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THE WHITE HOUSE

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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Boris Yeltsin of the
Russian Federation (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Boris Yeltsin
Interpreter: Dmitry Zarechnak
Notetaker: Beth Sanner

DATE, TIME 28 June 1993, 1:05 - 1:33pm
AND PLACE: Oval Office

President Clinton: Hello. (U)

President Yeltsin: Hello, Bill. (U)

President Clinton: I want to thank you for taking a few moments
to talk with me today. Thank you for Foreign Minister Kozyrev's
statement on Iraq. That was very helpful. (S)

President Yeltsin: That was not the statement of Kozyrev. It
was the opinion of the leadership of Russia. (S)

President Clinton: Thank you. I wanted to talk to you about a
couple of issues today. I am genuinely sorry that Vice President
Gore and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin could not meet today as
planned and that last week's talks on missile sanctions failed.
The law here provides little room for me on the missile
technology issue. It is important that we reach agreement by
July 15 and before our meeting in Tokyo next week, because I want
to talk about the future, not the past. (S)

I hope you will be agreeable to me sending Ambassador Strobe
Talbott, who is very close to me and coordinates U.S.-Russia
relations in our government, along with Lynn Davis, our top
negotiator on this issue, and Leon Fuerth, Vice President Gore's
National Security Advisor. I hope they will be able to meet with
Chernomyrdin and perhaps meet with you for a few minutes to
settle the India missile issue. I would like that issue to be
out of the way by the time we meet in Tokyo. (S)

President Yeltsin: Bill, I fully agree with you. I would like
to say just a few words. First, as to the Constitution, the
process is going on well. And, I believe, if we resolve this, it
will help improve our economy. Of course, as to Tokyo discussion

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on all the parts of the \$43 billion, we will need to exert additional efforts. Today everyone is waiting for the practical integration of Russia into the world economy and the removal of all the obstacles, as we discussed in Vancouver. I really count on our meeting in Tokyo, and I hope we can sign a declaration, not of the seven leaders, but of the eight leaders. You will understand this, that to Iraq, we declared that your actions were justified. This remains in effect, but you understand, we have many Muslims and they are somewhat worried. (S)

As to your last point on missile technology and the engines for India. As we say in Russian, this is not a matter for the czars. And I would say, let the experts discuss India, Iraq, and Iran. There are many questions. This is a matter for experts, not politicians or presidents. We should avoid taking decisions that could affect the global relationship between our countries that could affect the world. I agree we should decide before Tokyo. (S)

President Clinton: Yes. (U)

President Yeltsin: This problem should not affect the friendly relations between the United States and Russia. And I would say, the meeting with Chernomyrdin could take place in the second half of July. And they might put the final touches on. Well, I agree that your envoy Strobe Talbott should come to Moscow so that we might sooner have an agreement. (S)

President Clinton: Good. (U)

President Yeltsin: Bill, look here, maybe we could suggest to India that they have strict limitations on missile exports. But, the agreement is not between us but between the former Soviet Union and India, and no one can blame us for this. You understand, we cannot just break this agreement, and we cannot just break our relations with India. You must also understand that we are working on a memorandum of understanding on space technology and we are prepared to join the Freedom project. (S)

President Clinton: Yes, I understand that. Let me make one or two comments on this. I appreciate your agreement to let Ambassador Talbott come back. I will have him there by Wednesday. I understand that the missile technology agreement with India was signed by the former Soviet Union, but my experts believe these sales could lead to the creation of a nuclear delivery capability by India. U.S. law is very strict on this. I do not have a lot of discretion. In May, we reached agreement to give Russia access to participation in the space launch market, as well as our efforts in the oil and gas sector. We need to get on with that, because there will be immediate economic benefits for Russia. We need to resolve this issue. I want that to be translated then I will say something about the G-7. (S)

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Now, about the G-7. The IMF is going to approve the first \$1.5 billion in assistance this week. The G-7 is shaping up well on Russian issues. I think it will agree on the privatization fund, including establishing an office in Moscow to improve the efficiency of our assistance. This program will be useful, although the fund will be smaller than we had hoped. As to the United States, we have obligated over half of the program announced in Vancouver. As you know, I went back to Congress for another \$1.8 billion. This bill has passed the House by a 75 percent margin. It is now before the Senate and will pass there without any trouble. I believe the G-7 summit will be a good one for Russia. The fact that Japan is having trouble, as are some other G-7 countries, may limit their ability to help, but I think it will be a success. (S)

With regard to Russia signing the Political Declaration, it is too late to change the G-7 structure, and the other countries would not agree. But I believe the meeting will be successful and helpful to you back home. (S)

Since I met with you, I have worked with Congress to eliminate Cold War restrictions on Russia. We have pages and pages we want to eliminate, and we will proceed. On Jackson-Vanik, the only thing standing between us on that is the list of refusniks that you were going to provide, as we discussed in Vancouver, and what you were going to do to resolve them. Once we have that, I think there will be broad support in the country to do something on Jackson-Vanik. (S)

We are moving forward on the aid package here at home. With a good aid package and the IMF decision this week, I think Russia may be the only success of the G-7 based on the problems we see in the other countries. I think it will be a good meeting, and I am looking forward to meeting with you. (S)

President Yeltsin: I thank you, Bill, for your optimistic forecast. What you have been saying is extremely good. As to refusniks, we have no problems in this respect. After our discussion in Vancouver, I asked my people to look into this. Eight people out of the 15 have been released. As to the seven remaining, they just did not want to leave -- they have neither the possibility or the opportunity to leave. And, I do not think this should create any problems in our relationship. (S)

And of course, I hope for the positive outcome of the G-7 summit in Tokyo. I wouldn't like to be in a situation, or maybe someone would like to put me in the situation, like Gorbachev was in when he attended the summit in London, where he came away with nothing. (S)

President Clinton: That won't happen. (U)

President Yeltsin: I hope we will have a good and productive meeting. Now we must convince the rest of the G-7 to help Russia. The rest of the process is going on well. (S)

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President Clinton: I agree and I'll see you there. (U)

President Yeltsin: I'm looking forward to it. (U)

President Clinton: Thank you. Good night, Boris. (U)

President Yeltsin: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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