MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

**RELEASE IN FULL** 

Christopher

Kozyrev

**DECLASSIFIED** 

Madison Room, 8th floor State Department April 26, 1995 3:00 - 5:00 pm

Secretary Christopher began the meeting by thanking Kozyrev for coming down from New York. He said that he wanted to put forward a notional schedule for the next couple of days. said that he had set aside the whole afternoon to talk to Kozyrev; that we would take as long as necessary for the discussion. Then they would go out and meet briefly with the press. This was however not a press occasion and the Secretary hoped that we would not make too much news. The Secretary then said that if we meet the understanding that you and Strobe discussed then we would go over and meet with the President tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock. He said that he liked Kozyrev's phrase that the summit is doomed to success if we do our work. Well, we will do our work. We've taken a few hits but we can still make important progress in this relationship. The key issue that will provide the basis for measuring the summit is European security. That is the basic issue by which the Summit will be judged in our country and in other countries as well. We have discussed this issue since our very first meeting. This meeting can be critical in putting the whole thing in context and that context should include the following elements. First, is the President's main idea which is integration. That is an idea that ought to be reassuring to

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY: Geoffrey W. Chapman, Senior Reviewer, A/GIS/IPS, 3/19/2019

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you and to us. Let me also talk about what is likely to happen at the May Ministerial of the NAC. You are obviously concerned about NATO expansion accelerating or moving on to a faster track. The antidote to that concern is a Ministerial of the NAC that provides the answers to the questions you have been asking. If you indicate at the May 10th Summit that the Partnership for Peace documents have been forwarded and that they will soon be formally signed as agreed and if that is in the communique then the NAC Ministerial will do the following: first it will make clear that NATO expansion is a careful, deliberate process. That it will proceed no faster and no slower than NATO has already stated. Second, there will be as a second state of the se reference at the NAC to the internal study of expansion. There will be a reference to progress in the study of expansion and an expense statement the results of the study will be available to all interested members of the Partnership for Peace in September or October. Those briefings by the NATO teams in capitals will as a factor produce questions which will then be reviewed in December or test in this a Russia can be first to receive these spriefings; when the the transfer the transfer transfer to the transfer transfer to the transfer transfer to the transfer transfer to the transfer briefings are ready for presentation ... There will be noted in the feature of surprises in this process. The NAGaMinisterialdinaMayawikladay and in the contain a reiteration of the timetable that we have talked about before and that means that the process will continue no faster and no slower. It will be steady, careful and ---deliberate. To counterbalance the element in the NAC: ... All the state of the counterbalance the element in the e

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Ministerial having to do with NATO expansion, there will be other elements as well. One of those is that the United States will take the lead in putting the Partnership for Peace in the spotlight of the May Ministerial. Actually there has been a lot of activity on P4P already, but we can take the lead at the May Ministerial. We can raise the visibility of P4P as a permanent aspect of European security. If you have already signed the Beyond Partnership for Peace document, then we can use the May Ministerial to launch the NATO-Russia dialogue: While the President has made clear that NATO is not hostile to Russia, the May meeting could really launch the NATO-Russia dialogue. On enlargement, we would make clear that we're simply on track, not faster, not slower. I'd also hope to mention integration and more reliance on the OSCE at the May Ministerial. In the September-October timeframe NATO will have its hands full dealing with all the Partnership for Peace members who want a briefing. In other words left be the words left be with the will be occupied with reports and the questions that will then be re reports generate. At the December Ministerial, NATO will be the these in concentrating on answering a further round of questions. The December Ministerial will produce another round of process. consultations that will stretch into 1996. Thope that by December we could have a framework of principles and parameters to govern the NATO-Russia relationship. Items probably too much to hope that there will be an actual agreement by December

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but certainly a framework will help set the stage for a formal understanding. I hope that based on this understanding you will be able to feel comfortable in recommending to your President that we adopt this approach and move forward quickly with the two outstanding documents. Frankly, I have been frustrated by the delay because it has made it hard to proceed with the NATO-Russia dialogue. So I hope you can recommend this approach to your President.

