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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Restricted Meeting with Russian President
Vladimir Putin (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs, Notetaker
Peter Afanasenko, Interpreter

President Vladimir Putin
Vladimir Rushaylo, Secretary of Security
Council, Notetaker
Interpreter

DATE, TIME: June 16, 2001, 2:50 - 4:30 p.m.
AND PLACE: Brdo Castle, Slovenia

President Putin: How has your trip been? (U)

The President: Good. People thought I was an isolationist;
that I didn't care about Europe. They were nervous. Perhaps my
coming from Texas bothered them. Now it's better with the
press. (S)

President Putin: You've damped them down. You have a flair for
that. (S)

The President: I won't say so publicly, but this is the most
important meeting of the trip. Everybody is watching. The
Europeans with whom I met told me that respect was important. I
read your book. I know you keep a cross. (S)

President Putin: (Describes the cross, the fire in the Dacha.)
(U)

The President: We should be frank and straightforward. (S)

President Putin: Yes. This meeting is for personal contact.
There are some issues we will be working on for a long time,

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like strategic stability. But why is the ABM Treaty restrictive for you? What does it prevent you from doing? Let our specialists get together to consider why it hampers you. (S)

The President: I invite you to Washington, perhaps to the Ranch. Our relations are much bigger than strategic stability. I don't want to diminish Russia. A strong Russia is in our interest. The ABM Treaty codified our relationship as enemies. A reliance on blowing each other up is not stability. The ABM Treaty codifies hostility, not stability. We must redefine new threats coming from those that hate America and may hate you. This is not Star Wars. It says, no rogue state can blackmail America or Russia. You have spoken of interception on launch. But the ABM Treaty prevents that. Think about it. (S)

President Putin: I'm pleased to accept broader framework of relations. There must be honesty in our relations. I'm popular in Russia and I'll tell you why: because I'm in touch. People in Russia feel deceived by large-scale changes that brought more freedom that they can't enjoy. Not just the poor, but the elite also feels frustrated. (S)

What really happened? Soviet good will changed the world, voluntarily. And Russians gave up thousands of square kilometers of territory, voluntarily. Unheard of. Ukraine, part of Russia for centuries, given away. Kazakhstan, given away. The Caucasus, too. Hard to imagine, and done by party bosses. (S)

Then there was Chechnya. Russia left in 1996 and then what happened? Radicals came in from Arab countries and attacked neighboring provinces. (S)

At the G-8 in Tokyo, and at the next and the next, Russia's debt was to be resolved. This was never done. Not like the case of Poland or Egypt. (S)

I know of concerns about Russia's relations with rogue states. Do you think I like them? (S)

The President: I don't know. I know you deal with them. (S)

President Putin: I went to North Korea because the United States was using North Korea's missile program as an excuse to abrogate the ABM Treaty. So I went. (S)

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When the Soviet Union fell apart, dangers appeared on Russia's southern border. We face Islamic radicalism. I needed leverage and could get it no other way; the old leverage was gone. My new friends deserted me. There was no debt reduction. (S)

When I met Kissinger in St. Petersburg, he asked about my background. He said that all decent people got their start in intelligence. (S)

The President: Leaders inherit problems. I've got mine. I've heard your balance sheet. Your company is in trouble. I hope you move in the direction of democracy and free markets. (S)

Chechnya is a problem. The use of massive force, compromise of minority rights, is a terrible thing. This sends a very different signal from the one you are sending on the economy. This is not the way to handle that issue. (C)

I'm concerned by Iran. Weapons reaching that country could harm you, too. I can't do much with them now. (S)

We're not trying to disadvantage you. We need cooperation on a lot of issues, including Caspian Basin energy resources. (S)

I've got problems, too. It seems that if you are worried about problems on your southern border, you ought to welcome NATO enlargement, which could stabilize the region immediately to your West in the face of fundamentalism. (S)

Kim Dae Jung of South Korea visited me this spring. I told him that I don't trust Kim Jong Ill, and I don't, but there are things that can be done on the Korean Peninsula and Russia and the United States should cooperate on it. (S)

Russia belongs to the West; it is not an enemy. In 50 years, China could become a big problem. Russia's interests lie with the West. And you should be like the West: rule of law, entrepreneurship, freedom of the press. You have made some good choices, like the flat tax law and hope you keep it up. (S)

President Putin: Regarding rogue states: we have a complex history with Iran. History is important. I understand you studied history, and so you know how important it is. (S)

The President: We must learn to move past it. We're the ones writing history. (S)

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4

President Putin: I will restrict missile technology to Iran. There are those who want to make money with this country in these areas. Also, I heard you were moving to normalize relations with Iran? (S)

The President: That's not true. Congress makes that completely impossible now. (S)

President Putin: But Bud McFarland is in contact with the head of the Iranian Parliament on behalf of the United States Government. (S)

The President: That's not true. (S)

Dr. Rice: Rumors exist, but they are not true. (S)

President Putin: OK. But Germany has opened up a credit line of 28 DM for Iran. People are opening it up. Besides, trade in conventional weapons is a normal, commercial activity. (S)

Iranian experts do pose many questions about sensitive matters to our experts. There is no doubt they want a nuclear weapon. I've told our people not to tell them such things. And by the way, we will try to work jointly with you on Iraq. (S)

Let me raise Cuba and tell you why I went there: they had sent us a lousy nuclear power plant for which we had paid \$30 million. It was no good at all. That's why I went to Cuba: to collect. (S)

I am concerned about Pakistan. It is just a junta with nuclear weapons. It is no democracy, yet the West makes no criticism of it. Should talk about it. (S)

