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Y: I'll give the same answer: if there is important work for you and me to do in building a better Europe. Will you go to the Copenhagen meeting in March?

C: I haven't decided. Boutros Ghali has asked me 15 times.

One last thing: on NATO: Please note, I have never said we shouldn't consider Russia for membership or a special relationship with NATO. So when we talk about NATO expanding, we're emphasizing inclusion, not exclusion. My objective is to work with you and others to maximize the chances of a truly united, undivided, integrated Europe. There will be an expansion of NATO, but there is no timetable yet. If we started tomorrow to include all the Visegrad countries it would still take several years until they qualified and others said yes. The issue is about psychological security and a sense of importance to these countries. They are afraid of being in a gray area or a purgatory. So we're going to move forward on this. But I'd never spring this on you. I want to work closely with you to get through it together.

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As I see it, NATO expansion is not anti-Russian; it's not intended to be exclusive of Russia and there is no imminent timetable. And we'll work together. I don't want you to think I wake up every morning thinking about how to make the Warsaw Pact countries a part of NATO. What I do think about is how to use NATO expansion to advance the broader, higher goal of European security, unity and integration - a goal I know you share.

Y: I understand, and I thank you for what you've said. If you're asked about this at the press conference, I'd suggest you just say that while the U.S. is for the expansion of NATO, the process will be gradual and lengthy. If you're asked if you'd exclude Russia from NATO, your answer should be no. That's all.

C: That's already the answer we've given.

At the President's request, Deputy Secretary Talbott amplifies, citing Secretary Perry's public disagreement with German Defense Minister Ruehe, in which Ruehe said "never" to Russia in NATO and Perry said, "we're not ruling it out."

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Second Clinton/Yeltsin One-on-One
1pm - 2:30pm, Sept 28, 1994

- Y: The business men are very interesting people -- very able.
- C: I'd not met Murphy before, he's very impressive; also that Russian businessman who's involved in defense conversion.
- Y: I've visited his factory. I was impressed by what he's done. He's gone from making rockets to peaceful products. Now they're making medicine. Solid fuel converted to firefighting liquid.
- C: I have 3-4 important issues to discuss: CW/BW; Cocom; Nagorno-Karabakh; NATO.
- Y: I have a couple too.
- C: Thanks for your paper on BW. Our experts have studied it. It does provided useful information on past activities. In all candor, there's a big question: "all offensive activity stopped in 1988" -- that is contrary to the information we have.

We need to keep working on this. Our experts will meet with the British on a trilateral framework in October. they need to try again to get this solved.

- Y: I can reiterate that Gorbachev lied -- or his military lied to him. Things were not stopped in 1988. When I came to power as President I discovered that the program continued. Scientists, generals -- a whole battalion of experts -- kept working hard. I created a commission and signed a decree. I ordered that all activity be stopped. The commission checked all the facilities and, under the decree, all programs stopped -- all the doors were locked and sealed.

But we had trouble finding jobs for people in the program. Smirnov, who ran it, got a Hero of the Soviet Union award for his work and retired -- we threw him out. This is a deadly business. It requires a special cast of mind. These were people who are devoted to killing people with germs. Dealing with these people is not easy.

- C: On CW, our experts have more work to do on the agreements coming out of concerns about this in the Congress. This issue is hindering ratification of the convention. You and I need to give this a lot of attention, otherwise leaders who come after us will have trouble with this. We've got to work out our bilateral agreement to get ratification of the multilateral convention.

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- Y: I'm completely in agreement, Bill. We made an agreement with Major here. Major confirmed that the UK will continue to manufacture special transport for dealing with CW. But this is an issue where we need massive funding help to complete our work.
- C: Turning to Ukraine, we were pretty hard on Kuchma yesterday, but remember he has a problem with the Rada. Moroz is coming here, so we need to convince them this NPT is a good deal for them. You were the first to tell me we could work with Kuchma. So we need to give him a chance.
- Y: I agree. I didn't mean to criticize Kuchma or apply pressure on him. Ukraine is to blame for the delay in implementation of the Trilateral Accord. I've talked to Kuchma and he promised to resolve this issue by the end of the year. If you see Moroz, talk to him for ten minutes and together we'll apply pressure on him.
- C: On Nagorno-Karabakh, I understand the mission will require about 3,500 troops, right?
- Y: Roughly.
- C: We'll agree to work with you to provide civilian monitors and \$2 million in financing
- Y: OK.
- C: Politically, the best way to handle this is for Russia to assume a leadership role within the confines of the UN resolution -- the same way we are doing things in Haiti -- with Russia providing half the troops and the CSCE countries providing the other half. I don't think we can get the UN to go along with 70 percent as you proposed, unless the other countries refuse to provide half.
- Y: I've talked to Boutros Ghali about this, and you can be sure the other countries won't provide half. It's up to Russia. Also, Azerbaijan and Armenia will fiercely oppose foreign troops. But the issue is a police force, not troops. How are you dealing with Haiti in this regard?
- C: On Haiti, in the UNMIH phase, the force will number 6000 and less than half of those will be Americans. Then we'll have about 600 police monitors from more than 28 countries.
- Y: In Nagorno-Karabakh, I believe that 60 percent of the military should be Russian. The remaining 40% of the forces will be police officers who can come from other countries. But we have to ask Armenia and Azerbaijan. In Georgia, we found that the sides didn't agree to have foreign police deployed in their country.