Kozyrev then replied: I have some concern about public statements that have created a greater problem than we need to have. We need somehow to step down the rhetoric about expansion. Stones are falling on our thead before anything and the second are second as the seco happens in reality. Nobody has actually entered NATO yet. But there is so much talk around about the expansion of NATO and the state of the state about the acceleration of that expansion that it is like and the echo in a valley in the mountains that causes an availanche in the mountains that causes an available to the contract of the second of the contract of the con need to beware of terminology and clickes that play into the to and the t hands of those who would like to use the NATO expansion issue the thing to do damage to President Yeltsin, to me, and to others I was such as thinking of people like Lukin. He has made a lot out of talk concerns her h about no vetoes. Lukin uses the "no veto" talk to say that we're not really at the table. The best answer to people like the second of the second Lukin is dialogue and that's one reason I like the emphasis on dialogue to be at the main Ministerial. Cherkin gave an

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interview recently that is the start of a public campaign very much along the lines of what Dick Gardner has proposed about how to overcome the perception that NATO expansion means the isolation of Russia. We must avoid rhetoric that seems to push Russia aside. That means also we must avoid the characterization of expansion of being either "speedy" or "slow." For our part we will avoid saying "we have slowed it down." There is also the question of how to present this issue to third world countries. They will all ask you if you bowed to Russian pressure and they will ask-us-if-we exercised a veto. Both those questions are very unpleasant. As-tosubstance, all this that you have proposed sounds pragmatic There is really no other way to handle the issue to lead to am prepared to recommend this course of action. In fact, I already did recommend something very much along these lines was a lines where the lines was a line and the lines was a li Namely a highlighting or putting forward a Partnership for what war absan Peace and also something in the meeting in Moscowathat tmakes unit aims that clear the significance of Partnershipsfor Reace as a program in said clive itself. But my recommendation is not necessarily and inake the are the judgment, though I have been successful sometar as in the series and a letter. Secretary Christopher intervenes and says is likedione. sentence in the letter particularly. Kozyrev saying that he wanted what he said to be off the record says well that were the passage of the letter already cost meddearly and Alwe shed and to the analysis of of blood. In any event, its not a hundred percent sure that I-project and

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can deliver but there is a good chance that I can. Back in Moscow there is quite an attempt to torpedo the Partnership for Peace not to mention the NATO-Russia dialogue. That attempt must be stopped and it will cost a lot of additional blood. Also, there must be no linkage between the signing of the documents and the criteria resulting from the study in May. I worry about Walesa using the May Ministerial and the study as a pretext to issue statements on how Poland will be a new member by a particular date. If that happens we will all find ourselves in a very stupid position The Russian people will - - feel cheated. They will feel that things are moving much and the course and faster than they had been led to expectize If wellcan manage that we want NATO without unexpected developments of the toric, I think that the second of the Summit will be successful and the relationship will be very a same much on track. -<del>Profeliky of filight Chilistany is thilliand titled</del>

Secretary Christopher then replied with undertakenfor my various has a part to lower the rhetoric as far as well can find But the whetoric as a not a from your side has also caused pain. There is what your said in a not a Brussels, what President Yeltsin said in Budapest such at your versions and in Paris and Copenhagen. Particularly when your talk about the about a find in a putting expansion on ice" -- that is self-defeatings after the and about a find inflames people who favor NATO accelerations as I surge you in a cour common interest to watch out for this kind of otheroric. If the contains and common interest to watch out for this kind of other coic.

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agree that the study must not establish criteria that create problems. We must make sure that the study is not fairly susceptible to the interpretation that you're concerning about. Of course we can't control what all politicians and members of the press say but by being pro-active in Partnership for Peace you can help give validity to the Partnership and avoid problems of the kind you're concerned about. The timing could be very helpful here. We will have three or four months in order to make clear that the Partnership for Peace really is taking on new life and that the NATO-Russia dialogue is beginning (before NATO begins its briefings of the PFP members in the fall). Still, of course, I maconcerned about collateral and a second attendance of the course damage. Let's make sure that we get as much accomplished to the state of the state before the 1996 elections as possible in both your country and would be I realize of course you can only recommend, you cannot mine. insure the outcome. But in your brief meeting with the President tomorrow will give him a chance to endorse this plan and also the phone call afterwards StorPresidentiYeltsin Will Terlied: 1 give him a chance to say that he liked Presidentiveltsinusio as far as we letters. I see that your fingerprints and perhaps yours formed and a handprints were all over the letter किल्ला का प्रकारिक किल्ला प्राथमिक कार्य व "said in feris ead Co<del>rnal con</del>. Yeaticui

Kozyrev interjects they were my bloods meaning bloody on the control of the fingerprints and handprints. Kozyrev then underscores that had been a finded and the control of the control of

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"accelerated NATO expansion tract." We will be on record opposing hasty NATO expansion. Anything that looks like an avalanche we cannot favor. The question still comes up on how to handle this at the Summit in Moscow. Keep in mind what we're dealing with domestically. When I speak about freezing NATO expansion that's one thing, its another when people talk about military countermeasures. Its very important for Perry and Grachev to concentrate on the practical aspects of Partnership. We also have to find a way to make more central what we call a new model of security as opposed to NATO being central to European security.

Talbott asks whether Partnership for Peace and the NATO-Russian as an and dialogue can be part of the new security model as Russia sees and the new security model as Russia sees.

