

# MIR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 2060				
Document ID: 9806509				
Row: 45	Section: 5	Shelf: 10	Position: 1	Stack: V

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	From: Samuel Berger and Gene Sperling to POTUS re: Meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov (3 pages)	09/23/1998	P1/b(1) <i>Partial release - KBH 8/29/2019</i>
<del>001b. talking points</del>	<del>re: Summary Points to be Made for Meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov (1 page)</del>	<del>09/23/1998</del>	<del>P1/b(1)</del> <i>KBH 8/29/2019</i>
<del>001c. talking points</del>	<del>re: Points to be Made for Meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov (2 pages)</del>	<del>09/23/1998</del>	<del>P1/b(1)</del> <i>KBH 8/29/2019</i>
001d. memo	Andrew Weiss to Samuel Berger and Gene Sperling re: Briefing Materials for the President's Meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov [partial] (1 page)	09/23/1998	P3/b(3)
<del>001e. talking points</del>	<del>re: Points to be Made for Meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov (3 pages)</del>	<del>09/23/1998</del>	<del>P1/b(1)</del> <i>KBH 8/29/2019</i>
<del>001f. talking points</del>	<del>re: Summary Points to be Made for Meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov (1 page)</del>	<del>09/23/1998</del>	<del>P1/b(1)</del> <i>KBH 8/29/2019</i>
001g. memo	[Duplicate of 001a, incomplete copy] (1 page) <i>Partial release - KBH 8/29/2019</i>	09/23/1998	P1/b(1)
<del>001h. talking points</del>	<del>re: Summary Points to be Made for Meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov (1 page)</del>	<del>09/23/1998</del>	<del>P1/b(1)</del> <i>KBH 8/29/2019</i>

**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 NSC Records Management  
 ([Ivanov])  
 OA/Box Number: 2060

**FOLDER TITLE:**

9806509

2014-0945-M

rs1139

**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]
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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)]

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BERGER  
SPERLING, G

DOC DATE: 23 SEP 98  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA AP

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MATERIALS FOR MTG W/ RUSSIAN FOMIN IVANOV ON 24 SEP

ACTION: NOTED BY PRESIDENT DUE DATE: 29 SEP 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: WEISS LOGREF:

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO  
NSC CHRON  
PASCUAL  
WEISS

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGP CLOSED BY: NSDRS DOC 2 OF 2

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BERGER  
002 PRESIDENT  
002

Z 98092320 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR INFORMATION  
Z 98092320 FOR INFORMATION  
X 98100214 NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

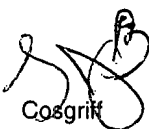
002 980923  
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VICE PRESIDENT  
WH CHIEF OF STAFF

National Security Council  
The White House

9/23  
~~15/10~~  
1912

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 6509  
URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS  
BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG ITC A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
 Cosgriff	_____	_____	_____
Rice	<u>1</u>	<u>9/23</u>	_____
Davies	_____	_____	_____
Kerrick	_____	_____	_____
Steinberg	<u>2</u>	_____	_____
Berger	<u>3</u>	<b>Natl Sec Advisor has seen</b>	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	<u>SWD/23</u>	<u>D</u>
Records Mgt.	_____	_____	_____

A = Action    I = Information    D = Dispatch    R = Retain    N = No Further Action

cc:

09 SEP 23 10:12 AM

COMMENTS: President meeting  
with Russian  
Foreign Minister Lavrov  
24 Sep


Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

~~Note~~  
~~Laet Bernard has asked that we make~~  
~~this memo a joint NSC/NEC effort~~  
~~and that Gene Sperling participate in the~~  
~~meeting. We defer to SRB's judgement~~  
~~on her request.~~  
include Gene  
Thanks,  
Andrew Weiss

National Security Council  
The White House

9/23  
~~15/10~~  
19/12

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Berger	<u>3</u>	<b>Natl Sec Advisor has seen</b>	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	<u>SUD/23</u>	<u>D</u>
Records Mgt.	_____	_____	_____

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cc:

COMMENTS:

