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## **Clinton Presidential Records Mandatory Declassification Review**

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Documents from this Mandatory Declassification Review were released in part.

Those documents released with redactions have been restricted under Sections 1.4 (c), 1.4 (d), and 3.5 (c) of E.O. 13526.

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EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

**Boris Nikolayevich YEL'TSIN**  
(Phonetic: YEL'Tsin)

**RUSSIA**

*President (since 1991)*

*Addressed as: Mr. President*

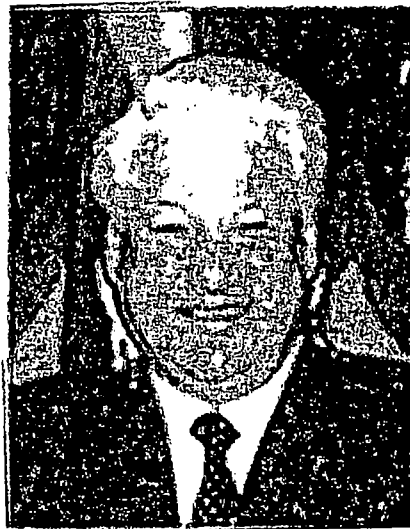
3.5c

Boris Yel'tsin has acted increasingly like a candidate for reelection since recuperating from a mild heart attack in July 1995, but he still faces major obstacles in overcoming continued low poll ratings and public concerns about his health. His forceful performance at a rare 90-minute press conference on 8 September capped a two-week period of heightened political activity and public appearances, the likes of which had not been apparent in more than a year. Publicly commenting on Yel'tsin's press conference performance, his chief of staff, Sergey Filatov, said "We saw Yel'tsin as he was in 1991."

3.5c

Heavy publicity of Yel'tsin's activities during his early autumn vacation in Sochi (10 September to 2 October 1995) appeared designed, in part, to maintain his political momentum. Yel'tsin may have intended to use his vacation—which he unexpectedly extended for a week—to rest up in anticipation of a busy political calendar in late 1995. In addition to a trip to New York, he is scheduled to conduct state visits to China and Norway before the Russian legislative elections in December.

3.5c



EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

**Election Worries . .**

3.5c

Since returning from his vacation, Yel'tsin has attempted to demonstrate a renewed political vigor that may be connected to his expressed concern that the December elections could go badly for the democrats:

- At his September press conference, he admitted that efforts to unite Russian democrats had failed, and he noted that he expected the two officially sponsored electoral blocs, under Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin and State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin, to garner only 5 to 8 percent of the vote.
- He also said he was worried about the prospect of an extremist coming to power and hinted that he had taken the necessary precautions.

3.5c

Yel'tsin, who has long maintained that he will stay in office until he views the reform process as irreversible, reiterated at his press conference that he would wait until after the legislative elections to

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announce formally his decision to seek a second term.

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**... Fuel Populist Rhetoric**

As he positions himself for a possible reelection bid, Yel'tsin is focusing on issues important to the Russian electorate:

- He declared at his press conference that he would focus on fighting crime, noting public concern over this issue. He also drew attention to his recent meeting with senior law enforcement officials, at which he had promised new legislation and resources to redress the problem.
- He announced at a meeting of his Security Council in late August that he was prepared to get personally involved in the Chechen peace talks, and he dispatched one of his most trusted aides to the region to take charge of the negotiations.
- His tough rhetoric during August and September on NATO's actions in Bosnia and on its expansion plans appear, in part, to be designed to

address domestic perceptions of Russian diplomatic weakness and to outflank political opponents.

Yel'tsin's blasts at the West appear not only to reflect preelection posturing but also what may be his growing disillusionment with the West.

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

**Personal Note**

Yel'tsin revealed at his press conference that he had just recently attended the christening of a new grandson, whom he had insisted be named Gleb. Gleb and Boris—the name of his other grandson—are two of the first saints in the Russian Orthodox Church. Yel'tsin, who has no sons of his own, expressed in his 1994 memoirs his elation upon the birth of his grandson Boris, now age 14: "When it comes to Borka, his grandfather is not objective. I had waited for a little boy for such a long time." Yel'tsin and his wife, Naina, also have two granddaughters, Katya and Masha.

