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Folder Title: Russia/Ukraine, 5/95 - Talking Points				
Staff Office-Individual: Speechwriting- Boorstin				
Original OA/ID Number: 423				
Row: 48	Section: 6	Shelf: 5	Position: 3	Stack: V

In his meetings with Pres Gorbachev, the Pres will spell out our differences

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S TRIP TO RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

President Clinton will travel to Russia and the Ukraine next week to ~~commemorate the end of World War II in Europe~~ and continue his push for free markets and democracy in those states. ~~In Russia, he will honor the great sacrifices of the Russian people who helped win the struggle against the Fascists during World War II.~~

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In nations out victory

~~Goals in U.S. - Russian Relations~~

Am Strategic Interests in Russia

The United States has a vital stake in helping Russia become a more open, democratic society, at peace with its own people, its neighbors, and the rest of the world. From the beginning of his Administration, President Clinton's policy toward Russia has been designed to: ~~enhance the well-being of the American citizens.~~

improve lives of Am citizens

- Enhance the long-term security of the American people;
- Create a democratic, prosperous and stable partner for trade and investment; and
- Turn a one-time enemy into a partner on important international issues.

no bold

~~in U.S. - Russian Relations~~

~~We Have Made Tremendous Progress~~ Our Russia policy has already paid enormous dividends:

- Russian nuclear warheads are no longer aimed at American cities and towns, and Russia is destroying thousands of nuclear weapons.
- Russia has made important strides toward a market economy with the private sector now accounting for more than 50 percent of its economy.
- For the first time in half a century, there are no Russian troops in Central and Eastern Europe and the Baltic states.
- Russia is helping us extend indefinitely the Non-Proliferation Treaty and bring peace to the Mideast.
- Russia's new agreement with the IMF commits it to tighter budgets, fewer state price controls and a renewed fight against inflation.

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~~We Must Keep Reform on Track~~ The tragedy in Chechnya reminds us that the ultimate success of peaceful, democratic reforms in Russia is not foreordained. It is in our interest to do all we can to help the proponents of reform in their struggle against the forces of regression.

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Strategy
A Pragmatic Approach. President Clinton's policy toward Russia is firmly grounded in the interests of the American people. It is based on a hard-nosed assessment of both opportunities and challenges:

- We will cooperate with Russia where our interests coincide, and manage our differences candidly and constructively where they do not.
- A decade ago, severe disagreements with Moscow threatened nuclear confrontation. Today, we do not always agree, but every difference is not a crisis. We address our problems constructively and work out solutions.
- Because of the stakes involved, we cannot and will not hold our relationship hostage to one issue. Our differences over the sale of reactors to Iran, for instance, are serious. ~~But we cannot simply walk away from engagement with Russia over those and other differences.~~
that does not mean we should

The Chechen Conflict. Russia's conduct in Chechnya has been tragically wrong. The United States has consistently urged Russia to:

- no spaces*
- End its military operation in Chechnya;
 - Allow humanitarian relief to reach the war's victims; and
 - Negotiate a permanent political settlement that addresses the legitimate concerns of all the people of Chechnya.

Chechnya is part of Russia, but Russia must abide by international norms there. The Russian government should work with the OSCE to end the bloodshed, reach a ceasefire that permanently ends the war, and find a lasting political solution. Continued fighting in Chechnya will only corrode Russia's democratic progress and weaken international support for reform.

Nuclear Cooperation with Iran. The U.S. is firmly opposed to any Russian action that advances Iran's plans to build nuclear weapons, threatening both our interests and Russian security. Reports of additional elements in the deal, e.g. a uranium enrichment facility, only heighten our concerns. President Clinton will continue to press Russia for an outcome that ensures that Iran's nuclear ambitions are not advanced.

European Security. *shape*
President Clinton believes that Russia must be part of the new security architecture ~~that will build~~ an integrated and democratic Europe. At the Moscow Summit, we hope to overcome Russia's misconceptions about the process of NATO expansion and give new impetus to building the NATO-Russia relationship. But decisions about the future of NATO will be taken by NATO's 16 members alone.