*President meeting*  
*at 10:00*

*Note:*

E

*Lael Brannard has asked that we make  
this memo a joint NSC/NEC effort*

SECRET

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
9-24-98 6509

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E. O. 13526

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

'98 SEP 23 PM8:50

2014-0945-M (1.01)  
3/6/2019 KBH

September 23, 1998

MEETING WITH  
RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER IGOR IVANOV

DATE: September 24, 1998

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 10:50 - 11:00 a.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER  
GENE SPERLING

I. PURPOSE

You have three main objectives: (1) highlight continued importance of U.S.-Russian relationship, (2) call for sustaining momentum from Moscow summit in key areas (START II, Kosovo), and (3) underscore concerns about Russian economic situation and Iran nonproliferation matters.

II. BACKGROUND

**Setting.** Ivanov is a dutiful Primakov associate who will not make waves in his new position. He needs time to grow into the job and is prone to reciting familiar Russian positions. Over the years, Ivanov has not been a major contributor to the creative approaches that we've developed on issues such as Bosnia and NATO enlargement. You should view Ivanov as a vehicle for transmitting a straightforward message to Primakov about our readiness to keep cooperation on track and to tackle hard issues on the economic and nonproliferation fronts.

**Albright-Ivanov at UNGA.** Ivanov is not bringing any major surprises to Washington. In his dinner Monday night with Madeleine, he cited Russia's "unique situation" in calling for release of the second tranche of its IMF's package. The Russians are desperate for the money, but the package is effectively on hold until the new government is formed and presents a credible economic program that we can demonstrate will not simply end up in foreign bank accounts. Ivanov was helpful in completing a UNSC resolution on Kosovo.

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 9/23/08

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WJC HANC. TING

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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rs1139

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**Economic Decisions on Hold.** Primakov's government has still not formulated a credible response to the economic crisis. The political drama of divvying up ministerial appointments has stretched into its second week. On Tuesday Yeltsin approved a structure for the new government that adds new layers and advisory structures; this move could obscure lines of authority and increase policy confusion. Recent visitors to Moscow have been struck by how little the government has thought through its next steps. Our engagement at this stage is very important; we need to be very clear about the stark choices facing Russia and the need to avoid missteps. The economic team remains split between traditionalists inclined to print money and to subsidize favored sectors of the economy and moderates who want to stave off default, currency collapse, and a banking failure. Primakov's sluggish pace and motley team are already being criticized from various quarters, including the oligarchs and Communists.

**START II Ratification.** Ivanov promised quick movement on START II following Communist-led demonstrations across Russia on October 7. You should briefly underscore the economic and political benefits of getting START II done so we can move on to START III.

**Kosovo.** Your session with Ivanov may help manage Russian reaction to our increased pressure on Milosevic. Russia's support on Wednesday in the Security Council for a Chapter VII UN resolution was welcome; [redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

[redacted] Ivanov may complain about these steps and can be expected to reiterate the standard Russian line (e.g., the need to put pressure on the Kosovar Albanians as well as Milosevic, opposition to the use of force).

**Iran Nonproliferation.** Our concerns about Russian cooperation with Iran's missile and nuclear programs have not abated. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

[redacted] We were not fully satisfied with the preliminary results of the Russian investigations announced on August 31. The Russians need to demonstrate that they are cracking down on flagrant offenders like Glavkosmos and Grafit. With Kokoshin's removal, we no longer have a high-level channel for dealing with the problem. Unfortunately, that serves Primakov's bureaucratic and policy interests, and we are pushing the Russians to come up with an appropriate alternative.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Sandy Berger, Gene Sperling, Jim Steinberg, Strobe Talbott, Leon Fuerth, Steve Sestanovich, Carlos Pascual, interpreter

Foreign Minister Ivanov, Deputy Minister Mamedov, Deputy Minister Ushakov, Ambassador Vorontsov, interpreter

IV. PRESS PLAN

Stills and official photos before the meeting.

