
Clinton Presidential Records Mandatory Declassification Review

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[11/23/1997]

~~TOP SECRET~~

IMMEDIATE

FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE

TO: AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
(EYES ONLY FOR AMB COLLINS)

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN

1. PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL TO FOLLOW.

2. BEGIN TEXT.

DEAR BORIS:

AS ALWAYS, IT WAS WONDERFUL TO TALK TO YOU PERSONALLY ABOUT THE PRESSING ISSUES BEFORE US, AS I WAS LEAVING FOR THE APEC MEETING IN VANCOUVER. IF I AM SUCCESSFUL, WE WILL, IN THE FUTURE, BE PARTICIPATING IN THESE MEETINGS TOGETHER.

I WANTED TO FOLLOW UP ON OUR PHONE CONVERSATION AND GIVE YOU SOME FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT WHY I AM SO CONCERNED ABOUT THE IRAQI CAPABILITY TO REGENERATE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND BALLISTIC MISSILES. THE UNIQUE ASPECT ABOUT IRAQ IS THAT NOT ONLY HAS IRAQ BUILT ENORMOUS QUANTITIES OF THESE WEAPONS AND MISSILES BUT IT HAS ALSO USED CHEMICAL WEAPONS MORE THAN ONCE AGAINST ITS NEIGHBORS AND ITS OWN PEOPLE.

THE FACTS ARE VERY IMPORTANT TO BEAR IN MIND. IRAQ CLAIMED FOR FOUR YEARS AFTER THE GULF WAR THAT IT HAD NO BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PROGRAM AT ALL. IN 1995, AFTER HUSAYN KAMIL DEFECTED, IRAQ BELATEDLY ADMITTED TO A MASSIVE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PROGRAM. IT ADMITTED TO PRODUCING 90,000 LITERS OF BOTULINUM TOXIN AND 8,500 LITERS OF ANTHRAX PRIOR TO THE GULF WAR. IT ALSO ADMITTED THAT IT HAD DEPLOYED ANTHRAX-ARMED SCUD MISSILES DURING THE WAR. IT CLAIMS IT DESTROYED THESE AGENTS IN 1991 BUT HAS PRODUCED NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THIS CLAIM. IN JULY 1995 UNSCOM DISCOVERED THE AL HAKAM FACTORY COMPLEX, WHICH WAS A CUSTOM BUILT BIOLOGICAL WARFARE AGENT PRODUCTION FACILITY AND ONE OF THE LARGEST IN THE WORLD. UNSCOM DESTROYED THE FACILITY IN JUNE 1996.

IRAQ HAS STILL NOT PROVIDED FULL DISCLOSURE ABOUT ITS BW PROGRAM. UNSCOM HAS DESCRIBED THE OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS IN THIS FIELD AS NUMEROUS AND GRAVE. MANY EXPERTS BELIEVE THAT IF UNSCOM WAS NOT



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IN IRAQ, IRAQ COULD REBUILD AN OFFENSIVE BW CAPABILITY ALMOST IMMEDIATELY.

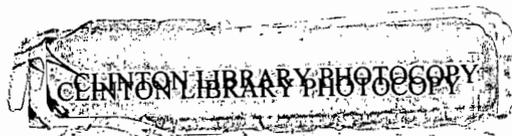
IRAQ HAS ALSO CONSISTENTLY MISLED THE SECURITY COUNCIL ABOUT ITS CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROGRAM. IT DENIED HAVING ANY VX NERVE GAS PROGRAM FOR YEARS. UNSCOM DISCOVERED THAT IRAQ HAD ENOUGH CHEMICAL PRECURSORS TO PRODUCE 70 TONS OF THIS VERY LETHAL VX. I HAVE TAKEN THE LIBERTY OF ATTACHING A FACT SHEET TO THIS MESSAGE THAT GOES INTO MORE DEPTH ON THESE ISSUES. EVEN IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD, THE IAEA REPORTS IRAQ STILL NEEDS TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING, ESPECIALLY ABOUT THE ASSISTANCE IT WAS ABLE TO PROCURE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES.

UNSCOM HAS DONE A GOOD JOB. THEY ARE PROFESSIONAL EXPERTS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD. NOW THAT IT IS BACK TO WORK, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE SUPPORT ITS EFFORTS. FRANKLY, I WAS A BIT DISAPPOINTED THAT YOUR DELEGATION AT THE UN FELT IT NECESSARY TO QUESTION THE VALIDITY OF UNSCOM'S FINDINGS. I HOPE OUR PEOPLE CAN WORK MORE HARMONIOUSLY DURING THE DELICATE WEEKS AHEAD.