- Ukrainian

U.S. Relations with the Ukraine. The United States has let Kiev know that we want a broad and vibrant relationship. [The] success of our Ukrainian policy to date has proved the wisdom of our support for democratic and market reforms in the Newly Independent States. In 1994, we put the nuclear issue behind us when Ukraine signed the Trilateral Statement, ratified START, and acceded to the Non Proliferation Treaty. Nuclear weapons are now being dismantled at a rapid pace. In short, Ukraine matters to the U.S. very much. At the Kiev Summit, President Clinton has three goals:

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- **Support an Independent, Democratic and Prosperous Ukraine.**
- **Keep Reform on Track.** We recognize that Ukraine has made strides to reform its markets and its political system, and we will help them **keep reform on track**. We've already done a lot, leading the G-7 last summer to pledge \$4 billion for Ukraine and making sure that commitment becomes reality.
- **Move Forward.** We want to move forward on an agenda for the future that strengthens the trade, investment and commercial ties between our countries.

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PRESIDENT CLINTON'S TRIP TO RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

President Clinton will travel to Russia next week to commemorate the end of World War II in Europe and to push for the continuance of economic and political reform in Russia and the Ukraine.

The United States has a vital stake in helping Russia become a more open, democratic society, at peace with its own people, its neighbors, and the rest of the world. From the beginning of his Administration, President Clinton's policy toward Russia has been designed to:

- Enhance the long-term security of the American people;
- Create a democratic, prosperous and stable partner for trade and investment; and
- Turn a one-time enemy into a partner on important international issues.

We Have Made Tremendous Progress. Our Russia policy has already paid enormous dividends:

- Russian nuclear warheads are no longer aimed at American cities and towns, and Russia is destroying thousands of nuclear weapons.
- For the first time in half a century, there are no Russian troops in Central and Eastern Europe and the Baltic states.
- Russia is helping us extend the Non-Proliferation Treaty indefinitely and bring peace to the Mideast.
- Russia has made important strides toward a market economy with the private sector now accounting for more than 50 percent of its economy.
- Russia's new agreement with the IMF commits it to tighter budgets, fewer state price controls and a renewed fight against inflation.

We Must Keep Reform on Track. The tragedy in Chechnya reminds us that the ultimate success of peaceful, democratic reform in Russia is not foreordained. It is in our interest to do all we can to help the proponents of reform in their struggle against the forces of regression.

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- We will cooperate with Russia where our interests coincide, and manage our differences candidly and constructively where they do not.
- A decade ago, severe disagreements with Moscow threatened nuclear confrontation. Today, we do not always agree, but every difference is not a crisis. We address our problems constructively and work out solutions.
- Because of the stakes involved, we cannot and will not hold our relationship hostage to one issue. Our differences over the sale of reactors to Iran, for instance, are serious. But we cannot let those and other differences define the entire relationship.

The Chechen Conflict. Russia's conduct in Chechnya has been tragically wrong. The United States has consistently urged Russia to:

- End its military operation in Chechnya;
- Allow humanitarian relief to reach the war's victims; and
- Negotiate a permanent political settlement that addresses the legitimate concerns of all the people of Chechnya.

Chechnya is part of Russia, but Russia must abide by international norms there. The Russian government should work with the OSCE to end the bloodshed, reach a ceasefire that permanently ends the war, and find a lasting political solution. Continued fighting in Chechnya will only corrode Russia's democratic progress and weaken international support for reform.

Nuclear Cooperation with Iran. The United States is firmly opposed any Russian action that advances Iran's plans to build nuclear weapons, threatening both vital U.S. interests and Russian security. Reports of additional elements in the deal, e.g. a uranium enrichment facility, only heighten our concerns. The United States will continue to press Russia for an outcome that ensures that Iran's nuclear ambitions are not advanced.

European Security. President Clinton believes that Russia must be part of the new security architecture that will build an integrated and democratic Europe. At the Moscow Summit, we hope to overcome Russia's misconceptions about the process of NATO expansion and give new impetus to building the NATO-Russia relationship. But decisions about the future of NATO will be taken by NATO's 16 members alone.

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- **Support an Independent, Democratic and Prosperous Ukraine.**
- **Keep Reform on Track.** We recognize that Ukraine has made strides to reform its markets and its political system, and we will help them **keep reform on track**. We've already done a lot, leading the G-7 last summer to pledge \$4 billion for Ukraine and making sure that commitment becomes reality.
- **Move Forward.** We want to move forward on an agenda for the future that strengthens the trade, investment and commercial ties between our countries.

