PLAYED BACK TOTHIM WHAT HE'D SAID, THE POINTING OUT THE INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN THE TWO ANSWERS HE HAD GIVEN ME TO MY QUESTION AS INTERNET AND OFFERING THE JUDGMENT THAT NUMBER TWO WAS A TOTAL NON-STARTER THE ADMITTED THERE WAS INFORMATION TO THE STATE SUCH A CONTRADICTION AND SAID WE NEED TO THE WAS INFORMATION TO THE AGREE ON A "FORMILA". FOR YET ANOTHER ANSWER THAT WAS "SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN THE TWO EXTREMES" AND THAT MET HIS AND YELTSIN'S POLITICAL NEEDS WHITE NOT/NOT CROSSING THE RBD LINE I'D LAID DOWN. MUCH AS HE'D DONE WITH YOU IN GENEVA, HE CAST HIS PITCH ALMOST ENTIRELY IN TERMS OF RUSSIAN DOMESTIC POLITICS AND THE THREAT TO RUSSIAN REFORM POSED BY THE PROSPECT OF NATO EXPANDING EASTWARD. I SAID I'D PASS ALL THIS BACK TO YOU, AND THAT WE'D BE BACK IN TOUCH VIA TOM PICKERING ONCE WE GOT THE YELTSIN LETTER I STRESSED THAT I COULD NOT/NOT COMMIT TO A NEW!

6. KOZYREV AND I MET FOR TWO HOURS, ONE-ON-ONE (NO NOTETAKERS), OVER LUNCH IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY GUEST HOUSE. AFTER SOME PRELIMINARIES, FEATURING HIS CURIOSITY ABOUT THE NEW CONGRESS, HE INVITED ME TO SUMMARIZE

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MY DISCUSSIONS OF THE LAST TWO DAYS AND TO GIVE MY ASSESSMENT OF PROSPECTS FOR THE SUMMIT. I STRESSED THE PRESIDENT'S DETERMINATION TO HAVE A GOOD MEETING WITH YELTSIN BUT HIGHLIGHTED OUR CONCERM OVER RUSSIAN TACTICS ON NATO. I SAID THAT THE EXPERIENCE OF BRUSSELS/BUDAPEST IN DECEMBER HAD MADE ALL OF US EXTREMELY WARY OF A REPETITION AND THAT KOZYREV'S OWN PERFORMANCE BOTH BEFORE AND DURING YOUR LAST GENEVA MEETING HAD NOT/NOT BEEN VERY REASSURING.

7. I MADE THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE CASE FOR SIGNING THE PFP DOCUMENTS BEFORE THE SUMMIT, USING ESSENTIALLY THE SAME POINTS I'D ALREADY USBD WITH MAMEDOV, CHERNOMYRDIN AND RYURIKOV (8EPTELS). I SAID YOU HOPED VERY MUCH HE'D BE ABLE TO COMMIT TO A DATE-CERTAIN FOR PFP SIGNING WHEN HE SEES YOU AT THE END OF THE MONTH. (I HAD EARLIER TOLD MAMEDOV THAT AN OVAL OFFICE MEETING WAS CONDITIONAL ON HIS PROVIDING A DATE CERTAIN. MAMEDOV HAD RELAYED THIS TO KOZYREV BEFORE I SAW HIM.)

8. KOZYREV THEN LAUNCHED INTO A MONOLOGUE THAT LASTED OVER AN HOUR. HE BACKED INTO THE NATO ISSUE, FIRST GIVING ME HIS VERSION OF YOUR MEETING IN GENEVA AND ENGAGING IN SOME HAND-WRINGING ABOUT WHETHER THERE COULD BE ANY REAL "SMASH SUCCESSES" AT THE SUMMIT HE WONDERED OUT LOUD WHETHER ANYTHING COULD BE MADE OF A JOINT STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST OR PROGRESS ON IRAN/COCOM. THESE WERE RHETORICAL QUESTIONS WHICH HE MORE OR LESS ANSWERED HIMSELF IN THE NEGATIVE.