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**Pavel Sergeyevich GRACHEV**  
(Phonetic: grahCHOFF)

RUSSIA

*Minister of Defense (since 1992)*

*Addressed as: Mr. Minister*

3.5c

Army Gen. Pavel Grachev's position as Defense Minister appears secure for the time being; he is one of the few officials to survive after having been directly involved with the Chechnya debacle. Although he is currently under attack by adversaries throughout the government and subject to rumors that he will be replaced after the December 1995 legislative elections, he apparently continues to enjoy the backing of President Boris Yel'tsin. Grachev has gone on the offensive: since January he has overseen a shakeup of high-level personnel within the Ministry. At least four deputy defense ministers have been relieved of their positions for criticizing Grachev over his failure to assess fully the situation in Chechnya, according to media reporting. Grachev also has been seeking to broaden the Defense Ministry's powers by attempting to consolidate some of the government's paramilitary organizations—such as the Federal Border Service—under his command.

3.5c

**Trouble Still Looms**

3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d

One Russian newspaper noted in early May that the tussle between Grachev and Korzhakov erupted in early 1995 when it became clear to Korzhakov in Chechnya's wake that corruption in the armed forces greatly exceeds combat readiness.

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1.4c, 1.4d press reports indicate that Korzhakov was involved in the October 1994 murder of Dmitry Kholodov, a journalist who was investigating the corruption of high-ranking military officers, including Grachev.

3.5c

Grachev is also facing legal problems. Despite having been subpoenaed, he has repeatedly failed to appear in a libel suit he initiated against a Russian reporter. The judge presiding over the case indicated that she will have Grachev arrested if he misses the next court date, scheduled for 25 October 1995.

3.5c

**Grachev and Politics**

3.5c

Grachev and other senior military leaders increasingly blame the Russian Duma for the deterioration of the armed forces, and they have been looking to increase the number of parliamentary members sympathetic to the army's plight. The Minister told reporters in early May 1995 that three political parties—the Communists, the Agrarians, and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party—had stepped up their attempts to build bridges to the military in advance of the December legislative elections. Additionally, Grachev announced that 123 active-duty military officers will be running for parliament. Grachev has denied rumors that he will be on the ballot.

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EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

### Increasingly Negative on NATO

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Grachev has emerged as one of the leading hardliners against NATO expansion. During a 25 September 1995 interview, he stated that the admission of the Baltic states into NATO would represent the "limit of Russia's patience." In an apparent attempt to counter NATO expansion, Grachev surprised his hosts during a trip to China and South Korea in late May by proposing a new six-country security mechanism for northeast Asia, according to [redacted] press reports. [redacted]

1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

Grachev has taken advantage of NATO's air strikes on Bosnian Serb positions to ratchet up his anti-NATO rhetoric. He has told Russian news reporters that the air strikes have killed or wounded nearly 3,000 civilians, and he has stated that, if such actions continue, Russia might have to render military aid to the Bosnian Serbs and reevaluate its position on Partnership for Peace. [redacted]

3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

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### Career and Personal Data

3.5c

Grachev was born on 1 January 1948 in the village of Rva in the Tula region, just south of Moscow. His father was a metal worker, and his mother was a milkmaid, according to press reports. He has spent almost all of his career in the airborne corps. He graduated with distinction from the Ryazan Airborne Command School (1969), the Frunze Military Academy (1981), and the General Staff Academy (1990). Grachev had two combat tours in Afghanistan (1981-83 and 1985-88) as an airborne infantry regiment and division commander. In 1990 he served briefly as deputy commander of the airborne forces before assuming command for two years. He was instrumental in derailing the August 1991 coup attempt by refusing to support the putschists. He subsequently served as USSR and then CIS First Deputy Defense Minister before receiving his current appointment. [redacted]

3.5c

Grachev and his wife, Lyubov Alekseyevna, have two sons. The elder, Sergey, is a graduate of his father's alma mater and is serving in the airborne forces. The younger, Valeriy, attends the former KGB Academy, according to press reports. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d

Grachev has stated that he rises early each morning to go bike riding. He likes to hunt, attend concerts, and play tennis and volleyball. [redacted]

3.5c

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