TRIP TO RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

From the beginning of his Ad

"We have a tremendous stake in the success of Russia's efforts to become a stable, democratic nation. That is why the United States will not waver from our course of patient, responsible support for Russian reform."

President Clinton, January 13, 1995

The United States has a vital stake in helping Russia become a more open, democratic society, at peace with its own people, its neighbors, and the rest of the world. President Clinton's policy toward Russia is designed to:

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- Prevent the re-emergence of a threat to America's security;
- Create a prosperous and stable partner for trade and investment; and
- Turn an erstwhile adversary into a partner on important international issues.

We Have Made Tremendous Progress. Our Russia policy has already paid enormous dividends. Russia is destroying thousands of nuclear weapons, and those that remain are no longer targeted at America. For the first time in half a century, there are no Russian troops in Germany and the Baltic states. Russia is helping us extend the Non-Proliferation Treaty indefinitely and bring peace to the Mideast. Russia has made important strides toward a market economy. The private sector now accounts for more than 50 percent of its economy, and a new agreement with the IMF commits Russia to tighter budgets, fewer state price controls and a renewed fight against inflation. A more democratic, stable and prosperous Russia will be a stronger partner and a new market for American businesses.

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We Must Keep Reform on Track. The tragedy in Chechnya reminds us that Russia's future and the ultimate success of democratic reform are not foreordained. A struggle persists between proponents of reform and the forces of regression. It is in our interests to do all we can to influence the outcome of that struggle, to maximize the chances for success.

help the

A pragmatic approach.

Pragmatic Engagement. We have developed a broad-based relationship with Russia. President Clinton's policy of pragmatic engagement is firmly grounded in our interest and on a hard-nosed assessment of both opportunities and challenges:

- We will cooperate with Russia where our interests coincide, and manage our differences candidly and constructively where they do not.
- A decade ago, severe disagreements with Moscow threatened nuclear confrontation. Today, we do not always agree, but every difference is not a crisis. We address our problems constructively and work out solutions.
- Because of the stakes involved, we will not hold our relationship hostage to one issue. Our differences over the sale of reactors to Iran, for instance, are serious. But those and other differences do not define the entire relationship.

It is based on

But there kind of difference

But to walk away would be counter-productive

~~Pushing for a Permanent End to the Chechen Conflict.~~ The United States has consistently urged Russia to:

- End its ~~quest for a~~ military ^{operations in} ~~solution to the~~ Chechen ~~conflict.~~ ^{ax}
- Allow humanitarian relief to reach the war's victims; and
- Negotiate a ^{permanent} ~~lasting~~ political settlement that addresses the legitimate concerns of all the people of Chechnya.

~~Russia's conduct in Chechnya has been tragically wrong.~~ Chechnya is part of Russia, but Russia must abide by international norms there. The Russian government should work with the OSCE to end the bloodshed, ^{reach a cease fire that} and find a lasting political solution. ~~Any cease-fire must be aimed at achieving a permanent end to the war.~~ Continued fighting in Chechnya will only corrode Russia's democratic progress and weaken international support for reform.

~~Opposing Russia's Nuclear Cooperation with Iran.~~ The United States is firmly opposed to Russia's plans to cooperate on nuclear matters with Iran. We are convinced that Iran will use the fruits of that cooperation to advance its nuclear weapons program, threatening both vital U.S. interests and Russian security. Reports of additional elements in the deal, e.g. a uranium enrichment facility, only heighten our concerns. The United States will continue to ~~engage Russia in a direct and candid way on the issue of nuclear cooperation with Iran and~~ press for an outcome that ensures that Iran's nuclear ambitions are not advanced.

~~Strengthening European Security.~~ President Clinton believes that, with the end of the Cold War, we have an historic opportunity to build an integrated and democratic Europe. It is important that Russia be a part of the new security ^{structure} ~~architecture~~ emerging in Europe. At the Moscow Summit, we hope to overcome Russia's misconceptions about the process of NATO expansion and give new impetus to building the NATO-Russia relationship. But decisions about the future of NATO will be taken by NATO's 16 members alone.

ABM and Theater Missile Defenses. President Clinton is committed to ensuring the integrity of the ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile) treaty without restricting our ability to develop theater missile defenses. The ABM treaty was never meant to prevent those defense systems.