OR PROGRESS ON IRAN/COCOM. THESE WERE RHETORICAL QUESTIONS WHICH HE MORE OR LESS ANSWERED HIMSELF IN THE NEGATIVE. 9. TO GIVE YOU WHAT I SUSPECT IS A FAMILLAR FLAVOR, HERE IS SOME OF WHAT HE SAID: "I'M IN THE ANAL THE THE THE THE THE NO POSITION TO ARGUE FOR PFP UNLESS YOU PROVIDE ME WITH ARGUMENTS AGAINST THOSE WHO IS A THE THE THE THE THE THE WANT TO KILL US ON THIS ISSUE. IF YOU READ AND THE THE THE THE THE THE THE THE WANT TO KILL US ON THIS ISSUE. IF YOU READ AND THE THE THE THE THE THE THE WANT TO KILL US ON THIS ISSUE. IF YOU READ AND THE THE THE THE THE THE THE COLLECTORY AND WHOT FIGHT NATIONALISM AND THE THE THE THE THE THE THE LITERALLY NOBODY HERE UNDERSTANDS WHAT'S AND THE THE THE THE THE THE THE LITERALLY NOBODY HERE UNDERSTANDS WHAT'S AND THE THE THE THE THE THE THE GOING ON WITH NATO AND AND THIS IS AND WHAT'S AND THE THE THE THE THE THE ITERALLY NOBODY HERE UNDERSTANDS WHAT'S AND THE THE THE THE ALMOST HEAT THE LITERALLY NOBODY HERE UNDERSTANDS WHAT'S AND THE THE THE THE ALMOST HEAT THE CALCULATED TO INFURATE (RUSSIAN) AND MAKE THE A A MUNITIFE THE AGAINST IT. WHAT'S SUBJECT SEEMS ALMOST (IN THE WEST) ON THIS SUBJECT SEEMS ALMOST CALCULATED TO INFURATE (RUSSIANS) AND MAKE THE THE IS AND THE ALMOST HEAT THE CALCULATED TO INFURATE (RUSSIANS) AND MAKE THE THE IS AND THE AND THE THE CALCULATED TO INFURATE (RUSSIANS) AND MAKE THE THE IS AND THE ALL THE THE CHAIRMAN LUKIN, WHO HAS BECOME KOZYREV'S ARCH.RIVAL AND PRESUMED WOULD BE SUCCESSOR (AND WITH WHOM I MET LATER IN THE DAY).

10. "ALL THIS NATO ENTARGEMENT TALK PUTS US IN AN AWFUL SITUATION FOR THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, WE'VE BEEN TELLING OUR PUBLIC THAT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES WOULD BE ALLIES OF DBMOCRATIC RUSSIA AS MUCH AS THEY WERE BNEMIES OF A TOTALITARIAN SOVIET UNION. PFP WAS THE PROOF OF THAT. I USED THAT ARGUMENT REPEATEDLY AND TO GOOD EFFECT WITH MY CONSTITUENCY IN MURMANSK, WITH THE NAVAL PEOPLE THERE. THEY WERE EXCITED BY PFP, ABOUT VISITING U.S. SHIPS. BUT THAT MAKES IT ALL THE HARDER FOR THEM TO UNDERSTAND NATO ENLARGEMENT. JOINT MANEUVERS WITH NATO APPEAL TO THEM; NATO INFRASTRUCTURES MOVING EAST MAKE THEM FEEL THREATENED AND EXCLUDED. C() 669973()FIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-13804 Doc No. C06699730 Date: 06/25/2019



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THE STIMULUS FOR PARTNERSHIP HAS TO A LARGE EXTENT BEEN KILLED BY ENLARGEMENT.

"THE MAIN DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PFP AND ENLARGEMENT IS THIS: PFP IS A FORMULA FOR 'WE TOGETHER, YOU AND US'; ENLARGEMENT IS A FORMULA FOR 'US VERSUS THEM' (HE USED A WHO/WHOM,' AS IN 'WHO WILL PREVAIL OVER WHOM IN A ZERO-SUM GAME'). ALL THIS TALK OF THE ENLARGEMENT OF NATO IS CAUSING A FEELING OF ALLENATION IN RUSSIA. WE DON'T WANT WE HAD ENOUGH OF THAT FOR 70 ISOLATION. YEARS. LET'S OVERCOME THE US-VERSUS-THEM MENTALITY AND EMPHASIZE WHAT BRINGS US TOGETHER. "