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I believe there's no point in changing the UN resolution. Let's agree you send monitors and funding and we'll send military personnel. What is crucial is to make Ter-Petrosyan and Aliyev sign the agreement. To implement the agreement, we need military personnel, monitors and funding. You were right yesterday when you said that these countries are very close to Russia and very dependent on Russia. Therefore, it is easy for us to deal with them just as it is easy for you to deal with your neighbors.

C: I can't agree with you until I go back to the UN. I was very careful on Haiti to work through the UN.

Y: OK, we'll continue our political dialogue but we'll keep up our activities and we'll get agreement with Azerbaijan and Armenia.

When we meet the press, let's say we've "found a solution?"

C: No, all we can say is we're "closer to a solution."

Y: What about "in principle, we've found a solution?"

C: I am not agreeing until we go back to the UN and find a solution there. No, No. I already said I am not going to agree to a 100 percent Russian force in N.K.

Y: We've agreed surely that Russia will play a major role.

C: A big role, but not the sole role. Let's review where we are on CoCoM. I want to make sure there's no misunderstanding.

Y: We've agreed already. Did someone try to talk you out of something?

C: No, but let's make sure we understand what we're agreeing on. We agreed no new contracts with Iran. You'll honor the ones you have and bring them to conclusion as quickly as possible. But is it understood that this includes not just tanks but arms and the technology to manufacture them?

Y: Old Soviet Union contracts will be honored. No new contracts on anything will be concluded. Not on anything. And no deliveries.

C: Does the existing contract require you to continue deliveries forever?

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- 4 -

Y: No. For example, there will be no spare parts to Iran or Pakistan. Only to India -- India is not an aggressive country. I will return to Moscow and personally review the contracts with Iran and call you and tell you within 24 hours.

The President asks Deputy Secretary Talbott to review U.S. concerns:

Talbott summarizes: The confidential information that Yeltsin will give Clinton will allow our experts to discuss the length and size and contents of the pipeline. Only then can we determine whether Russia can join the post-CoCom regime. The goal is to make substantial progress by mid-October.

Y: OK.

C: On a May 9th return visit, I haven't looked at my calendar. You and I have to celebrate the end of WWII together next year. If this is the best way, I'll try to do it.

Y: This is a very big political matter -- for me and for you.

C: I'll do my best.

Y: On Russian-German relations, Kohl asked me to support possibility of Germany joining the UNSC. I talked to Boutros Ghali about this. We need to preserve the special status of the P-5 -- the current P-5. That status should remain intact.

C: I support Germany in this.

Y: Now on Russian-Japanese relations. Things are much warmer, even though the Northern Territories issues is still outstanding. The Kuriles used to be part of Alaska -- they never were Japanese. This is just for your information.

Our relations with China are very important. For 40 years, China's relations with the Soviet Union were ruined. My visit to China and the return visit by Jiang make for a huge change in all spheres of our relations. Trade has gone up unbelievably.

We're also agreed to reduce the number of border troops. We just signed an agreement on border issues, and there's only one area near Khabarovsk that's still slightly in dispute. We signed a detargetting agreement. China has agreed to start talks on cessation of nuclear testing. We should convene a meeting of the five members states of the CTBT.

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- 5 -

Let me also tell you, because I know you're interested, that I can tell you some of the CIS countries are tilting toward Russia. They want to form a confederation or even join Russia. But for the time being, we are cool to that idea.

- Y: (He makes a big pitch for debt relief/forgiveness.) Taken globally, we owe \$80 billion and we are owed \$140 billion. We haven't been able to collect because it's from Cuba, Libya and Iraq. And none of the CIS countries have paid one kopek. Could you forgive the difference between \$140 and \$80 billion, or to \$60 billion? It's only morally fair since we took over the debts of the old USSR.
- C: We'll have to take that up. Secretary Bentsen has talked about further debt forgiveness.
- Y: Fine. What about the CSCE Summit in Budapest. You'll be there, right?
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[potus has taken out a cigar to chew on -- yeltsin interrupts himself, "do you smoke?" clinton says no, hillary would kill him, also he's got allergies; he smokes about one a month outside. yeltsin says, "ok, because i'd been told you don't smoke." he gets his "health" intel.]

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