The President: Glad to. You see: the threat is not a United States-Russia clash. (S)

President Putin: I know. I never considered you a threat. Even during the Cold War. I agree and I wrote down what you said about China and 50 years. We are watching carefully. (S)

The President: The Cold War was a time of suspicion, competition and diminishing each other. (S)

President Putin: You did the diminishing part very well. (S)

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The President: You have a good reputation in Europe but why did you make the decision about the free press? (S)

President Putin: Let me finish with Pakistan and Afghanistan first. Afghanistan is at war. It rocks our boat. Usama Bin Laden is sitting there. We started to cooperate but then the leak about the Afghan Working group broke last year. I thought it was the work of forces opposed to this sort, or any sort of Russian-American cooperation. I lost agents because of that problem. (S)

The President: Armitage can do this. He's a good man. (S)

President Putin: What should we do with the Taliban? I asked Clinton, who never gave back a straight answer. (S)

The President: Armitage and George Tenet have my full cooperation. (S)

President Putin: Perhaps now, after your elections, there will be fewer games. (S)

The President: Rumsfeld and Ivanov have had great talks and they are the appropriate channel for figuring out the strategic framework. That's the place to determine what's possible. (S)

President Putin: That's agreed. Now let me return to NATO enlargement. You know our position. You have made an important statement when you said that Russia is no enemy. What you said about 50 years in the future is important. Russia is European and multi-ethnic, like the United States. I can imagine us becoming allies. Only dire need could make us allied with others. But we feel left out of NATO. If Russia is not part of this, of course it feels left out. Why is NATO enlargement needed? In 1954, the Soviet Union applied to join NATO. I have the document. (S)

The President: That's interesting. (S)

President Putin: NATO gave a negative answer with four specific reasons: the lack of an Austrian settlement, the lack of a German settlement, the totalitarian grip on Eastern Europe, and need for Russia to cooperate with the UN Disarmament process. Now all these conditions have been met. Perhaps Russia could be an Ally. (S)

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But the real question is how we associate Russia with the rest of the civilized world. The fact is that NATO is enlarging and we have nothing to say about it. (S)

The President: Are you going to talk about the press now? (S)

President Putin: OK. I remember meeting years ago with a Nobel Prize winner who recommended giving away state property fast because it would find its way into the right hands. We gave away property but there was such weakness at the center. Well, the weakness spread out and the state grew very weak. Privatization was especially weak. Some persons grew very powerful. To preserve their "legally" obtained holdings, they bought up media assets. Gusinsky took \$1.5 billion of government holdings. He stole \$1.5 billion of state property and then complains that the state steals. (S)

You talk about a free press. A free press needs an economic foundation of its own. I want to set the conditions for a real free press to arise. It is not "freedom of the press" when somebody takes \$1.5 billion and pressures the state. (S)

The President: We should return to the meeting. You know that Aznar likes you a lot; he spoke to me of his respect for you. (S)

President Putin: You invited me to Washington and your ranch. I'd like to invite you to come to Moscow and my home. (S)

Now on the economy, I appreciate your support on the WTO. But we have some problems with the Europeans and your leadership could make a difference. They still claimed in a recent steel case that we were a non-market economy and the evidence they used included that fact that the price of land is lower in Novosibirsk than in Belgium! It is also troubling that Jackson-Vanik still applies. The Chinese already have permanent MFN. Are they more democratic than we are? And they even claim to be a developing country. (S)

The President: WTO membership will mean that Jackson-Vanik goes away. (S)

President Putin: I had heard you were going to send a business delegation to Russia? (U)

The President: I'll get Don Evans to organize this. We have a lot of potential. You won't be selling only oil forever! (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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4049

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Expanded Meeting with Russian President
Vladimir Putin (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Colin Powell, Secretary of State
Andrew Card, Chief of Staff to the
President
Karen Hughes, Counselor to the President
Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Daniel Fried, Special Assistant to the
President and Senior Director for Europe
and Eurasia, NSC Staff, Notetaker
John Beyrle, Acting Special Adviser to the
Secretary of State for the New Independent
States
Peter Afanasenko, Interpreter

President Putin
Vladimir Rushaylo, Secretary of Security
Council
Igor Ivanov, Foreign Affairs Minister
Sergei Prihodko, Deputy Chief of the
President
Dmitri Medvedev, First Deputy Chief to the
President
Interpreter

DATE, TIME June 16, 2001, 4:40 - 5:00 p.m.
AND PLACE: Brdo Castle, Slovenia

The President: Thank you again for coming here for this
meeting. We covered a lot of territory in our discussions just
now. We agreed to work hard to establish a close personal

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friendship and one between our nations. We also agreed on some specifics. President Putin accepted my invitation to visit in America and to come to the Ranch. I agreed to go to Moscow, and perhaps to visit President Putin in his home there. (C)

We agreed that the Secretary of Commerce should go to Moscow to discuss business conditions and that our trade secretary (USTR) will also go to Moscow to discuss the WTO and other, related issues. We agreed to a dialogue on a security framework for our countries. Secretary Rumsfeld and Defense Minister Ivanov should continue their contacts in a formal way. We agreed to this, too. (C)

We agreed that we have interests in common, including a rejection of Islamic Fundamentalism and an interest in cooperating on energy issues. This meeting was better than I expected. Or, I should say, it exceeded my expectations. (C)