12. "ENLARGEMENT IS QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT FROM PFP. YOU HAVEN'T GIVEN US ANY ANSWERS TO THE LOGICAL QUESTIONS THAT ARISE HERE. IN

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EVERYTHING YOU SAY, YOU KEEP STRESSING HOW RUSSIA DOESN'T HAVE A VETO. WHEN YOU SAY YOU'LL TAKE ACCOUNT OF OUR VIEWS AMD OUR INTERESTS, IT SOUNDS_DISMISSIVE, NOT SERIOUS. IT CAUSES MORE ANXIETIES THAN IT ALLAYS." ليجه الالاليسانيين المركبة بالمركبي المركب

"YOU SAY THAT WE CAN ENTER NATO OURSELVES SOMEDAY, BUT THAT'S NOT REALLY SERIOUS BITHER. IF YOU WERE TO SAY 'RUSSIA FIRST,' THAT WOULD BE ONE THING. BUT WE KNOW WE'RE LAST IN LINE. THAT'S THE POSITION WE KNOW BEST AND HATE MOST .. "

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14. "OUR MILITARY INDUSTRIAL PEOPLE ARE INFURIATED. THEY SEE THEMSELVES BEING FROZEN, ITHE TO AND FAR AND AND THE OUT." HE CITED PRESS REPORTS ABOUT HOW THE VIDE HE WITH ANGUMENTS ADDINGTO SELL MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO THE CEE COUNTRIES AS HAVING FOR RUSSIAN PRESS OF A DINTY IN A MANUAL PRESS CAUSED A LOT OF WE TOLD, YOU-SO OUTRAGE AMONG FOR RUSSIAN PRESS OF A DINTY IN MANT F RUSSIAN ARMS MANUFACTURERS. THE TRUE TATE SAVING FOR ANONG THE CELL THE AND FIGHT MET HANNE ABOUT PFP IN OCTOBER 193 AND SAID THAT HE THOUGHT PFP WAS AN "ALTERNATIVE" TO NATO THE DITY OF ANT AND FIGHT MET HANNE HE THOUGHT PFP WAS AN "ALTERNATIVE" TO NATO AND THE MANY A AND WHY IT IS MOVING HIS THEORIES ABOUT HOW PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD THE DITY OF AND FIGHT FOR AND FIGHT HIS THEORIES ABOUT HOW PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD THE DITY OF AND FIGHT FOR AND FIGHT TO AND THE SAVING FIGHT FOR AND FIGHT FOR AND FIGHT A STATUST ON THE FIGHT FOR AND FIGHT FOR AND FIGHT FOR AND FOR AND FOR AND FOR AND THE SON AND THE DITY TO NATO AND THE SAVING AND FOR AND THE SAVING THE FIGHT FOR AND FIGHT FOR AND FOR AND FOR ANY IT IS MOVE SEEN "TRAPPED" BY "THOSE WHO WANTED TO INDOSE THE DITY OF AND FIGHT FOR AND FOR AND FOR AND FOR AND THE SAVING AND FOR AND FOR AND THE SAVING AND FOR AND FOR AND THE SAVING AND FOR AND FOR AND THE SAME AND FOR AND FOR AND THE FIGHT A THE FIGHT FOR AND FOR AND TO USE AGAINST THE FAMALE FOR AND FOR AND FOR AND THE FIGHT FOR AND FOR AND TO USE AGAINST THE FIGHT A THE FIGHT FOR AND FOR AND TALK TO THEM AND POSITIVE ANSWERS SO THAT I CAN MEET WITH OUR POSITIVE ANSWERS SO THAT I CAN MEET WITH OUR POSITIVE ANSWERS SO THAT I CAN MEET WITH OUR POSITIVE ANSWERS SO THAT I CAN MEET WITH OUR POSITIVE ANSWERS SO THAT I CAN MEET WITH OUR POSITIVE ANSWERS SO THAT I CAN MEET WITH OUR POSITIVE ANSWERS SO THAT I CAN MEET WITH OUR POSITIVE ANSWERS SO THAT TO BE ALLENATED."

