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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E. O. 13526

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

2014-0882-M (1.01)  
5/11/2018 KBH

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Nazarbayev of  
Kazakhstan

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
The Vice President  
Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs  
Warren Christopher, Secretary of State  
Samuel Berger, Deputy Assistant to the  
President for National Security Affairs  
William Courtney, U.S. Ambassador to  
Kazakhstan  
Roger Altman, Deputy Secretary of the  
Treasury  
James Collins, Coordinator for Regional  
Affairs for the New Independent States,  
Department of State  
Rosemarie Forsythe, Director for Russian,  
Ukrainian and Eurasian Affairs, NSC  
Staff, Notetaker  
Interpreter

Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, President of  
Kazakhstan  
Akezhan Kazhegeldin, First Deputy Prime  
Minister  
Syzdyk Abishev, Deputy Prime Minister  
Nurtay Abykayev, Chief of Staff  
Tulegen Zhukeyev, State Counselor  
Tuleutay Suleymenov, Foreign Minister  
Almaz Khamzayev, Charge d'Affaires  
Interpreter

DATE, TIME February 14, 1994, 12:20 - 1:30  
AND PLACE: Old Family Dining Room

The President: I would like to thank you for the beautiful  
gifts...the rug, picture of horsemen. I was told that the  
painting depicts a game played at the end of a wedding party.  
(U)

President Nazarbayev: I wanted you to know what a good  
Ambassador you have in Kazakhstan. Ambassador Courtney's son is  
even learning the Kazakh language. (U)

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## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                           | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001. memcon              | re: Meeting with President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan [partial] (5 pages) | 02/14/1994 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
([Kazak])  
OA/Box Number: 470

### FOLDER TITLE:

9401510

2014-0882-M  
rs1089

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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The President: Americans have been historically weak in learning foreign languages. In the last ten years, however, we've had an explosion in the number of young people learning foreign languages. Many more young people understand that the world is a small place. (U)

President Nazarbayev: It is similar in our country, especially since independence. Our young people are learning lots of foreign languages, especially English. (U)

The President: President Nazarbayev has been in Liverpool and Newcastle, and I believe I heard evidence of this in his accent when he spoke English. (U)

President Nazarbayev: Thank you for the compliment. (U)

Ambassador Courtney: The French think too many Kazakhs are studying English. (C)

The President: The French probably think that even one Kazakh studying English is too many. I like the French, but they are very proud of their culture... (C)

President Nazarbayev: I spent a few hours in Paris with Mitterrand. (U)

The President: It is a beautiful city. (U)

The Vice President: How was that new Boeing 747 you flew in on? (U)

President Nazarbayev: Our purchase of the Boeing 747 is very symbolic. It is the first Boeing in the former Soviet Union. I was its first passenger. By the way, it's one of the issues we should resolve. We have a major contract coming up with Boeing. The Russian aircraft manufacturers are in shock. The Ilyushin 96 is similar, but it is 7 million dollars more expensive than the Boeing, and it expends more fuel per passenger than the Boeing. No one knows whether it is safe. The head of the Russian aircraft production asked why we were purchasing a Boeing. I told him that during the test flights, something went wrong with the Russian aircraft every ten minutes. The Russian was devastated. Also, if you compare the Boeing Aircraft with the German, the German is 4 times more expensive and 3 times less efficient. (C)

The President: Boeing is our number one exporter. (U)

President Nazarbayev: I am going to promote Boeing in the former Soviet Union and help set up an office in Kazakhstan. (C)

Our first priority in business is oil. Our joint venture with Chevron is already producing 2 million tons of oil. In 5-6 years, that will increase to much more. The deposits equal those in Alaska. I would like to have your assistance with the Chevron deal in working with Russia.

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

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EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

We  
will have 200 million tons of oil in the near future. We need  
only 18 million for domestic needs. (C)

The President: Why is Russia doing this? (C)

President Nazarbayev: Political pressure. (C)

The President: Why wouldn't it be good for them? They could  
charge you for use of the pipeline. (C)

President Nazarbayev: EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: Do you think he doesn't want to talk, or is it  
that others don't want him to talk to you. (C)

President Nazarbayev: He's too busy. (C)

The President: I have a question about Russia's behavior on the  
pipeline and the space launch facility. Do they sometimes do  
this because it is in their interests, or do they just do it to  
prove their influence? Maybe we need to try to fill Russia's  
need to feel important constructively. There are many other  
touchy issues. This touches on the whole question of Russia's  
actions in the region outside its borders including Georgia and  
Nagorno-Karabakh. Every time I meet with him (Yeltsin), the  
issue comes up in ten different ways. How can we influence  
Russia? It would complicate our lives a lot if a man like  
Zhirinovsky took over. (C)

President Nazarbayev: EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

President Nazarbayev: EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

In reference to what you mentioned about Russia, Kazakhstan must  
find a way to coexist with Russia. In 1961, the Russian army  
completed the colonization of Kazakhstan. Since then our people  
have lived together. There are many mixed marriages, and  
Russians have lived in the same communities with Kazakhs. All  
the sons were taught by the parents to go to Russian schools.