President Putin: Mr. President, I share your view that this was an important meeting. We see the United States as a very important partner for us. Not just for today: we want to maintain and increase our ties far into the future. We discussed all the issues you mentioned just now. I did not want to lose time discussing well-known positions but there still was much to discuss. Our colleagues had to wait, I have to say, but we ourselves had a very good discussion. We touched on all the big issues. I can confirm my invitation to the President in any capacity. And I thank you for your invitation. (C)

In light of our discussion of organizing our dialogue, I think it important to organize business delegations. We recently hosted a large delegation of Japanese businessmen. There were about 240, I think, and they traveled all over the Far East and eventually came to Moscow, where I met them. We had a very interesting discussion. We may not copy the Japanese methods, but if business people come, it seems good to learn from them. Last year, we had indications of some economic stabilization and thanks to this foreign investors could well be interested in coming to Russia. There is a lot to discuss with them: we have enormous resources: energy, nuclear facilities, hydrocarbons. I want to note that Russia has never cut back on its oil production. (C)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: We will maintain our relations with OPEC, but we will set policy independently. The President mentioned to me

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our scientists, mathematicians and skilled human resources. We have great educational faculties for mathematics and perhaps these could be upgraded to develop a business aspect as well.

~~(S)~~

We also spoke of hot spots in the world: Afghanistan, Iran and various concerns of the United States. We explained our nation's positions comprehensively. We did not touch on the Balkans, which is right here and important. Perhaps we could ask one of our people, like Secretary Powell, to start on this topic. ~~(S)~~

The President: I made a huge diplomatic mistake. I should have said that our Ministers of Foreign Affairs will coordinate our dialogue. Friend Colin, I didn't mean to leave you out! ~~(S)~~

Secretary Powell: Mr. President, during your meeting we discussed a number of issues, including the Macedonian situation. This is very fragile. This issue came up also in Brussels, and after the NAC Solana and Robertson went to Skopje to try to put a peace plan into place. This involves getting the NLA to give up its arms and to turn to a political process. We also have to urge the Government of Macedonia to address issues of concern to the Albanian community. We agreed that this cannot be solved on the battlefield, and so the political track is very important. We should support Solana's and Robertson's efforts to develop a political solution to give hope to the Albanian minority and to remove the fertile ground behind the insurgency. ~~(S)~~

Foreign Minister Ivanov: Thank you, Mr. President. We did discuss the Balkans, as we have done at the Contact Group. There are in disagreements over principles. We both want stability in the Balkans. There are not disagreements in our assessments. The terrorists have unfortunately a major destabilizing effect and they use different methods to destabilize. We do have different visions of the solutions, however. There are different sets of problems: region-wide and particular country problems. Yes, the problems can be solved only politically. But only groups ready for dialogue can participate in this. These Albanians in Macedonia are from Kosovo, and we know what happened there. We have to talk with those ready for dialogue. And we should not tell the Macedonians to contact people who are using weapons. My views are that this is a complex picture. And we need to demonstrate that there can be no use of force. Globally, we should be careful and not allow mono-ethnic states to spring up. This

would lead to new ethnic conflicts. For this reason, we have proposed a regional conference to codify the inviolability of borders and the non-use of force in disputes. This would give these countries a legal space to protect their sovereignty and codify the absolutely inviolability of borders. Such a conference... (S)

President Putin: They get the point. They got it. Thank you. (S)

Another area in which we need to work together in common purpose is the problem of extremism that plagues the world, especially on Russia's southern border. I don't want to say "Welcome to the West" and not even try to do something about this. (S)

President Putin: Yes, during our meeting we discussed the need for a common front against Usama Bin Laden. (S)

The President: I agree. We're free people and should not be subjected to this kind of situation. Perhaps our security agencies should work together to root out extremists. They are closer to Russia, but also close to the United States in this modern world. This is another great opportunity to show that we think differently and will try to come together. It's in your interests, and mine, too. (S)

I want to say here something that we talked about. I want us to look eye to eye, and I want you to know that I'm not interested in diminishing Russia. Just not interested. We have a fantastic opportunity to build a partnership. I'm telling you that the old relationship should be over. We're moving on. I'm enthusiastic, and that won't wear off after a nine-hour plane ride back to Washington. (S)

Now, we seem to have covered most things. Are there questions? Maybe we should talk about Nagorno-Karabakh. It is in a tough period right now, I think. (S)

President Putin: We could try. This could be the first chance to settle a major ethnic and territorial dispute through mediation of this kind. I spoke to President Aliyev and Kocharian not long ago and the situation is like this, if you think it is worth spending the time. (S)

[President Putin sketches on blank paper a rough map of the Armenia-Azerbaijan border region, including Nagorno-Karabakh]

As you see, this is Azerbaijan and this is Armenia, and this is Nagorno-Karabakh. Now we had a proposal for a corridor here, but Aliyev wants to expand his control of Susha, which would wipe out the corridor as agreed, and substitute a new corridor up here. But this new corridor would put at risk the Armenian troops at the Line of Contact to the west of Nagorno-Karabakh. They would no longer be defensible. I was optimistic, but it does seem hard. Still if we remain united and keep talking together, perhaps we could get the Presidents to keep working and get past the current impasse. (S)

The President: I agree with that. (S)

We are sincere. And we can do some good. There will be issues that come up, but I've got issues with the United States Senate!