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Kozyrev says yes as long as they are paint of the model wind the him a charmodel is not seen as subordinate to NATO and the Partnership terwards to a for Peace. He then continues we will puttiemphasis so not he mewat he liked model security not in an aggressive way but because sits your street, the position. In any event nothing cannimply agreement by Moscows to speedy NATO enlargement process.

August interierrs start errs on birod :

Secretary Christopher then speaks. You must recognize that there is a lot of difference between your objection to what you can be a second to the second to

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call an avalanche or too speedy enlargement on the one hand and living with a gradual process that you may not welcome or applaud but that you nonetheless accept. Secretary Christopher then calls upon Talbott to add anything that seems germane.

Minister an hour or so before and how the US was urging the Poles to be helpful in three respects: first, to emphasize the importance and vitality for Partnership for Peace in sits own to the right rather than treating it as a very temporary expedient that will disappear as soon as NATO takes in new members.

Second to accentuate the rationale for NATO expansion that relates to stability and security in central Europe rather than the playing out the anti-Russian rationale and third, not to the publicly or otherwise speculate on dates when new members might come into NATO when such speculation goes beyond anything that the United States or the alliance has committed vertical fitto as they are pe

Rozyrev says he's sure its fine to make those points too the we will a Policy Foreign Minister Bartoszewski, but he strong the problem, save way clearly implying that Walesa is the problem. Kozyrev the nothing can important the question is still how to frame this whole was a presentation in Moscow. How do we answer the question about speeding up or slowing down of the process. People will want the to attribute victory or defeat to one side or the other we were the same to the results and the same that the same that

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need two or three catch phrases that make clear that this is not a win/lose situation. An example might be a phrase "no hasty process" or the phrase "what's important is that the dialogue goes forward."

Secretary Christopher then says while he leaves it to others to come up with the exact phrases, we might try something along the lines of . . . a balanced and integrated approach that includes the reinvigorated Partnership for Peace, an active of the NATO-Russia dialogue, a deliberate and gradual processor. The later than expansion, a steadily evolving OSCE and Russia saimportance to as about the process as a whole. There must be notwinners and not be the losers.

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Kozyrev: Yes, yes. We need simple:language, cliches:with and the series of the alliance has a

Secretary Christopher: I'll tell the President that you're

prepared to put forward the approachathat we veid is cussed. In the to make

Intity Foreign Windstein Constant. A

Kozyrev: Yes, it's important that the President puts this to a 18 fire provesting in the following way "Christopher and Kozyrev have a series of presented me with a framework that preserves the Partnership to the series and that puts an emphasis on the Partnership and the series of a NATO-Russia relationship and the series of the continues, I need an ally.

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Secretary Christopher: For this package you have an ally at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Kozyrev: Well I need an ally soon because the invasion has already started. It's already 1944 in the war that I'm fighting back home.

Secretary Christopher: Let's turn to some security issues. In

Iran he executes the points in the paper.

Rozyrev on Iran: I'm concerned about (this is Iran reactor) and the sales) I'm concerned about additional arrangements by the sales are the sales) I'm concerned about additional arrangements by the sales are the sales are all you that subject as well but its too sensitive for me to bring up in the Presidential conversation tomorrow. Besides we have renough trouble with the sales are all you that we will abrogate everything except the reactor deal itself with very strict controls. It makes me and some other people very unhappy what Mikhailov is I sale the towns and some other people very unhappy what Mikhailov is I sale the towns the sales are the towns and the sales are the sales

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move very practically along the same tract. If our presidents discuss this eyeball to eyeball in Moscow, President Yeltsin will probably be quite blunt in saying that this activity has been shut down.

On the issue of the experts group working on the reactor sales issue, Kozyrev agreed that the experts would report back to their ministers.

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Secretary Christopher: We must be able to create a situation

where we agree on something its not seem as marconcession by one or advant a

or a victory for the other side. Sector 150 condequed about according to a

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Kozyrev: Yes, we need a win, win results We have to a reason when concentrate on that.

WHIT. But I will ledt you that we will

Secretary Christopher then went through this eABMapoints all itself with ver makes me and some other people very unh

Kozyrev: The focus is in the Duma for We need that agreement not the the Frest to disagree but an agreement to continue work; and finding and pretty sure answer. This is crucial to the ratio fication poft START his activity. The q

is a serior files exclude the appropriation of

Secretary Christopher: We have a mirror image on councown that the secretaries are side. The new Republican majority is surprisingly intense of the second and about the ABM issue.

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Kozyrev: Give me some advice on how to behave with the Republicans that I'll be meeting here.

Secretary Christopher: I think you should simply be very candid that our whole arms control regime is dependent on the ABM Treaty. He then turns to biological weapons points.