~~1994 Was a Milestone Year in U.S.-Ukrainian Relations.~~ In 1994, we put the nuclear issue behind us when Ukraine signed the Trilateral Statement, ratified START, and acceded to the Non Proliferation Treaty. ~~Nuclear weapons are now being transferred at a fast pace to Russia for dismantlement.~~ We have let Kiev know that the U.S. wants a broad, vibrant relationship. In short, Ukraine matters to the U.S. -- very much. ~~The next step in broadening U.S.-Ukraine ties is the Kiev summit where~~ President Clinton will underscore three themes:

- **Support U.S.** ^{To} ~~Support U.S.~~ Support for an Independent, Democratic and Prosperous Ukraine.
- **Keeping Reform on Track.** We recognize that Ukraine has made strides to reform its markets and its political system, and we will help them **keep reform on track.** We've already done a lot, leading the G-7 last summer to pledge \$4 billion for Ukraine and making sure that commitment becomes reality.
- **Moving Forward.** We want to move forward on an agenda for the future that strengthens the trade, investment and commercial ties between our countries.

Office of the Chief of Staff
U.S. Department of State

April 28, 1995

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From: Thomas E. Donilon

Attached for your consideration is our effort at a reworked version of the Talking Points distributed at yesterday's communications meeting.

Tom Donilon

Moscow Summit - Public Themes

- o President Clinton will be in Moscow May 9 to honor the sacrifices made by the Russian people during World War II.
- o The President will meet with President Yeltsin May 10-11 to continue the ongoing process of engagement with Russia in one of the regularly scheduled two-times-a-year meetings. This process that has already paid substantial dividends for the security of the American people.
- o President Clinton will also use this opportunity to meet with other key Russian political figures, and to reach out to the Russian people to underscore our support for their efforts to build a market-based democracy.

May 9 World War II Remembrance in Moscow

- o Having suffered over 20 million dead in World War II, the 50th anniversary of the Allied victory over Nazism carries great significance for the Russian people. President Clinton's presence at the commemoration demonstrates U.S. appreciation for Russia's sacrifice and recalls our wartime alliance.
- o Five decades later, with the Cold War over, we finally have an opportunity to fulfill the historic promise of our victory in World War II by building an integrated, undivided Europe in which a democratic Russia can be a full participant.

America's Stake in Russia

- o The United States has a clear interest in engaging a Russia that remains the world's largest nuclear power. We also have a tremendous stake in helping Russia become a more open, democratic society, at peace with its own people, its neighbors, and the rest of the world.
- o The President's policy of pragmatic and intensive engagement has paid enormous dividends for the United States. Russia is destroying thousands of nuclear weapons; those that remain are no longer targetted at America. For the first time in half a century, Germany and the Baltic states are free of Russian troops. The trilateral understanding between the U.S., Russia, and Ukraine ensures that Ukraine will join Kazakhstan and Belarus as non-nuclear powers. Russia is cooperating with us to achieve an indefinite extension of the NPT and in bringing peace to the Middle East.

- o Political and economic reform in Russia is in our national interest. Russia has made important strides toward a market economy. The private sector now accounts for 50 percent of Russia's gross domestic product. Russia recently completed a landmark \$6.4 billion agreement with the IMF, which requires Russia to continue its fight against inflation, implement an austere budget and free more prices from state control. A democratic Russia will be a better partner in promoting peace and stability. A prosperous Russia can become a major new market for American businesses and workers.
- o To truly understand our stake in Russia, imagine the disastrous results if Russia reverted to authoritarianism or slid into chaos. We would again face the strategic threat of a hostile power armed with thousands of nuclear weapons.

Pragmatic Engagement

- o With the Cold War over, we have developed a broad-based and pragmatic relationship with Russia. That includes regular meetings between our presidents to address key issues in a business-like manner, including European security, Russian reform, Chechnya, arms control and non-proliferation, and Russia's nuclear trade with Iran.
- o We will cooperate with Russia where our interests coincide, and manage our differences candidly and constructively where they do not.
- o A decade ago, severe disagreements with Moscow threatened nuclear confrontation. Today, we do not always agree, but every difference is not a crisis. We address our problems constructively without threatening to blow up the world.
- o This is a policy of pragmatic engagement, grounded in American interests, and based on a realistic assessment of both Russia's opportunities and its challenges.