V. SEQUENCE

President Yeltsin asked you to see Ivanov. After welcoming him and stressing the need to build on the momentum from the Moscow Summit, you should underscore the need to move rapidly on a clear economic strategy and to curtail cooperation with Iran.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made

(b)(3)

SUMMARY POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER IVANOV

- Very pleased with results of Moscow Summit. Challenge now is to keep that momentum going.
- Pleased by yesterday's (Wednesday's) Security Council resolution on Kosovo. Resolution makes clear what we expect of Milosevic and will increase the pressure on him.
- Hope you will push for prompt ratification of START II. Ready to launch START III negotiations immediately afterward.
- Need to balance how you meet social needs, put fiscal house in order, fix the banking system, and restructure debt. Must avoid inflationary spiral, default or currency collapse. Our experts ready to consult with your team.
- Still concerned by Russian entities' cooperation with Iran's missile program. Can undermine ability to sustain support for Russian reform.
- Also important to follow through on firm commitments on the Iran nuclear issue.

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**

2014-0945-M (1.02)

3/6/2019 KBH

~~SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 9/23/08

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER IVANOV

- Very pleased with results of Moscow summit. Demonstrated that our partnership produces concrete benefits, even during difficult times.
- Challenge now is to keep that momentum going.
- Think you got a good start with Kosovo. Pleased by yesterday's (Wednesday's) Security Council resolution.
- Milosevic continues to defy international community, including his commitments to President Yeltsin. UN resolution makes clear what we expect of Milosevic and will increase the pressure on him.
- Pleased you plan to push for START II ratification next month. Bringing START II into force will benefit both our economies: we will each spend less to maintain a smaller nuclear force. U.S. will provide Nunn-Lugar funds to assist dismantlement.
- START II ratification will also clear the way to formal negotiations on START III. Without START II, U.S. law requires us to maintain a START I force, which is in neither of our interests.

*[If Ivanov protests NATO generating forces for Kosovo]*

- NATO is asking Allies to volunteer forces that would be necessary to respond to Milosevic's brutal attacks if we come to that point. We do not want to use force, but Milosevic needs to understand that he is not giving us any alternatives.

Economic Situation

- Need to highlight concern about economic situation. Know you are concerned about impact on Russian people. Very serious problems require decisive, consistent response.
- Need to balance how you meet social needs, put fiscal house in order, fix the banking system, and restructure debt. Must find way forward that doesn't create inflationary spiral, default or currency collapse.

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 9/23/08

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526**

2014-0945-M (1.03)  
3/6/2019 KBH

- International community ready to help. Signals you send now are critical. Hope to see credible program soon that reacts to gravity of situation and upholds global economy's rules of the road. Our experts ready to consult with your team.

*[If Ivanov asks for release of second tranche of IMF program]*

- Want to be in position to be supportive. But must have concrete, credible economic program in place. IMF must take close look at July package in light of new situation (e.g., devaluation, debt restructuring) and your government's actions.

#### Iran Nonproliferation

- Had good exchange with President Yeltsin about recent progress on our nonproliferation agenda. Pleased that Russia has been strengthening export control system, investigating entities.
- Problem is not fixed. More must be done. Some Russian entities are still cooperating with Iran's missile program. That can poison our relationship, undermine our ability to sustain support for Russian reform.
- You've also made firm commitments on the Iran nuclear issue. Concerned that cooperation that could directly assist Iran's nuclear weapons program is expanding beyond those limits. Need reaffirmation that earlier commitment still holds and you're acting to implement it.
- Berger and Gallucci have done good work with your people. Need to ensure that we stay focused on the problem and set clear path forward, including Gallucci-Koptev meeting in October.

*[If Ivanov raises higher space launch quotas]*

- Told Boris that to increase quotas, need to show that Russia has stopped all missile-related cooperation with Iran. Want to go in this direction, but quotas and tighter controls need to move together.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

6509

September 23, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL BERGER  
GENE SPERLING

THROUGH: CARLOS PASCUAL *ASW for*

FROM: ANDREW WEISS *ASW*

SUBJECT: Briefing Materials for the President's Meeting  
with Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov

Attached is a memorandum for the President and talking points  
for your approval for the President's September 24 meeting with  
Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov.

