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O P 090413Z OCT 93 ZFF6  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO ALL NATO POST COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE  
INFO ALL NORTH ATLANTIC COOPERATION COUNCIL PRIORITY

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RELEASE IN FULL

USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: NATO, PREL, RS, XH

SUBJECT: RETRANSLATION OF YELTSIN LETTER ON NATO EXPANSION

REF: (A) STATE 288837 (B) STATE 306913

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. REF A TRANSMITTED AN INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF THE SEPTEMBER 15 LETTER FROM PRESIDENT YELTSIN TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ON NATO EXPANSION. A NEW TRANSLATION DONE BY THE OFFICE OF LANGUAGE SERVICES IS PROVIDED IN PARA 3 BELOW. (NOTE: WE HAVE CORRECTED THE REFERENCE TO "RUSSIAN-GERMAN DIALOGUE" IN THE LETTER'S FINAL PARAGRAPH (AS CONTAINED IN THE ORIGINAL RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE TEXT) TO READ RUSSIAN-AMERICAN.)

3. INASMUCH AS REF B AUTHORIZED USNATO TO DISTRIBUTE COPIES OF YELTSIN'S LETTER TO ALL NATO DELEGATIONS, POSTS IN NATO CAPITALS MAY ALSO UPON REQUEST, SHARE THE TEXT OF THE LETTER (IN THE VERSION BELOW) WITH THEIR HOST GOVERNMENTS. NON-NATO POSTS SHOULD REFER TO THE DEPARTMENT ANY REQUESTS TO SHARE THE LETTER.

4. BEGIN TEXT:

SEPTEMBER 15, 1993  
THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW

DEAR BILL,

IN THE WAKE OF OUR CANDID EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON CURRENT INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE SOME IMPRESSIONS GLEANED, IN PARTICULAR, FROM MY RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LEADERSHIPS OF POLAND, THE CZECH REPUBLIC, AND SLOVAKIA.

AT ISSUE IS THE RATHER EXPLICIT ASPIRATION OF THESE COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS OF A NUMBER OF OTHER STATES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE, TO GET CLOSER TO NATO AND TO ACHIEVE INTEGRATION, IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER, INTO THE ALLIANCE. NATURALLY, WE EXPRESSED OUR APPRECIATION OF THE SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF ANY STATE TO CHOOSE HOW IT ENSURES ITS

*(VW)*  
*T hood*  
*E call*  
*Ho...*  
*...*  
*...*  
*Very*  
*...*  
*...*  
*EEK.*  
*GZ*  
*did he?*  
*M*

059-040070  
49

*In my folder Friday.*  
*... said she would speak*



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OWN SECURITY, INCLUDING BY PARTICIPATION IN POLITICO-MILITARY ALLIANCES. WE ARE ALSO SYMPATHETIC TO THE BY NO MEANS NOSTALGIC SENTIMENTS OF THE EAST EUROPEANS TOWARD PAST "COOPERATION" WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE WARSAW PACT. OVERALL, THE IMPRESSION IS THAT THEY DO HAVE GROUNDS FOR A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF APPREHENSION ABOUT THEIR SECURITY.

AT THE SAME TIME, I CANNOT HELP BUT EXPRESS OUR UNEASINESS AS WELL OVER THE FACT THAT THE DISCUSSION OF HOW NATO MIGHT EVOLVE IS CENTERING WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY ON THE SCENARIO OF QUANTITATIVE EXPANSION OF THE ALLIANCE BY ADDING EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

I TELL YOU PLAINLY THAT WE FAVOR A DIFFERENT APPROACH, ONE THAT LEADS TO A TRULY PAN-EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM, AN APPROACH PREDICATED ON COLLECTIVE (BUT NOT ON THE BASIS OF BLOC MEMBERSHIP) ACTIONS TO PREVENT AND RESOLVE THE CRISES AND CONFLICTS THAT NOW HAVE EUROPE IN TURMOIL. SECURITY MUST BE INDIVISIBLE AND MUST BE BASED ON PAN-EUROPEAN STRUCTURES.