Support for Russian Reform

- o To encourage pluralism in Russia, we deal with Russia as a pluralistic society.
- o The President will meet with Russian leaders from across the political spectrum, and speak directly to the Russian people. He will take note of their courageous struggle to overcome communism's legacy, and reaffirm U.S. support for programs that strengthen Russian democracy and free markets, especially a free press, privatization, and the rule of law.

Kiev Summit - Public Themes

- o The President's trip to Ukraine reflects the fact that we have pursued a regional approach toward the former Soviet Union. By supporting independence and reform in each of these states, we promote stability and reform in the others.
- o Ukraine is critical. Its size and position between Russia and Central Europe make it a linchpin of European security.
- o The United States has built a very close, productive relationship with Ukraine. President Clinton and Secretary Christopher view Ukraine as a critically important state for Europe's future. We welcome Ukraine's active participation in PFP.
- o That is why the United States has led international efforts to support an independent, non-nuclear, reforming Ukraine. We convinced the G-7 last year to pledge over \$4 billion for Ukraine.
- o And Ukraine is now the fourth largest recipient of U.S. foreign assistance.
- o The Clinton Administration played a lead role in negotiating the trilateral statement that will provide for withdrawal of all nuclear warheads from Ukraine. Implementation of that agreement is ahead of schedule.
- o The President's summit with President Kuchma follows their meeting last November in Washington, which helped convince Ukraine to go forward with serious economic reform. Their meeting on May 11 will focus on the need to expand bilateral trade and commercial links.
- o The President's stop in Kiev will underscore not only America's commitment to the independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine, but to all the former Soviet states.
- o Finally, the U.S. participates in the G-7's effort to assist Ukraine to close the Chernobyl nuclear complex.

AREAS OF DIFFERENCE - PUBLIC THEMES

- o We have a broad-based, pragmatic relationship with Russia. Differences are to be expected. Our challenge is to manage differences constructively.
- o In considering our relationship with Russia, perspective and a sense of history are important. Not long ago, severe disagreement between the United States and the Soviet Union could threaten a nuclear confrontation. Today, we do not always agree, and there are obviously new challenges in our relationship. But every difference is not a crisis.
- o Further, because of the stakes and the broad-based nature of our relationship, we will not hold our relationship to any one issue.
- o But we will remain ready to speak openly and act appropriately when Russian actions run counter to our interests.

European Security - Public Themes

- o President Clinton is convinced that, with the end of the Cold War, we have a historic opportunity to build an integrated, undivided, and democratic Europe.
- o To realize this vision, the President has put forward a comprehensive strategy for a new European security architecture that includes: a strengthened OSCE; an active Partnership for Peace; the enlargement of NATO; and a stronger relationship between NATO and Russia.
- o Last December, NATO ministers decided to begin a process that will lead gradually to the admission of new members. NATO's approach to enlargement will be steady and deliberate. Each potential member will be judged individually, according to its capabilities and its commitment to the principles of the NATO treaty-- democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. The process will be transparent, but there will be no vetos by third parties.
- o By consolidating stability and democracy in Central Europe, the seedbed of two world wars and a Cold War, NATO enlargement will improve the security of all European nations -- NATO members and non-members alike.
- o It is in Russia's interest to participate constructively in the process of European integration. No country has suffered more when Europe has not been stable and at peace.
- o By deepening its involvement in the Partnership for Peace, and developing a new, broader relationship with NATO, Russia can become a full participant in shaping Europe's evolving security order. The critical first step is for Russia to sign its pending cooperation agreements with NATO.
- o Russia's path to integration in Europe is open. It should not choose to isolate itself from this effort.

Chechnya - Public Themes

- o Russia's conduct in Chechnya has been tragically wrong. The Russian army's indiscriminate and excessive use of force has destroyed cities and villages, left thousands of innocent civilians dead, and exacerbated the tensions that originally led to the fighting.
- o The United States has consistently urged Russia to end the carnage, to allow humanitarian relief to reach the war's victims, and to negotiate a real and lasting political settlement that addresses the legitimate concerns of all the people of Chechnya.
- o Any ceasefire must have as its aim not simply a temporary lull in the fighting, but a permanent end to the war.
- o We believe it is in Russia's interest-- and Russia's obligation-- to work with a permanent mission from the OSCE that can facilitate a political solution.
- o So long as the Chechnya conflict goes on, Russia will continue to pay a high price both at home and internationally.