Kozyrev says the experts are still wrestling with definitions and the question of parity and mutuality. It deserves some attention at the Summit.. He refers to the worksthat's been done among Kissylayak, Lynn Davis and Holum and the summit and th

Christopher then raises COCOM, says that the Vice President has written a new letter to Chernomyrdingsysava Was, and sand a win, win sand

Kozyrev: COCOM is one of the best issues for a successful

Summit. It might be a major breakthroughay Christopher then went through

Secretary Christopher then raises SLVATEV: The icous is in the Ruma. We to disagree but an agreement to continu Kozyrev seems not very interested and certainly not wery well the ratific briefed, he turns the matter over to Spassky who says that the issue is strictly commercial and that the ispace launch welfclesve a mirror when used for commercial purposes are not covered by START: which is

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Secretary Christopher says that our positions are not congruent. Let's let our experts continue to work the problem. Secretary Christopher then raises CFE.

Kozyrev says that there is dissatisfaction and growing anxiety in Moscow. It seems our partners are trying to avoid this issue. President Yeltsin will certainly bring it up at the Summit. The CFE flanking issue is linked to NATO expansion.

CFE III seems to us to be a positive-way-to-go and the seems to be

not abrogate the CFE Treaty unilaterally and that whatever solution we find be genuinely negotiated and and thild teral columns.

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Kozyrev says that is my preference and Mamedov's and others back home but there has been no replymton President Weltsin's the test as a letter to President Clinton of last Syeam. That midelay acreates rab to exthres vacuum which has been filled by fear, which in turn fans the possibility of unpleasant alternative snet Wey would refer them raises sly, alternatives that address the issue in the framework of the treaties such as exclusion zones. Buty the slonger atheresis and a ambiguity the more danger there is of extreme alternative sails.

issue is strictly commercial and that t

Secretary Christopher: Your mention of the filank-limits takes takes to the us into the Caucasus. He then urges that on Chechnya there be

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an open ended ceasefire rather than a 10-day or 2-week ceasefire over the period of the summer which he says would be cruel and artificial looking. Secretary Christopher also urges an OSCE Mission for the North Caucasus. He then raises the issues of Fred Cuny and Steve Levine. On Cuny, Kozyrev says I don't want to raise any expectations. This issue is beyond my control but there is slight indication of hope. We have had ambiguous indications from our secret service. This issue is (that Cuny is still alive) This issue is very much in the focus of all the agencies concerned certainly the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of the Interior. In the first interior and arrest the imports

Secretary Christopher then turns to Bosnia says its good that y describes the contact group is getting together in Paris to discuss recognition among other things.

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Kozyrev seems unaware of the meetingtand whatselevelstit wishes of last year take place at. He then makes an argument of ore trying to fengage by fear, we milosovic into the give and take one the bissue of precognition. Termatives. Says that we should give more emphasis to significant consiste in relief as opposed to smaller symbolic sanctions relief has says ones. But there is a chance of bringing Milosovic in as a real partner with the process to influence Karadzic although Milosovic has over estimated his influence before the said we have the final influence before the said we have the final influence of the final same than the said we have the final influence of the final same than the final same than the final same than the said we have the final same than the final same than the said we have the said we h

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Secretary Christopher said the Contact Group needs to define what is meant by recognition.

Kozyrev says that control of the borders is a tricky thing, that the borders between Serbia and Bosnia are just as porous as those between Ukraine and Russia and so its much harder to carry out real control.

Secretary Christopher says that when a borderais amarkedaby a reconstruction of the stories that are control it and the stories that are coming out about the porousness of the border are dramatic and exciting. He also urges lets get the parties not to launch any offenses.

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Kozyrev says yes including the Moslem side. TKozyrev argues that at Halifax its important that the dinner discussion be highly substantive. After some concluding spleasantwies aboute meeting at tennis and the weather in which the Secretary guarantees agoodes an argume weather for the weekend. Kozyrev says that if the thad known the ake on the Secretary had such good connections the would shave between more emphasis differently on some issues. Kozyrev then comes back tand says: Symbolic s in talking about press points, how to thandle adpress conference to result the to get questions about who beat who mean NATO and is a same to the honeymoon over.

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Secretary Christopher says that metaphors are always dangerous Andrey but to make a serious point there was probably a period when our view was too rosey and glowing now we have a more mature, more realistic relationship.

Kozyrev says that we should present the Middle East cosponsorship as a success story and asks if there is any good news on the Syria front.

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Kozyrev concludes with a request that American officials who are well wish visit the Baltic States avoid language that suggest complete normality. He says language there hurts the Russian speaking population and hurts in Russia itselface These issues have to be a language than a sensitivity way.

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The Endemis and the weather in which the Ser weather for the weakend. Kozywev says Secretary had such good connections he differently on some issues. Kozyrev th

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