President Putin: Yesterday the Duma debated the Land Code and there was a clash. We almost got into a riot with the Communists, and a couple of Deputies got into a fistfight! So we've got plenty of problems. (S)

The President: Well, you got a flat tax through them, and I couldn't get one out of mine. Now that was a wise move. It shows the business community a good signal. We tried hard to get a tax bill and got an ok bill through. But it wasn't what you did. I can't do what you did. Well, I think we have covered what we needed to, and we have a press conference. (S)

-- End of Conversation --

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7783

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Russian President Vladimir
Putin (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Colin Powell; Secretary of State
Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Peter Afanassenko, Interpreter

Vladimir Putin, President
Igor Ivanov, Foreign Minister
Vladimir Rushaylo, National Security Advisor
Interpreter

DATE, TIME October 21, 2001, 6:15 - 7:30 p.m.
AND PLACE: Shangahi, China

The President: Let's talk philosophy at dinner. Now, I have
some specific issues. ~~TS~~

President Putin: Congratulations on how you handled this and on
how you spoke. Fabulous! We have been talking about terrorism
and about how to conquer it. I want to congratulate you for
what you have been doing. No one knows better than I do what
feelings you have experienced. We have had the same tragedies
ourselves. We had the apartment explosions, remember? I felt a
closeness. You have found the exact words and conveyed them
very well. ~~TS~~

I want to talk about the essence of an ongoing problem.
Everyone is asking: What is the reason for this? Terrorism and

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terror are only a weapon that someone is using. Like a gun, it has been used throughout history for different purposes. We are witnessing this again now, as in past times, nothing new today. I have thought a lot about this, and some thoughts have come to my mind. It was not by chance that I said that seven out of ten of the richest people in the world are in the Middle East. The problem isn't with them. The problem is that there is a contradiction between a new, young, aggressive financial Islamic capital and the old one. A moment came when the new generation began to see the old as its competitor. (S)

From the time bin Laden became your partner, he felt himself your competitor. His desire to move to Central Asia or elsewhere was his desire to muscle in and subjugate all others to his will. In reality, it is a financial issue. Religion is secondary. The real goal is to have a place in the center of world finances, a place that is already occupied. They want to push away representatives of Jewish capital or, if not, they will try to destroy the center and shake it up and, ultimately in that way, to take its place. The reason for the terrorism is not the Middle East or poverty. They use poverty and they use unresolved conflicts. They are using other problems. These problems are not the real reasons for terrorism. They are using the people of Afghanistan in the same way. (S)

I raised this not just to support you, but to say that we all have fights in the same world. We have the same problem in the Caucasus. I said that this could not be done without victims. That is what I had in mind when I spoke in Berlin. I could not be frank in Berlin, but here I can tell you openly. These are real challenges. The threats have become global; global forces have shifted. They will require a reshifting of forces. (S)

Thank you for the signals you have sent toward Russia. But we felt that the ship began moving only after you gave orders several times to get it moving. The bureaucracy is so unwieldy. There are questions that are resolvable if we wish it. Regrettably, Russia is in some ways still viewed as an enemy to the United States. But there is also cooperation. The intelligence services of our countries have been very involved together. We've given you a lot of information. I gave instructions: smashing the Taliban is in our interests, so give them everything we have. What is the point of holding anything back? Sometime after that, your experts said that provisions of American law prohibited giving Russia certain information. But Russian intelligence could do a much better job with it. (S)

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The President: That is an excuse. We must stop this. (S)

President Putin: They say there is a law. (S)

Secretary Powell: DIA may still have some problems. (S)

The President: The ice from the Cold War is still thawing. (S)

President Putin: In Moscow, I told Condoleezza that we would remove our base from Cuba. I did that for many reasons; it could have remained for a long time. I don't want to horse-trade or nickel and dime this thing, or argue about who gets what. So let me raise the issue of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. It was passed in 1974 as a response to problems with Jewish emigration. I don't want to waste time in light of the new situation. Let's take China. They are our friends too. Is the United States tied closer to China than to Russia? The point isn't even that we're losing economic advantage, but should we think in terms of Russia and the United States as competing or conflicting? (S)

The President: I agree completely. We are trying to examine what can be done. If I could, I would say that Jackson-Vanik no longer exists. It is part of a bigger picture. We need to get rid of all the vestiges of the Cold War. (S)

President Putin: I understand that this is a Congressional issue, but perhaps you can take the initiative. (S)

The President: We can do a big agreement that encompasses a lot of things: Jackson-Vanik, help on debt restructuring, the WTO, continuing our economic dialogue. (S)

President Putin: Secretaries O'Neill and Evans, and Ambassador Zoellick have been to Moscow. Thank you for their work; this has been very positive.. (S)

The President: I told them that we could totally remake our relationship. We need to think about a comprehensive framework. (S)

President Putin: They are very cooperative. (S)

The President: Here is my vision: I firmly believe that you and I can refashion the distrustful relationship into one that reflects the reality that you have just discussed. We have got to think differently about our relations. We can make a mark in

history. We should achieve arrangements on offenses, defenses, on proliferation, and on our economic relations, and the rest of the world will follow. We are not a threat to you, and you are not a threat to us. I have told countless people about your call on September 11. (S)

Time is of the essence for me. One issue is defenses. My intention is to work hard to see if we can reach agreement on defensive systems that you can live with. We have choices. I want an agreement, and not go alone. But I could go alone, and not make it a big deal. Still, I don't want to make a decision about this until we create an agreement. I want a transparent relationship. We will deploy systems that won't effect your position. This will be transparent, a sharing of information. (S)

I owe you an answer on offensive weapons. We will reduce our offensive weapons to a level that makes you comfortable. I still have a little work to do with the military because of September 11. I haven't sat down with the generals, but we will do so next week. We will make it clear to the world that we do not want nuclear superiority. Nuclear weapons are obsolete for dealing with new threats. But if terrorists had weapons of mass destruction, that would be a threat. Of course we need a balance, but at much lower levels. START I verification can stay in place. (S)