Concurrence by: Leon Fuerth, Lael Brainard, Steve Andreasen,  
Bruce Riedel, Greg Schulte, Jack Caravelli *ASW for*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President  
Tab A Points to be Made

(b)(3)

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By *KBA* NARA, Date *3/6/2019*  
2014-0945-m

~~SECRET~~

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER IVANOV

- Very pleased with results of Moscow summit. Demonstrated that our partnership produces concrete benefits, even during difficult times.
- Challenge now is to keep that momentum going. ~~Given other pressures on new government, concrete progress on foreign policy agenda would be very reassuring. Hope that you can hit the ground running with Madeleine.~~
- Think you got a good start with Kosovo. Pleased by yesterday's (Wednesday's) Security Council resolution.
- Milosevic continues to defy international community, including his commitments to President Yeltsin. UN resolution makes clear what we expect of Milosevic and will increase the pressure on him.
- Pleased you plan to push for START II ratification next month. Bringing START II into force will benefit both our economies: we will each spend less to maintain a smaller nuclear force. U.S. will provide Nunn-Lugar funds to assist dismantlement.
- START II ratification will also clear the way to formal negotiations on START III. Without START II, U.S. law requires us to maintain a START I force, which is in neither of our interests.

*[If Ivanov protests NATO generating forces for Kosovo]*

- NATO is asking Allies to volunteer forces that would be necessary to respond to Milosevic's brutal attacks if we come to that point. We do not want to use force, but Milosevic needs to understand that he is not giving us any alternatives.

Economic Situation

- Need to highlight concern about economic situation. Know you are concerned about impact on Russian people. Very serious problems require decisive, consistent response.
- Need to balance how you meet social needs, put fiscal house in order, fix the banking system, and restructure debt. Must

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Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify on: 9/23/08

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526**

2014-0945-M (1.04)  
3/6/2019 K84

find way forward that doesn't create inflationary spiral, default or currency collapse.

- International community ready to help. Signals you send now are critical. Hope to see credible program soon that reacts to gravity of situation and upholds global economy's rules of the road. Our experts ready to consult with your team.

*[If Ivanov asks for release of second tranche of IMF program]*

- Want to be in position to be supportive. But must have concrete, credible economic program in place. IMF must take close look at July package in light of new situation (e.g., devaluation, debt restructuring) and your government's actions.

#### Iran Nonproliferation

- Had good exchange with President Yeltsin about recent progress on our nonproliferation agenda. Pleased that Russia has been strengthening export control system, investigating entities.
- Problem is not fixed. More must be done. Some Russian entities are still cooperating with Iran's missile program. That can poison our relationship, undermine our ability to sustain support for Russian reform.
- Preliminary results from Russian investigations did not mention Glavkosmos and Grafit, but we have solid evidence they are cooperating with Iran's missile program.
- You've also made firm commitments on the Iran nuclear issue. Concerned that cooperation that could directly assist Iran's nuclear weapons program is expanding beyond those limits. Need reaffirmation that earlier commitment still holds and you're acting to implement it.
- Berger and Gallucci have done good work with your people. Need to ensure that we stay focused on the problem and set clear path forward, including Gallucci-Koptev meeting in October.

*[If Ivanov raises higher space launch quotas]*

- Told Boris that to increase quotas, need to show that Russia has stopped all missile-related cooperation with Iran. Want

to go in this direction, but quotas and tighter controls need to move together.

*[If Ivanov asks about Gore-Primakov Commission]*

- Pleased by Boris's statement that he wants Commission to continue and that Primakov will be calling the Vice President soon. Al is ready to work with him.

*SUMMARY*

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER IVANOV

- Very pleased with results of Moscow Summit. Challenge now is to keep that momentum going.
- Pleased by yesterday's (Wednesday's) Security Council resolution. Resolution makes clear what we expect of Milosevic and will increase the pressure on him.
- Hope you will push for prompt ratification of START II. Ready to launch START III negotiations immediately afterward.
- Need to balance how you meet social needs, put fiscal house in order, fix the banking system, and restructure debt. Must avoid inflationary spiral, default or currency collapse. Our experts ready to consult with your team.