16. "WE COULD SAY YES_TO PFP" -- I.E., SIGN THE DOCUMENTS -- "EVEN_WITHOUT ANSWERS TO THE FOUR QUESTIONS, BUT NOT/NOT IF YOU'RE MOVING AHEAD WITH ENLARGEMENT, WITH ENLARGEMENT GOING FORWARD, EVERYTHING ABOUT PPP TO BUTTON GOING FORWARD, EVERYTHING ABOUT PFP IS RUINED FOR US UNLESS YOU GIVE US SOMETHING SO THAT WE CAN DEAL WITH IT HERE."

17. IT WAS AT THAT POINT THAT KOZYREV TOLD ME THAT YELTSIN, VACATIONING IN SOCHI, WOULD BE SIGNING A LETTER TO OUR PRESIDENT "WITHIN THE HOUR" AND NEEDS A REASSURING POTUS REPLY. ONLY IN THAT CASE, HE SAID, IS THERE "A

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CHANCE, NOT A VERY BIG ONE BUT STILL A CHANCE, TO SIGN THE PFP DOCUMENTS."

18. HE CLAIMS THAT YOU AND HE DISCUSSED IN GENEVA THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL LETTER IN REPLY TO THE YELTSIN LETTER. THE AMERICAN LETTER, HE SAYS, SHOULD CONVEY THIS MESSAGE: "DEAR BORIS, I RECOGNIZE YOUR POINTS; THEY'RE LEGITIMATE; LET'S NEGOTIATE THIS WITH NATO." (NOTE: THAT WAS THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF ANSWER NUMBER ONE.)

19. HE WENT ON TO SAY, "I'M TRYING TO DESIGN A COMPROMISE SOLUTION, BUT I'M UNDER SEVERE ATTACK BOTH WITHIN THE BUREAUCRACY AND OUTSIDE OF IT. BUT I CAN'T DO THAT JUST BY PAYING LIPSERVICE TO PFP. WHAT BOTHERS ME MOST IS THE MAY 30 NAC MEETING. IF WE SIGN PFP BEFORE THEN, WHAT WILL THE NAC DO? WHAT IF THE NAC COMES FORWARD WITH CRITERIA FOR ENLARGEMENT? A LIST OF CRITERIA FOR NEW MEMBERS?" HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT YOU'D ENLARGEMENT? A LIST OF CRITERIA FOR NEW MEMBERS?" HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT YOU'D ADDRESSED THIS POINT IN GENEVA, BUT SAID "CHRIS'S REASSURANCES_MIGHT WORK FOR DIPLOMACY FREAKS LIKE_US, BUT NOT/NOT FOR LUKIN." HE PREDICTED -- BETTING ME A BOTTLE OF THE BEST ARMENIAM COGNAC -- THAT "WITHIN HOURS" AFTER THE MAY 30 NAC MEETING, LECH WALBNSA WILL ISSUE A STATEMENT SAYING THAT POLAND MEETS 90 PERCENT OF THE CRITERIA AND THAT THE OTHER 10 PERCENT WILL TAKE NO TIME AT ALL TO MEET; AND THEN VARIOUS POLITICAL FIGURES IN THE U.S., PLUS PERHAPS EVEN SOME ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS (HE EVEN USED A NAME: "HOLBRIGHT"!!!), WOULD ENDORSE WALESA "ON BACKGROUND." THEN LUKIN WOULD "SCREAM AND PROTEST." PRESIDENT YELTSIN "CAN'T AFFORD THAT KIND OF-AMBUSH." AFFORD THAT KIND OF AMBUSH."

"A LETTER 20. THAT'S WHY HE-NEEDS, HE SAYS, "A LETTE THAT WILL GIVE ME AMMUNITION TO USE IN THE DUMA OR IN A MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND TO TAKE TO THE RUSSIAN PUBLIC AND THAT PRIME THEY WE THEY WE THE SECURITY WILL ALLOW ME TO SAY, 'YES, THERE IS A STEP THE CATED PRESS RETARTS ABOUT H U.S. TS AIFPALY M. THE T. STIL HILL TA

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15. HE RECALLED YOUP TRUE TO TRUE, YE AND THE RECALLED YOUP TRUE AND SAUL SAUL THE