President Putin: Tough issue in your letter, we can wait. (S)

The President: The number will not be one in which you can do a defense, so that you can still overwhelm us offensively. (S)

President Putin: I want to be extremely frank. I will say so publicly that we have not achieved an accord today, maybe in Washington or later. (S)

The President: This is an opportunity. The ABM Treaty was Nixon and Brezhnev; I want a Bush-Putin agreement. I know the Europeans are nervous. This is your chance to lead the Europeans. This is a historic moment. I will give you a number soon. I want an opportunity to get a new agreement. The press will ask whether I told you a specific date for withdrawal from the ABM Treaty. I will say that the ABM Treaty is out of date and that we need to move sooner rather than later. (S)

On counterterrorism, I can't thank you enough. If you are providing information and not receiving, I need to know. My intention is not to play a game. (S)

I appreciate your statement about Chechnya and about contacts with moderate Chechens. There is an important distinction to be made about sensitivity to minority rights. It seems to me that you ought to give moderates a chance to get rid of groups like al-Qaida. I told Shevardnadze that he has a problem with Russia and that Russia needs him to get rid of terrorists. (S)

On counterproliferation, we've talked about Iran. These are terrorists, and Iran is involved one way or another. Hezbollah is involved with al-Qaida and there have been frank discussions between these two (President indicates Secretary Powell and Minister Ivanov). I think that's positive. We need to work on this. (S)

On Jackson-Vanik, Congress is afraid of the Jewish community and Jackson-Vanik is symbolic. (S)

President Putin: I'll do anything at all except one: if they need me to have a circumcision, that I can't do! (S)

The President: We'll work on this. I want to help on debt restructuring. You've mentioned this, and we may be able to do some things with this. When Germany sees a new relationship and movement on counterproliferation, etc., they may come along. I told Zoellick to help with the WTO and he agrees, I hope. (S)

I do think we ought to follow up on having media entrepreneurs conduct sessions, pulling in entrepreneurs in Russia. Russia is more than natural resources. Getting managers together to foster an entrepreneurial spirit is an interesting opportunity. (S)

There is more. I want the appropriate people to talk about a framework that will be clearer by Crawford. We will have an offensive number and you'll be comfortable. It would be good if we can move forward with an agreement that outlasts you and me. We should start discussions and work toward an agreement to formalize something. We want our relationship to be unique. We have an opportunity to refashion an old relationship to address new threats. You see, as clearly as anyone, the true and enduring threats that we both face. We're going to be facing them for a long time. A new framework would be a huge step. We've got to cut a deal. (S)

(President Putin: I will go through the topics. On offensive arms, you wrote in your letter about this, and I know this will happen. (S)

The President: You will have the number. (S)

President Putin: On the ABM Treaty, I will be very frank. I have said that we do not expect a breakthrough. This will come later. With Clinton, we would not agree to change a single comma of the ABM Treaty. But now we have agreed to develop a new dialogue with you. Some changes are possible. We are thinking of how to build relations with the west; we want to be part of modern civilization. There is no other choice, though we need to be aware of the East, the most important thing is what the consequences will be of the changes taking place inside my country. We must take into account the realities, and radical changes. (S)

(On Germany, I am the President of Russia, not of Germany, nor of France. Our position today is radically different from what it was during the Clinton administration. We are ready to discuss the parameters of our relationship. I must make clear: we are not ready to withdraw in principle. But we are ready to replace the treaty by some other treaty. A Bush-Putin Treaty. We should start now preparing a new treaty. But today, your military needs a document to be able to do their work. Rumsfeld told me that he didn't know what the military wanted. I know this. I told him, "Ask me, I'll tell you what they want!" But we can envision what will be needed over the next two, three, five years. If you don't believe that this can be done within the treaty, we can create something else. (S)

We are ready to talk parameters. Our experts are roughly the same. And if you need two, three, to five years to do testing, go ahead. For this, the existing treaty is sufficient. If not, we can give it some new parameters. We are ready to talk about a new treaty and parameters. Meanwhile, use the current treaty and keep testing four to five years. (S)

(You could make another choice. If you prefer to withdraw, we will not pose problems. We will not blow anti-American hysteria. We will not pose problems for you. I have said this, we think it is agreeable to you. We will act calmly and not tie your hands. (S)

The President: I appreciate that. In the meantime, we should make a declaration that we will work for another agreement. (S)

President Putin: I agree. We have discussed this, and there is a promising way to resolve these issues. We see the way forward. (S)

The President: We need advisors, but nothing will get done unless you and I power through. There are people in my country that will not be pleased. I understand, every leader does. (S)

President Putin: I am being very frank. Our goal is to move to a lower, smaller figure. For us to say we are withdrawing from the treaty is a very big problem. (S)

The President: You will have no security problem with us withdrawing. I understand your problem. (S)

President Putin: We can say we talked and have an understanding to move forward. On terrorism and Chechnya, you were talking about moderates. You say there is Maskhadov. There are only 200-300 people around him, and when the State Department said that he should get rid of the Arab terrorists, he listened, but he has no one to rely on. He had his wife move to Syria with his people! (S)

The President: I thought your statement was very positive. People say you'll try to crush minorities. This was very wise how you positioned yourself. (C)

President Putin: I am not an expert, but after the State Department spoke to their Foreign Minister, Akhmadov, they said, "We are asked to get rid of the Arab terrorists." He said, "How am I to do this? I will be left with no one. Maskhadov has no place to go." This is not possible. (S)