Iran Reactors - Public Themes

- o The United States is firmly opposed to Russia's plans to cooperate on nuclear matters with Iran. We are convinced that Iran will use the technology, know-how, and contacts it gains from Russia to advance its nuclear weapons program.
- o A nuclear armed Iran would not only threaten vital U.S. interests, but Russian security as well.
- o Every Western industrial democracy rejects nuclear cooperation with Iran. It is simply too dangerous.
- o We will continue to engage Russia in a very direct and candid way on this issue. In our bilateral working group on non-proliferation, we will press for an outcome that ensures Iran's nuclear ambitions are not advanced.

CFE - Press Themes

- o The United States, our NATO allies, and most of our Central and East European friends agree that Russia must comply fully with CFE when its limits take effect in November.
- o We have made clear our belief that Russia's security concerns can be met within the CFE Treaty.
- o We are working with Russia at the implementation forum in Vienna to resolve the flank issue consistent with the CFE Treaty.
- o We have made it clear to the Russians that the 1996 CFE Review Conference is the place to seek a long-term solution to their flank concerns.

ABM/TMD - Press Themes

- o The United States and Russia have been discussing issues related to the ABM Treaty and theater missile defenses.
- o We believe the ABM Treaty serves the fundamental security interests of the United States.
- o At the same time, it is clear that the ABM Treaty was never meant to prevent the development of theater missile defenses.
- o As our discussions with Russia go forward, we are fully committed to achieving an outcome that ensures the integrity of the ABM Treaty without restricting our ability to develop theater missile defenses.

Moscow Summit - Public Themes

- o President Clinton will join other world leaders in Moscow May 9 to demonstrate the United States' recognition of the significant contributions made by the Russian people during World War II.
- o On May 10-11 the President will hold meetings with President Yeltsin and other Russian political leaders to engage them on a range of issues in support of our policy of pragmatic engagement.
- o President Clinton will also use this opportunity to reach out to the Russian people and to underscore U.S. support for Russia's transition to market-based democracy and integration with the West.

World War II Remembrance:

- o May 9, 1995 marks the 50th Anniversary of the Allied victory over Fascism in Europe.
- o This anniversary has great significance for the Russian people because of their great sacrifices during World War II. 70
million
- o A variety of commemorative events will be held in Moscow on May 9. President Clinton will join heads of state from over 50 nations at these ceremonies.
- o Our presence demonstrates U.S. appreciation for the significant contributions of the Russian people during World War II and recalls our wartime partnership.

Engagement:

- o This Summit is part of a U.S. policy of broad engagement with Russia.
- o The U.S.-Russian relationship [has] matured to a point where the two sides meet at a variety of levels to work together on issues of mutual concern, even when viewpoints do not coincide.

-- The United States has a fundamental interest in regular exchanges at the highest level with the democratically-elected President of Russia.

-- At their last meeting in September 1994 in Washington, President Clinton and President Yeltsin committed themselves to meet again the first half of 1995.

-- Issues on the agenda include European security, military and nuclear trade with Iran, Chechnya, economic and democratic reform, and a number of specific security and arms control topics.

- o As a part of the Administration's policy of broad engagement, President Clinton will also meet with a variety of Russian leaders from across the political spectrum.

Integration:

- o The President will also use the occasion of his visit to reach out to the Russian people, take note of their accomplishments during a difficult transition, and demonstrate U.S. support for Russia's continuing transformation and development. IM7
- o Despite problems and occasional bumps in the road, Russia has made great strides toward democracy, free market reform, and integration into the West.

Kiev Summit - Public Themes

- o The themes of World War II remembrance, engagement and integration hold true for the President's summit in Kiev as well.
- o The President will use his visit to Ukraine to underscore U.S. support for an independent, stable, democratic, and prosperous Ukraine.
- o The President will cite the importance of Ukraine's future of continued political and economic reform, and affirm continued U.S. support for this process.
- o The President will note that the United States and Ukraine are progressing along the forward-looking agenda defined at the November 1994 summit, with an emphasis on developing economic, trade and commercial links.
- o Finally, the President's stop in Kiev will serve to demonstrate that U.S. policy approaches Ukraine and all of

too vague

the New Independent States as independent and sovereign nations.

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