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TOWARD ENLARGEMENT, BUT WE HAVE THIS LETTER THE PLACTED AND CRUMPT 93 AND SAUL SAUL WAY YELD SIE WRACTED AN PAULANTY IN HERE P FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON; IT SAYS, 1) THERE IS NOT IN HE THER SPECT A FUNCTION NO RUSH TO ENLARGEMENT, 2) PFP IS FOR REALF THE RIFE ABOUT HE PAULIANT (LINE AND WILL BE AT THE CENTER OF THINGS FOR THEN TRAFEL BY THESE WHO WAN THE NEXT 2-3 YEARS -- PFP STANDS AT THE CENTER HIM A SIMILISTIC FORM A UNITED THE INEVITABLE, WILL BE SECONDARY FOR SOME TIME; AND 3) HERE ARE CLEAR ANSWERS TO ALL OUR SIZE AND THE FILL AND WILL BE THE CLEAR ANSWERS TO ALL OUR SIZE AND THE SECONDARY FOR SOME TIME; YBLTSIN CAN GO INTO THE ELECTIONS IN GOOD AND THE THE SECOND AND THE SHAPE AND I CAN GO TO MURMANSK AND WIN RE-SHAPE AND I CAN GO TO MURMANSK AND WIN RE-SHAPE AND I CAN GO IQ HORTANSK AND TIN RB ELECTION." (THAT SOUNDED LIKE AMSWER NUMBER TWO.) 21. CIRCLING BACK-TO-THE LETTER HE'S LOOKING TWO DATE OF THE LETTER HE'S LOOKING

FOR, HE SAID, "I NEED LANGUAGE THAT IS A _____ SIGNAL PRESIDENT CLINTON SHARES THESE ---------CONCERNS AND IS DETERMINED TO FIND SATISFACTORY AMSWERS WITH THE OTHER NATO COUNTRIES. THE LETTER WOULD SAY, 'I SEE YOUR POINT; YOU'VE IDENTIFIED THE RIGHT ISSUES, AND I'LL WORK WITH THE OTHER NATO PARTIES TO FIND THE RIGHT ANSWERS.'" (THAT SOUNDED MORE LIKE NUMBER ONE.)

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NEED A LETTER THAT AVOIDS VAGUE. "I 22 EVASIVE LANGUAGE (WHICH IS THE WAY HE CHARACTERIZED THE EXISTING PRESIDENTIAL LETTER) AND THAT I CAN USE AS AN ARGUMENT FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE ON ALL FOUR (NUMBER TWO AGAIN.) QUESTIONS."

23. BY THEN HE WAS WINDING DOWN, RETURNING 23. BY THEN HE WAS WINDING DOWN, REFORMING TO THE NEED FOR A LETTER THAT "RECOGNIZES THE FOUR POINTS, IN A FEW SIMPLE WORDS FOR EACH, AND PROMISES TO WORK TOGETHER IN ADDRESSING THEM IN A POSITIVE WAY; A LETTER THAT SAYS 'OF COURSE RELATIONS' WITH NATO SHOULD NOT BE DETRIMENTAL TO YOUR INTERESTS'" -- WHICH BROUGHT US BACK TO NUMBER ONE.

24. MY INTERJECTIONS THROUGHOUT (MADE WITH SOME DIFFICULTY) ATTEMPTED TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT ON VARIOUS POINTS (PFP, INCLUDING IN YOUR PRESENTATION TO YELTSIN IN OCT. 93, WAS NEVER A SUBSTITUTE FOR EXPANSION) AND TO NAIL DOWN WHICH VERSION OF THE PROPOSED AMERICAN LETTER HE REALLY HAD IN MIND. WE LEFT IT THAT WE'D STUDY THE YELTSIN LETTER CLOSELY AND BE BACK IN TOUCH THROUGH TOM PICKERING WITH OUR REACTIONS. HE ASKED US THEN TO GIVE HIM "SEVERAL DAYS" TO WORK THE ISSUE BACK TO YBLTSIN AND SEE IF WE COULD FIND COMMON GROUND THAT MIGHT ALLOW PFP SIGNATURE TO GO FORWARD. I SAID OF COURSE WE WOULD GIVE HIM "REACTIONS" BUT I COULD NOT/NOT COMMIT TO ANOTHER PRESIDENTIAL LETTER. THE NEXT STEP CLEARLY IS TO WAIT FOR THE YELTSIN LETTER AND SEE WHERE WE GO FROM THERE. STROBE. SEE WHERE WE GO FROM THERE. STROBE. and the second s an file weather and the and the second PICKERING

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