The President: Do you think every Chechen is a terrorist? (S)

President Putin: No, but the fighters all are. They are bin Laden's students. Bin Laden trained them. You would know if you could see the pictures. They even look like him. This was the reaction a week after my invitation to talk. On September 28 or 29, we received information that he calls himself "Supreme Commander" and gave an order to "smash the enemy on his territory," and to commit terrorist acts against civilians on Russian territory, to attack industrial complexes, the military, railways. Second, they planned to intensify

actions of small mobile groups to execute Shariya law against those who oppose them. I want a dialogue, but with whom? ~~(S)~~

Now I will tell you what these people who work with al-Qaida, and bin Laden, say: "I'm tired of killing Ivans. I killed so many of them and they are still stupid. Now I have to go to Afghanistan. Now I have to kill 'fat Americans.' We will work in Afghanistan and then return to Chechnya." ~~(S)~~

The President: Good. They are in Afghanistan, and I'll beat them. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: I know the history of Chechnya. But you must understand: when the State Department meets these people it provokes a reaction. Chechnya is a 400-year-old problem. The Chechen people always had an aspiration for independence. We should respect this. The events of 1995 showed it. Today it is impossible. Russia withdrew completely in 1995, and gave it complete independence (but not formally). What were the consequences? It led to radical Islam. ~~(S)~~

The President: They became a sort of host. It is very difficult. How do you deal with it? ~~(S)~~

President Putin: The Soviet Union made big mistakes in Afghanistan. They didn't understand and tried to put a pro-Soviet, non-representative government in place, based upon minorities. The Pashtuns were excluded. They became indignant. Radical Islamic fundamentalists assimilated into the territory of Afghanistan and called it traditional Islam. We must oust the Taliban and bring in the Pashtuns. We must do the same thing in Chechnya. We have good relations with traditional Islam. Our military does sometimes commit crimes. We are taking steps. Do not interfere with this process. ~~(S)~~

Now, about Georgia. I know Shevardnadze. He is a wily person. He knows these people; he was in the party leadership. When he let Chechens into Georgia, he was afraid. At the outset he told us to close the border, and said he would close it, but he changed his mind and they established (1,500) camps there. You said, "Rid your territory of terrorists." He cannot deal with the problem. He cannot, he is too weak. His military has not been paid in eight months. He took 500-700 guerillas and put them on trucks and drove them through Georgia to the opposite part of the country. He tried to recapture Abkhazia. Now they are located at another part of the border with Russia. They are deployed in a place where the border is not protected. ~~(S)~~

(Putin shows maps of the Georgia/Abkhazia region. (U)

Shevardnadze took them to a part of the border where we have peacekeepers. This part of the border is not protected. They are near Sochi and just 1.5 kilometers from the border. If Shevardnadze wants to fight terrorism, how would you react? (S)

On the media, let your experts come. With respect to TV-6, the owner is Berezovskiy, who is in hiding. This is not all. I want to share what I saw on their station. They were hosting Al Jazeera. They are working as they want. Now there is an administrative dispute with Lukoil. We do not want to interfere. Lukoil wants to buy their whole station. Yesterday, I saw an hour long interview with Al Jazeera in Moscow. It said the difference between bin Laden and Bush is none, one has a beard, the other does not. (S)

The President: I'd be angry! (S)

President Putin: They (TV-6) do and say what they want. The problem is getting a competitive media. (S)

(The President: Get these guys to see if there is fresh capital and you can get some competition. (S)

-- End of Conversation --

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7783

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Russian President Vladimir
Putin (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Colin Powell, Secretary of State
Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Alexander Vershbow, U.S. Ambassador to
Russia
Daniel Fried, Special Assistant to the
President and Senior Director for European
and Eurasian Affairs, NSC Staff, Notetaker
Peter Afanasenko, Interpreter

Vladimir Putin, President
Igor Ivanov, Foreign Minister
Vladimir Rushaylo, National Security Advisor
Sergey Prikhodko, Foreign Policy Advisor
Alexey Meshkov, Deputy Foreign Minister
Interpreter

DATE, TIME October 21, 2001, 8:15 - 9:15 p.m.
AND PLACE: Shanghai, China

President Putin: I want to discuss nonproliferation issues. I agree with you that a problem exists. I believe it is one of the principal problems connected with terrorism. (S)

The President: They go hand in hand. (S)

President Putin: We must look at this as a whole, as a complex. I am ready to discuss this openly, but according to facts at hand. (S)

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5 (d)
Declassify On: 10/23/11

The President: That makes sense. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: We are ready to act jointly, to a large extent. This applies to Iran and other countries. We have been affected by recent reality in an important way, and today we are moving seriously along a line in another direction. ~~(S)~~

Are you aware that Usama bin Laden was the Taliban Defense Minister? ~~(S)~~

The President: No. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Neither was Prime Minister Blair when I told him. But it is a fact. So imagine a situation in which Musharraf is removed from power, by force, in Pakistan. The Taliban could take over that country and acquire access to their weapons, including nuclear weapons. ~~(S)~~

The President: Which is why we need missile defenses! ~~(S)~~

President Putin: (Laughs.) Yes, yes, but they don't have such missiles. They could not reach so far. ~~(S)~~