BORIS, THE KEY ISSUE NOW IS FOR IRAQ TO ALLOW UNSCOM FULL ACCESS TO FACILITIES, PEOPLE AND DOCUMENTS. IT SHOULD MAKE NO ATTEMPT TO THREATEN, HAMPER OR BLOCK ANY OF UNSCOM'S ACTIVITIES INCLUDING INSPECTIONS AND U2 FLIGHTS. WE CANNOT ALLOW IRAQ TO DECLARE SOME AREAS OFF LIMITS TO THE INSPECTORS. I KNOW THEY CLAIM UNSCOM SHOULD NOT ENTER THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACES, BORIS, BUT SADDAM AND HIS FAMILY HAVE OVER SEVENTY PALACES AND RESIDENCES, SOME OF WHICH COVER VERY LARGE AREAS. ONE IS LARGER THAN THE ENTIRE AREA OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA! IT IS PRECISELY IN THESE CLOSELY GUARDED AREAS THAT THERE HAVE BEEN INDICATIONS IRAQ MAY BE HIDING ITS MOST DANGEROUS WEAPONS.

LET ME REPEAT WHAT I SAID TO YOU ON THE PHONE; I AM GLAD WE HAVE WORKED TOGETHER ON THIS. I APPRECIATE THE LEADERSHIP RUSSIA HAS UNDERTAKEN. WE NEED TO STAY TOGETHER IN THE WEEKS AHEAD. IF IRAQ BLOCKS THE INSPECTORS, WE WILL HAVE TO TAKE FIRM ACTION. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF IRAQ REALLY IS PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH UNSCOM, IT WILL DEMONSTRATE THAT COOPERATION IN DEEDS AND ACTIONS. AT THE SAME TIME THE COUNCIL SHOULD BE ABLE TO EXPLORE WAYS TO GET MORE HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE IRAQI PEOPLE, SOMETHING I STRONGLY SUPPORT. WORKING TOGETHER WE CAN MOVE THIS SITUATION IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

ON THE OTHER ISSUE YOU RAISED WITH ME ABOUT RUSSIA'S ROLE IN ASIA, I AM CONCERNED THERE MAY BE A MISUNDERSTANDING HERE AND I HAVE ASKED AMBASSADOR COLLINS TO BE IN TOUCH WITH MR. YUMASHEV AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE AND CLARIFY ANY QUESTIONS YOU HAVE.

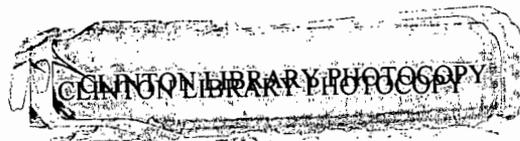


I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU AGAIN, THIS TIME IN MOSCOW.

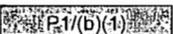
SINCERELY,

BILL

END TEXT



Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~SECRET~~
LINE1: OAAMZYUW YELADA 1018 3160336-MNSH--YEXXWHX YEKOHR.
LINE2: ZNY MMNSH
LINE3: ZKZK OO SOA DE
LINE4: O 120414Z NOV 98 ZFF-1/ZFF-4
OSRI: YELADA
DTG: 120414Z NOV 98
ORIG: WHITE HOUSE
TO: 
INFO: ////
SUBJ: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN

TEXT:
~~SECRET~~ NODIS VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS
QQQQ

BEGIN TEXT:

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN

1. AMBASSADOR: PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN IMMEDIATELY UPON RECEIPT. AMBASSADOR SHOULD ALSO SHARE LETTER WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, USING THE MOST DISCREET MEANS POSSIBLE. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL TO FOLLOW.

2. BEGIN TEXT.

DEAR BORIS:

UNFORTUNATELY, ONCE AGAIN SADDAM HUSSEIN IS CHALLENGING THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. HIS DECISION TO SUSPEND COOPERATION WITH UNSCOM IS A CLEAR VIOLATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS AND THE MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING HE SIGNED WITH KOFI ANNAN IN FEBRUARY.

OUR RESPONSE SINCE AUGUST HAS BEEN PATIENT AND DELIBERATE. WE HAVE WORKED WITHIN THE UNSC TO CONDEMN SADDAM'S ACTIONS. WE, LIKE YOU, WOULD PREFER A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, BUT WE SEEM TO HAVE EXHAUSTED ALL DIPLOMATIC OPTIONS. IRAQ CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO VIOLATE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, RECONSTITUTE WMD AND ONCE AGAIN THREATEN ITS NEIGHBORS WITH IMPUNITY.

OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, SADDAM HUSSEIN TIME AND AGAIN HAS TRIED TO FIND A WAY OUT OF SANCTIONS WITHOUT RELINQUISHING HIS WMD. AS YOU KNOW, UNSCOM INSPECTORS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO WORK FOR EIGHT OF THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS. IN OCTOBER 1997, IRAQ TRIED TO DICTATE TO THE UN THE TERMS OF ITS

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COOPERATION. WE TRIED TO REVERSE THAT IN THE MEETING YOU CALLED IN GENEVA ON NOVEMBER 19, BUT SADDAM AGAIN CHALLENGED UNSCOM IN JANUARY. BY COMBINING DIPLOMACY WITH THE THREAT OF FORCE, WE THOUGHT WE HAD FOUND A WAY FORWARD WITH THE ANNAN-AZIZ MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING IN FEBRUARY. RUSSIA ALSO PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN THAT EFFORT. BUT NOW WE HAVE SEEN SADDAM RENOUNCE THE AGREEMENT AND STOP COOPERATION WITH THE UNSCOM INSPECTORS. IRAQ'S AUGUST 5 SUSPENSION OF COOPERATION WITH UNSCOM AND THE IAEA VIOLATES THE MOU, AND UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.

ON OCTOBER 30, THE SECURITY COUNCIL EXPRESSED ITS WILLINGNESS TO CONDUCT A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF IRAQ'S RECORD OF COMPLIANCE ONCE IT RESUMED COOPERATION. BUT RATHER THAN REVERSE COURSE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY, IRAQ ESCALATED THE SITUATION THE VERY NEXT DAY, CUTTING OFF ALL REMAINING COOPERATION WITH UNSCOM.

SINCE THAT TIME, WE HAVE TRIED TO RESOLVE THIS DISPUTE PEACEFULLY. THE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTED SWIFTLY AND UNANIMOUSLY TO CONDEMN IRAQ'S ACTIONS IN UNSCR 1205, AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAS APPEALED FOR IRAQ TO COMPLY WITH THE COUNCIL'S DEMANDS. BUT DESPITE THE STRONG AND UNITED MESSAGE FROM THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT IRAQ'S ACTIONS ARE UNACCEPTABLE, IRAQ HAS NOT AGREED TO COOPERATE.

I KNOW THAT YOU HAVE CONCERNS ABOUT UNSCOM AND IAEA WITHDRAWING THEIR PEOPLE FROM BAGHDAD. BUT I BELIEVE THEY WERE RIGHT TO DO THAT SINCE, WITHOUT IRAQI COOPERATION, THEY CANNOT DO THEIR JOB.

I AM SURE YOU AGREE THAT WE CANNOT CONTINUE THIS CYCLE. SADDAM HUSSEIN MUST KNOW THAT IF HE DEFIES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN A THREATENING WAY, THERE WILL BE CONSEQUENCES.

BORIS, GIVEN YOUR ROLE ON THE COUNCIL AND YOUR PAST EFFORTS WITH IRAQ, YOU CAN PLAY A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE IN ENSURING THAT IRAQ RECEIVES THE CLEAREST SIGNAL POSSIBLE THAT IT MUST COMPLY IMMEDIATELY. IN YOUR GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT AND IN ITS ACTIONS IN THE COUNCIL, I HOPE YOU MAKE CLEAR WHERE RESPONSIBILITY LIES FOR THE CURRENT CRISIS. I HOPE I CAN COUNT ON YOUR SUPPORT.

SINCERELY,

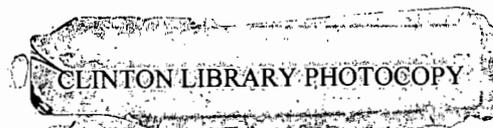
WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1018

TOR: 981111233827 M3552878

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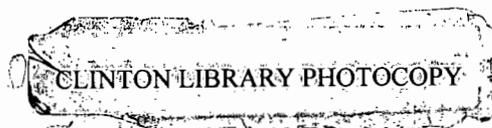
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PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HACHIGIAN KERRICK RICEE SIT SIT{C2}
STEINBERG SUTPHEN

SIT: NODIS

<^DIST>

SIT: BOLAN





THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 19, 1999

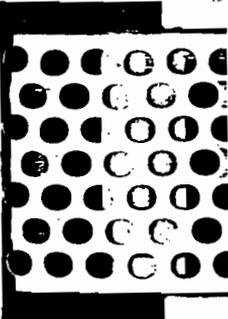
Dear Boris:

I want to thank you for your kind words of support and encouragement over the past months. Your unwavering friendship has been a source of strength to me personally, and I am grateful.