~~[If Ivanov asks for release of second tranche of IMF program]~~

- ~~Want to be in position to be supportive. But must have concrete, credible economic program in place. IMF must take close look at July package in light of new situation.~~

Iran Nonproliferation.

*Nonproliferation*

- Problem is not fixed. ~~More must be done.~~ Some Russian entities still cooperating with Iran's missile program. Can undermine ability to sustain support for Russian reform. Need to see results on Glavkosmos and Grafit.
- You've also made firm commitments on the Iran nuclear issue. Concerned that this cooperation is expanding. Need ~~X~~ reaffirmation that earlier commitment still holds. ✓

~~[If Ivanov raises higher space launch quotas]~~

- ~~Told Boris that to increase quotas, need to show that Russia has stopped all cooperation with Iran. Want to go in this direction, but quotas and tighter controls need to move together.~~

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- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- 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]

6509

**Economic Decisions on Hold.** Primakov's government has still not formulated a credible response to the economic crisis. The political drama of divvying up ministerial appointments has stretched into its second week. On Tuesday Yeltsin approved a structure for the new government that adds new layers and advisory structures; this move could obscure lines of authority and increase policy confusion. Recent visitors to Moscow have been struck by how little the government has thought through its next steps. Our engagement at this stage is very important; we need to be very clear about the stark choices facing Russia and the need to avoid missteps. The economic team remains split between traditionalists inclined to print money and to subsidize favored sectors of the economy and moderates who want to stave off default, currency collapse, and a banking failure. Primakov's sluggish pace and motley team are already being criticized from various quarters, including the oligarchs and Communists.

**START II Ratification.** Ivanov promised quick movement on START II following Communist-led demonstrations across Russia on October 7. You should briefly underscore the economic and political benefits of getting START II done so we can move on to START III.

on wednesday  
in the Security  
Council

**Kosovo.** Your session with Ivanov may help manage Russian reaction to our increased pressure on Milosevic. Russia's support for a Chapter VII UN resolution is ~~unexpected~~ yet welcome; [redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

on wednesday  
to the Security Council

Ivanov may complain about these steps and can be expected to reiterate the standard Russian line (e.g., the need to put pressure on the Kosovar Albanians as well as Milosevic, opposition to the use of force).

EO 13526 1.4d

**Iran Nonproliferation.** Our concerns about Russian cooperation with Iran's missile and nuclear programs have not abated. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

[redacted] We were not fully satisfied with the preliminary results of the Russian investigations announced on August 31. The Russians need to demonstrate that they are cracking down on flagrant offenders like Glavkosmos and Grafit. With Kokoshin's removal, we no longer have a high-level channel for dealing with the problem. Unfortunately, that serves Primakov's bureaucratic and policy interests, and we are pushing the Russians to come up with an appropriate alternative.

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PER E. O. 13526

2014-0945-M (1.06)  
3/6/2019 KBM

SUMMARY POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER IVANOV

- Very pleased with results of Moscow Summit. Challenge now is to keep that momentum going.
- Pleased by <sup>On Moscow</sup> yesterday's (Wednesday's) Security Council resolution. Resolution makes clear what we expect of Milosevic and will increase the pressure on him.
- Hope you will push for prompt ratification of START II. Ready to launch START III negotiations immediately afterward.
- Need to balance how you meet social needs, put fiscal house in order, fix the banking system, and restructure debt. Must avoid inflationary spiral, default or currency collapse. Our experts ready to consult with your team.
- ~~(Iran) Nonproliferation problem is not fixed. Some Russian entities still cooperating with Iran's missile program. Can undermine ability to sustain support for Russian reform. Need to see results on Glavkosmos and Gravit.~~ <sup>Still concerned by</sup>
- ~~You've also made firm commitments on the Iran nuclear issue. Concerned that this cooperation is expanding. Need reaffirmation that earlier commitment still holds.~~ <sup>important to follow through</sup> <sub>On</sub>

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