The President: They could reach Israel. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Seriously, it is clear that the Taliban would welcome the chance to acquire nuclear weapons. There is a danger, and this is a problem, though not one created by us. We must take a broad look. We do not want to do anything that would place Israel in a difficult position. That is not our policy. Israel attracts and occupies the attention of a certain amount of fundamental forces, and resists them. So why would we want to eliminate Israel? This would not be in our national interests. Our approach is completely different than that of the Soviet Union. We are ready to work on this issue, as long as it is not a pretext for unfair competition in arms markets. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's right. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: We have data about the activities of certain United States firms. Minister Ivanov will provide this. Some Iranian missile centers have been established with U.S. equipment. ~~(S)~~

The President: This must be either old technology from the 1970s, or a roundabout acquisition. It would not be a direct sale. (S)

President Putin: Probably this latter is the case. Israel raises sales to Iran with us, such as special aluminum. But when we ask for specific information, they don't provide it. It seems they have to decide what they fear more: Iran, or giving us information. (S)

What are your views concerning the Taliban in the future of post-war Afghanistan? I heard you were considering allowing so-called moderates from the Taliban into the future government. (S)

The President: If we find reasonable people, that's one thing. But not terrorists, or extremists, or evildoers. I don't know whether there are such reasonable people in the Taliban, though Powell does. (S)

Secretary Powell: Musharraf does. (S)

President Putin: The Taliban was founded as a radical movement. We can remove its leadership, but the Taliban has compromised itself, just as Musharraf has compromised himself. Musharraf told us he was tough and had everything well under control. So did he, or did he not, know what was going on in his country in support of the Taliban and terrorism? Either he didn't know and wasn't in control, or he did know and was lying to us. I think that he did not know, and was not in control of the situation. We must consider this, as we consider the future leadership of the Taliban, and the leadership of Afghanistan. We have all been hurt. Why go through this again? We must draw lessons from this experience. We should spare Musharraf, for now, but we should not listen to him, not after our experience with him. The Taliban should not be allowed to hold positions in Afghanistan. If he were my agent instead of yours, I would treat him differently. (S)

The President: Musharraf is our best hope now; he is keeping Pakistan on the right side. (S)

President Putin: Yes, I agree. That is right and that is why for now we must spare him. But we should not listen to him. He was the head of Pakistan's intelligence service and what is the result! We would have the same bad result were we to support a

new leadership of Afghanistan that comes from the Taliban, from groups that you say are moderate. (S)

The President: I didn't say that, Powell did. (S)

Secretary Powell: Musharraf said this. What I said was that we cannot engage in ethnic cleansing in Afghanistan. There may be some individuals who were members of the Taliban, but not in its leadership, that can play a role. (S)

President Putin: I don't want to monopolize or dominate events in Afghanistan after the war. (S)

The President: Neither do we. It may be that some countries in the coalition will feel satisfied by a role in post-war reconstruction there. There will be a need for resources and some countries are prepared to act. Kim Dae Jung told me that South Korea was prepared to offer \$50 million, which is a lot of money for a country like Afghanistan. (S)

Do you think the Northern Alliance can beat the Taliban? (S)

President Putin: No. (S)

The President: Can they beat the Taliban with our help? (S)

President Putin: First we would have to provide them with weapons. We have established supply lines with them and Sergey Ivanov has raised this issue with you. Actually, he keeps bringing it up with Dr. Rice and has pushed her pretty hard on this. (S)

Foreign Minister Ivanov: We should drink to her! (U)

Dr. Rice: We are providing funding to the Northern Alliance with which they can purchase weapons. We are looking also at the more direct arrangements that Sergey Ivanov spoke of. It is true that you have the supply line in place. (S)

President Putin: In principle, the most effective way to proceed is for us to supply weapons to them at your expense. But your mistrust of us blocks this prospect. Such mistrust can be the only reason for your decision. Your objection must be that, if we were to supply the weapons, we would gain influence over the Northern Alliance at your expense. But this is the logic of enemies, and we are no longer supposed to be enemies. (S)

The President: That isn't it at all. We don't want to contest this with you. We don't want to stay in the region. We want to get Usama bin Laden and the leadership of al-Qaida, as I said, dead or alive. We have a preference on this, by the way, though I'll just say that we want him dead or alive. We have no intention of staying in Central Asia or Afghanistan. We do desire to work with Pakistan in the future. We do not want to see them fall to the terrorists. We want to work with India in the future. But, as I told Tony Blair, we have no desire, none, to stay in Central Asia and Afghanistan. We just want a stable government there after our experience. (S)

President Putin: We are ready to cooperate with you. We are absolutely fair in this. My conviction is that no one will be able to monopolize Afghanistan. We will not be able to establish a stable government, unless it includes representatives of all groups in the country. (S)

Now I have to ask you why you are distributing your food aid packages in the way you are, to Taliban-controlled territory. The Taliban is picking up the food packets and using them to feed people under their control. Usama bin Laden is picking up the food and thanks you. Usama bin Laden bought Afghanistan for nothing and your food drops help him keep it. We must instead give food to the Northern Alliance and if we do, the Pashtuns will all run to them. (S)

The President: We stopped those air drops of food to Taliban-controlled territory five days ago. We realized that this was foolish. (S)

I have a question: you said that Usama bin Laden is not the only rich Arab financing this. Are there other Arabs? (S)

President Putin: Recently there have been young, wealthy Arabs engaged in all of this. Igor Ivanov has been to Arab countries where the leaders don't run anything. Ten years ago, a young member of the Saudi Royal family came to our KGB chief in Moscow and tried to support a coup against Gorbachev! This was just before the collapse of the USSR, and he said that such a collapse would be terrible prospect; the collapse of the USSR would leave us alone with the Americans. This is what he said. They also take advantage of poor, desperate people, but are radicals. I read reports, intercepts from Chechnya, where some of these people are active. They talk of a "second front"