THE PRIMARY THREAT TO EUROPE IS NOW POSED, NOT BY CONFRONTATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST BUT BY A NEW GENERATION OF INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS. QUANTITATIVE EXPANSION OF NATO WILL HARDLY SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO COUNTERACT THESE CONFLICTS EFFECTIVELY. WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE IS TO AUGMENT CRISIS PREVENTION AND PEACEMAKING ON A FULLY CONTINENTAL SCALE.

WE UNDERSTAND, OF COURSE, THAT ANY POSSIBLE INTEGRATION OF EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES INTO NATO WILL NOT AUTOMATICALLY LEAD TO THE ALLIANCE SOMEHOW TURNING AGAINST RUSSIA. NATO IS NOT BEING VIEWED AS A BLOC IN OPPOSITION TO US. BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT HOW OUR PUBLIC OPINION MIGHT REACT TO SUCH A STEP. NOT ONLY THE OPPOSITION, BUT MODERATE CIRCLES AS WELL, WOULD NO DOUBT PERCEIVE THIS AS A SORT OF NEO-ISOLATION OF OUR COUNTRY IN DIAMETRIC OPPOSITION TO ITS NATURAL ADMISSION INTO EURO-ATLANTIC SPACE.

I ALSO WANT TO CALL ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THE SPIRIT OF THE TREATY ON THE FINAL SETTLEMENT WITH RESPECT TO GERMANY, SIGNED IN SEPTEMBER, 1990, ESPECIALLY ITS PROVISIONS THAT PROHIBIT THE DEPLOYMENT OF FOREIGN TROOPS WITHIN THE EASTERN LANDS OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, PRECLUDES THE OPTION OF EXPANDING THE NATO ZONE INTO THE EAST.

WE KNOW THAT PREPARATIONS ARE NOW UNDERWAY FOR A SPECIAL NATO SUMMIT MEETING WHICH INTENDS TO DISCUSS STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIANCE AND ITS ROLE UNDER NEW CONDITIONS. WE IN RUSSIA HAVE AN INTEREST IN THE SUMMIT MAKING CONSTRUCTIVE DECISIONS THAT BEFIT THE RADICAL CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD. WE HOPE THAT JUST SUCH A PRUDENT, UNHURRIED APPROACH WILL ALSO PREVAIL IN THE SELECTION OF NEW BEARINGS FOR AN "EASTERN POLICY."

IN GENERAL, WE ADVOCATE THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRY AND NATO BE A FEW DEGREES WARMER THAN THOSE BETWEEN THE ALLIANCE AND EASTERN EUROPE. RUSSIA-NATO RAPPROCHEMENT, INCLUDING THROUGH COOPERATION IN THE AREA OF PEACEMAKING, SHOULD PROCEED AT A FASTER RATE. IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO INVOLVE THE EAST EUROPEANS IN THIS PROCESS AS WELL.

IN THE LONG RUN, IT SHOULD PROBABLY NOT BE RULED OUT THAT EVEN WE WOULD JOIN NATO. BUT FOR THE TIME BEING, THIS IS A THEORETICAL PROPOSITION.

TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST TO YOU AND TO OUR OTHER NATO PARTNERS THAT WE REFLECT TOGETHER ON OPTIONS FOR SATISFYING THE EAST EUROPEANS IN THE AREA OF SECURITY.

FOR EXAMPLE, WE WOULD BE PREPARED, TOGETHER WITH NATO, TO OFFER OFFICIAL SECURITY GUARANTEES TO THE EAST EUROPEAN STATES WITH AN ACCENT ON ENSURING SOVEREIGNTY TERRITORIAL



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INTEGRITY, INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, AND MAINTENANCE OF  
PEACE IN THE REGION. SUCH GUARANTEES COULD BE EMBODIED IN

A POLITICAL STATEMENT OR A COOPERATION AGREEMENT BETWEEN  
THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND NATO.

NATURALLY, WE ARE OPEN TO DISCUSSING OTHER PROPOSALS AND  
WOULD WELCOME INTENSIFICATION OF RUSSIAN-AMERICAN DIALOGUE  
IN THIS RESPECT DURING THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THE UPCOMING  
NATO SUMMIT.

SINCERELY,

B. YELTSIN

END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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