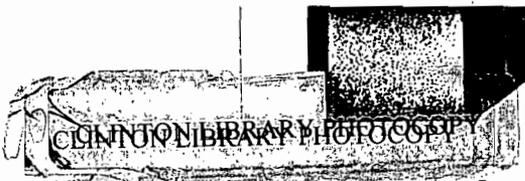
I look forward to continuing our close relationship as we work through important issues before us.

Sincerely,

Bill



His Excellency
Boris Yeltsin
President of the Russian Federation
Moscow



IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: BERGER COMM COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HACHIGIAN KERRICK RICEE SIT
STEINBERG SUTPHEN

SIT: ALLEN BELL BENJAMIN BLACK BRADEN BRODY BROWN BUSBY BUTLER COQ
DAVIDSON ELKIND FARANDA FICKLIN FLANAGAN GUARNIERI HASMAN HURLEY KAUFMAN
MILLER PASCUAL SAPIRO SCHULTE SEGAL SUM2 VACCARO WEISS
SIT: NSC

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 030300Z APR 99

FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

TO RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW NIACT
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ NIACT
QQQQ

AMBASSADOR OR DCM: PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM
PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL
BE PROVIDED.
BEGIN TEXT:

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN

DEAR BORIS:

I AM WRITING TO YOU AGAIN ON THE SUBJECT OF KOSOVO, WHICH HAS
BECOME ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEMS I HAVE HAD TO DEAL

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA2649 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
WITH IN THE COURSE OF MY PRESIDENCY -- NOT LEAST BECAUSE IT HAS
PUT SUCH A BURDEN ON RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS. LIKE YOU, I
WANT TO SEE THE VIOLENCE STOPPED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE; LIKE
YOU, I AM READY TO PURSUE EVERY AVENUE THAT MIGHT LEAD TO
PEACE. BUT THE EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK MAKE CLEAR HOW SERIOUS
THE THREAT TO PEACE IS.

THE NEWS COMING OUT OF KOSOVO IS TRULY SHOCKING. THERE IS
AMPLE EVIDENCE THAT WHOLE VILLAGES ARE BEING BURNED,
INNOCENT CIVILIANS SUMMARILY EXECUTED AND TENS OF THOUSANDS
DISPLACED -- NOT BY NATO ACTIONS BUT THROUGH A PRE-MEDITATED
AND PRE-PLANNED CAMPAIGN BY THE YUGOSLAV SECURITY FORCES. I
VERY MUCH APPRECIATED YOUR STRONG STATEMENT THAT RUSSIA
WILL NOT BE DRAWN INTO THE CONFLICT. I AM GLAD THAT YOU HAVE
RECOGNIZED THAT SUCH INVOLVEMENT WOULD BE A DANGEROUS
DEVELOPMENT AND I ASK YOU TO CONTINUE YOUR FIRM STANCE
AGAINST IT.

WE HAVE RECEIVED WITH INTEREST YOUR PROPOSAL FOR AN
EMERGENCY G-8 MEETING ON KOSOVO. MADELEINE HAS GIVEN IGOR

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE 3 RHEHAAA2649 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SOME REACTIONS AND SOME ADDITIONAL IDEAS. THEY WILL CONTINUE TALKING ABOUT HOW WE CAN BEST CONCERT OUR EFFORTS TO RESTORE CONDITIONS FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN KOSOVO.

WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT IS THAT WE STAY AS UNITED AS POSSIBLE IN OUR MESSAGE TO BELGRADE. MILOSEVIC MUST KNOW THAT IF HE WANTS TO END THIS CONFLICT, HE CAN DO SO AT ANY MOMENT BY ENDING HIS MILITARY CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE KOSOVAR ALBANIANS, PULLING BACK HIS FORCES AS HE COMMITTED TO DO IN OCTOBER, ALLOWING REFUGEES TO RETURN, AND ASSURING SECURITY AND SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR THE KOSOVARS. BUT HE MUST ALSO KNOW THAT IF HE IS UNWILLING TO MEET THESE CONDITIONS, NATO'S AIR CAMPAIGN WILL CONTINUE. I HAVE DISCUSSED THIS PROBLEM AT LENGTH WITH JACQUES, GERHARD AND TONY, AND WE ARE IN FULL AGREEMENT.

