C06835454FIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-13804 Doc No. C06835454 Date: 10/19/2021

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RELEASE IN FULL

Dear Boris:

While I was in Asia this past week, a number of issues have come up that we need to address. They include next steps following the RADA's ratification of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, building a new European security architecture and regarding Iraq. On all these issues there has been good progress in recent days -- thanks in part to our working together. We should build on that progress in the days ahead.

With the Rada's ratification of Ukraine's accession to the Non Proliferation Treaty, we can proceed with our plans for a joint meeting in Budapest with President Kuchma, President Nazarbayev and President Lukashenko to exchange instruments of ratification for START I and to provide security assurances for Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. I also look forward to receiving -- with you and John Major -- Ukraine's instruments of accession to the NPT Treaty. These successes are the results of our joint efforts on behalf of non-proliferation. They demonstrate what we can achieve -- and the benefits for world peace -- when we work together and consult closely.

It is with this in mind that I respond to your letter of November 11 regarding Iraq. Iraq's recognition of Kuwait's sovereignty and border is an important achievement for the Security Council. Russia played a key role in this development. You and Andrey Kozyrev can take great pride in bringing about a result which met fully the requirements of the Security Council. As you rightly noted, it demonstrates that no one will be permitted to enjoy the fruits of aggression. And once again, our cooperation was critical in ensuring the right result.

It is important that we maintain this approach as we look at next steps. We agree that Security Council efforts should now focus on bringing the Iraqis to comply fully -- as they have regarding Kuwait's borders and sovereignty -- with remaining UNSC requirements, such as the return of Kuwaiti military equipment and repression of minorities in Iraq.

The question now is how to do this. I note your suggestion to "open up a constructive perspective" to move Iraq in the right direction. In our view, making clear to Iraq that the path to modification of the sanctions regime lies only through full compliance with all its obligations is the surest, fastest way to achieve this objective. Any suggestion that Iraq can wait out the Council or satisfy it through partial steps seems likely to make our common task more difficult. C() 6835454 IED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-13804 Doc No. C06835454 Date: 10/19/2021

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position on this point in his perent-

I am concerned that we would run just such a risk were we to establish a fixed time frame for assessing Iraqi cooperation with the UN Special Commission. Secretary Christopher has hada very good and clear exchange with Foreign Minister Kozyrev. (regarding our concerns on this point) It is crucial that they stay closely in touch, so that we can, to the greatest extent possible, work together.

That said, Boris, when Iraq fully meets the criteria the U.N. has established on all these issues, as it appears to have done with respect to the one issue of Kuwait's borders, we are prepared to acknowledge those steps [as well.] U.S. public statements after the Baghdad announcements proved our readiness in this regard, and our two delegations in New York, working with other members of the Council, agreed on a statement by the Security Council President noting Iraq's action.

When we last met, we agreed to keep in close touch, on a confidential basis, on matters concerning European security structures, including NATO and CSCE. In a separate letter, I will be sending you my thoughts on these two subjects. But I would like to assure you now that what the NATO Allies do at the upcoming North Atlantic Council (NAC) session in Brussels will be fully consistent with what you and I discussed in the White House during your visit.

I do not intend to propose at the NAC a timetable or list for NATO expansion. Instead, I plan to focus attention on what is involved in NATO membership -- what are the requirements, and what the rationale is for a new, expanding NATO, which is not directed at any country, but that is intended to enhance the security and promote the integrity of Europe as a whole. In the months ahead, we will work out a common view on precepts for membership among Alliance members, and present it to all members of Partnership for Peace who want to receive it.

Our pragmatic partnership covers a broad and complex relationship. Cooperation to promote regional peace and stability is an essential component of that relationship. This is as true in the Persian Gulf as in Europe. And it has yielded success this month in both regions. I look forward to continuing this productive cooperation in the months ahead. Finally, Boris, thank you for your words, in your last letter, of friendship and encouragement. I appreciate the spirit in which you offerred them. See you in Budapest.

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Sincerely,

Bill

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