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Otherwise, they would have no future. Throughout history, most of the danger was thought to come from China. (C)

No one has a problem if Russia decides to play a peacekeeping role similar to the U.S. For example, the British empire led to peace and stability in Asia, and Asia flourished. No one has any objection if that were the case. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] We (Kazakhstan and Russia) signed an agreement on cooperation and it states that we will respect each other's territorial integrity and inviolability of borders. Yet recently, Russian television has said that the border with northern Kazakhstan is not proper and should be changed. (C)

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

I recently spoke to Shevardnadze. We have good relations with Georgia. I asked Shevardnadze why did you agree to the Russian bases? Shevardnadze said, "first they armed the Abkhaz, then they armed the opposition; if I don't do what they want, they will cause trouble in Abkhazia and Ossetia." [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

We know we cannot forsake good economic and political ties with Russia. That may come as a surprise to you. Kazakhstan was the last one to declare independence from the former Soviet Union. We waited to see what would happen. (C)

The next issue I want to discuss with you is one I raised with Secretary Christopher and Vice President Gore and that is the removal of uranium from nuclear missiles in Kazakhstan. The Russians are not prepared to honor their commitments for compensating us for the highly enriched uranium (HEU). If direct

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agreement with Kazakhstan is not followed through, we have great concerns. The whole issue of dismantling rests on this. A similar situation will occur with Ukraine and Belarus. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

We all need a democratic Russia.

(C)

The President: What can the U.S. do that most likely ensures a democratic Russia? No one wants to turn away. The process has gone ahead and we want to encourage democratization. The entire activity of the G-7 is oriented toward helping this process. (C)

President Nazarbayev:

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] This should be taken into account when you talk about assistance with Russia. (C)

Another issue is uranium production. We concluded an agreement on uranium dumping, but we are having problems since you are renegotiating the agreement with Russia. (C)

Secretary Christopher: We are prepared to be helpful on this issue. There are 3,000 tons of Russian uranium, 2,700 tons of Kazakh uranium, 2,000 of Western European uranium and 700 tons of U.S. uranium...There will probably be a decrease in world prices. According to our analysis, if prices decrease, it will shoot our opportunity to have an inclusive agreement... (C)

President Nazarbayev:

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] I agree with you on the HEU and nuclear warheads but not necessarily on uranium. I want to be honest. If that amendment is made with Russia, it will make it impossible for us to sell our low enriched uranium. (C)

Secretary Christopher: We will consult with you and the Russians in a trilateral discussion. (C)

President Nazarbayev: We are in favor of every issue being resolved with Russia. The decision on Baykonur must not be taken without our participation. The same is true for nuclear missiles and HEU. We need to get together to resolve these issues. I have had a long discussion with Vice President Gore and Secretary Christopher. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

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This morning at the business roundtable, businessmen raised the issue of security. I told them that if you all come over and establish businesses, this will be the main guarantee of our security. (C)

Secretary Christopher: It is our hope that rhetoric from people such as Kozyrev, who was previously moderate and restrained, is just more rhetoric and that we can work out these problems. We would like to work carefully to resolve specific problems. (C)

President Nazarbayev: I am ready to resolve the problems and make all compromises, but the compromises must come from both sides. (C)

Secretary Christopher: For example, in the Baltics, there is very harsh rhetoric, but they have been withdrawing their troops and are engaged in a rational process. So we'll work with your colleagues to see if we can be helpful. (C)

President Nazarbayev: Mr. Secretary, if you can be helpful we would be grateful. (C)

A human rights committee could be set up in Kazakhstan. Let them come up with expert evaluations. If they see any violations of human rights or of our constitution, we are prepared to change this. Interethnic accord is our top priority...it is something I take pride in. (C)

When may we start the trilateral discussions? (C)

Counselor Zhukeyev: Today. (C)

President Nazarbayev: We've agreed with Kozyrev on the telephone to trilateral meetings. There are sober people in Russia. [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: We will start this partnership for the long run. In the meantime, I want to consult with you. If we had another hour, I'd like to hear what you have to say about Iran. (C)

President Nazarbayev: Mr. President, I would like to invite you to Kazakhstan when you are in Asia. The Vice President and Secretary Christopher visited, and we would very much like for you to visit too. (C)

The President: Thank you. (U)

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