I KNOW DEVELOPMENTS IN KOSOVO HAVE STRAINED RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. BUT I AM GLAD WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CONTINUE WORKING ON MANY IMPORTANT ISSUES ON OUR BILATERAL AGENDA. WE OWE IT TO OUR PEOPLE AND TO WORLD PEACE TO KEEP

PAGE 4 RHEHAAA2649 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
THE VITAL U.S.-RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP ALIVE AND PRODUCTIVE THROUGH SUCH TIMES OF DIFFICULTY. THE CFE AGREEMENT ACHIEVED ON MARCH 31 IS A TRULY HISTORIC ACCOMPLISHMENT, FOR WHICH WE HAVE ALL WORKED VERY HARD. I AM ALSO PLEASED THAT, DESPITE THE CANCELLATION OF LAST WEEK'S MEETING, THE CONCRETE WORK OF THE BINATIONAL COMMISSION HAS CONTINUED, HIGHLIGHTED BY THE HEU AGREEMENT SIGNED LAST WEEK AND THE PROSPECTIVE SIGNINGS OF THE MUTUAL LEGAL ASSISTANCE TREATY AND THE CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT.

I WAS ALSO ENCOURAGED THAT THE IMF WILL SEND A FULL MISSION TO MOSCOW TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS. AS YOU AND I HAVE DISCUSSED ON MANY OCCASIONS, GETTING A SOUND ECONOMIC PROGRAM IN PLACE IS CRUCIAL TO MEETING THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE. AS I SAID TO YOU BEFORE, WHEN RUSSIA AND THE IMF CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT, I AM PREPARED TO WORK HARD WITH PARTNERS TO RESCHEDULE RUSSIA'S DEBT.

FINALLY, I WOULD LIKE TO CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR SUPERB SPEECH TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE. IT WAS AN ELOQUENT EXPRESSION OF

PAGE 5 RHEHAAA2649 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



IMMEDIATE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

YOUR VISION FOR A DEMOCRATIC, TOLERANT, PROSPEROUS RUSSIA, AVOIDING A RETURN TO COLD WAR AND PROMOTING RUSSIA'S INTEGRATION INTO THE WORLD ECONOMY -- A VISION YOU KNOW I SHARE AND AM COMMITTED TO WORKING WITH YOU TO ACHIEVE. IT IS THE TRUE UNSHAKEABLE FOUNDATION OF U.S-RUSSIAN RELATIONS. IN TROUBLED TIMES SUCH AS NOW, YOUR COURAGE, COMMON SENSE AND FORESIGHT ARE AN ENCOURAGEMENT TO ME PERSONALLY AND TO ALL WHO ARE TRYING TO BUILD A NEW, MORE PEACEFUL WORLD FOR THE NEXT CENTURY.

SINCERELY,
BILL

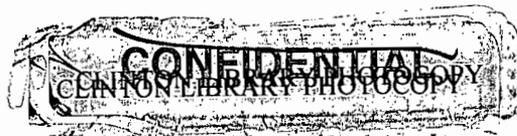
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DECL: D(X6)

<^SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01

<^SSN>2649

<MSGID> M3780627



Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 6/29/99 7:38:47 PM
FROM Weiss, Andrew S. (RUE)
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Note to Yeltsin on Freed American Hostage [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Pascual, Carlos E. (RUE)

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY

just wanted to make sure you knew this is for your review

-----Original

Message-----

From: Weiss, Andrew S. (RUE)

Sent: Tuesday, June

29, 1999 7:33 PM

To: Pascual, Carlos E. (RUE)

Cc: @RUSSIA - Russia/Ukraine

Subject: Note

to Yeltsin on Freed American Hostage [UNCLASSIFIED]

PLEASE PASS

TO JIM (request for guidance tonight)

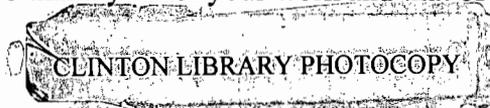
Herbert Gregg, an American missionary held captive in Chechnya for seven months, was freed today by Russian security forces. The circumstances surrounding Gregg's release are unclear. Russian authorities say that no ransom was paid. Jim Collins says that Gregg was accompanied at the airport by Alfa commandoes, but does not have additional information about his release.

Collins strongly recommends that POTUS send a message of appreciation to Yeltsin and notes that Blair and Chirac have telephoned BNY following the release of British and French hostages. The Russians are expecting a message.

State will send the below message over as a crosshatch. It will not be sent without your approval.

Dear
Boris:

I wanted to thank you for your work and that of your government



to make possible the release of Herbert Gregg. You and I have always agreed on the need for a firm stance against terrorism, and I know that your personal involvement in resolving this case was crucial. The American people and I are grateful for your efforts.

Sincerely,

Bill