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against the United States and are actively engaged in looking for opportunities. (S)

The President: Which Saudis? You cannot mean members of the Royal Family. (S)

President Putin: They are hiding behind their family names. (S)

Foreign Minister Ivanov: I was in Saudi Arabia and they spent 30 or 40 minutes trying to persuade me that they were not aiding Chechens in the conflict. I hadn't even asked about this! (S)

The President: You think they were protesting a little too much? (S)

President Putin: I believe that, for these people, Chechnya and Central Asia are secondary. Their main targets are the main financial centers of the world, and the United States as a whole. They want Congress not to have Jewish influence there. They want to gain predominate influence or, if they cannot, they want to destroy the entire system. Russia is not their number one target: we will not be a financial center of power in the world for another 50 years. You are their target. They are serious, and they know that you will not use nuclear weapons against them. (S)

The President: That's right.. (S)

President Putin: There are opportunities to bring the United States and Russia closer. I have spoken to you more than once about this, and also with Tony Blair. I told Blair that I wanted to see a structure established between NATO and Russia. The structures in place today are not right. The Permanent Joint Council is just not effective at all. It is stillborn and there is no sense in trying to revitalize it. I made this point to Blair, who had his assistant at his side who had been Ambassador to NATO. (S)

Ambassador Vershbow: He isn't the only one with that background! (U)

President Putin: Of course, you, too. Well, Blair's assistant told me that the Permanent Joint Council needed a new quality. But that's no good. What's needed is something else. For Russian public opinion, NATO and the United States were seen as the enemy. This went on for a long time and it is hard to think

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differently. Yet, if we were to establish a mechanism to give Russia equality with NATO, and with NATO members, we would change this mentality. This would create something new between the West and us. But we can't be put in line for NATO membership. I told all this to Tony Blair, who said he had an idea. I asked what he had in mind and he said that we must invent something where NATO and Russia are equal. I said that this sounded interesting and he said he had no idea about the details but would think about it. (S)

Dr. Rice: I met with Manning some weeks ago and will see him soon. (S)

President Putin: Manning said he would think about this. He is clever and I think this is a good idea. (S)

The President: Yes, this is a good idea. (S)

President Putin: Please think about it. (S)

The President: The more comfortable you are with NATO, and with the West, the better off we all will be. (S)

Now I have a frank question for you: how much of your reluctance to move with me on the ABM treaty is due to pressure from Schroeder and general European pressure on this subject? (S)

President Putin: There is no force in Russia, including the pro-West rightist forces, which would not see Russian withdrawal from the treaty as treason. (S)

The President: Why is that? I just don't understand. (S)

President Putin: I have already faced this sentiment. When I announced the decision to close the Lourdes base, I faced this reaction. Not just from the communists: even the pro-Western, rightist parties criticized me and said that this decision was a big mistake. (S)

The President: With us, some do think that the 1972 ABM Treaty is still good to retain, but the average person wants to go forward. Does the average person in Russia really see the ABM Treaty as an important document? (S)

President Putin: For Russians, the ABM Treaty is a legacy of the old Soviet Union and ordinary Russian people see the ABM Treaty as something the USSR created that defends them. ~~(S)~~

The President: When you return to Russia at some point and can say that, "I convinced the Americans to reduce nuclear weapons," will that help change the politics on this issue? ~~(S)~~

President Putin: How will it appear if we both reduce our weapons stockpiles, and then you build missile defenses and we don't? In 50 years, our missiles will be of no use. Your territory would then be invulnerable and ours would not be. ~~(S)~~

The President: But that is just not practical. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Not in 50 years? ~~(S)~~

The President: But in 50 years the entire world will look different. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: An ABM system could not counter 2,000 missiles. ~~(S)~~

The President: It couldn't counter 200 missiles! ~~(S)~~

President Putin: As of today, there has not been a single fully successful test of an ABM missile. The test that everyone said was successful was so only because the target missile had a homing device on it. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's not quite true, but it isn't the point. But it is true that it is not possible to develop a shield that could block a mature nuclear arsenal. That is just not real. The discussion is about a system that could block one or two missiles, not 200. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: There is no such country that poses that kind of threat. ~~(S)~~

The President: Iran and Iraq soon! Just watch Iran! ~~(S)~~

President Putin: I know, but the missile Iran is developing has a range of 2,500 kilometers, and could reach only Saratov, not Moscow. ~~(S)~~

The President: It could reach Israel. North Korea is selling missile technology around the world and this is a real problem.

~~(S)~~

President Putin: I agree. There is something in your argument, I realize. We have discussed what could be done in the future and I don't want to repeat this. ~~(C)~~

The President: Alright.. (U)

President Putin: We do not take this position just to be stubborn. But this is complex for us. If you want to resolve this issue, let us work on it, and it would take time. Or we could accept a radical option: you could just withdraw from the ABM Treaty. This could happen. But the Europeans greatly fear destabilizing acts. Our proposal for a way ahead is elegant and flexible. We want to solve the problem. ~~(S)~~

The President: To be honest, I really care about the Europeans, but it is hard. They'd shut down the American economy over global warming. I'm not sure how wise they really are. The European Union? It stifles innovation and entrepreneurship. The Europeans are wonderful, but their view of security is very resistance to any change. ~~(C)~~

President Putin: I met with the European Union in Brussels. I favor cooperation with the EU, but told them publicly that I could more easily talk to the United States. I said there is a leader, Bush, and you can agree with him or not, but you know where he stands, while the leader of the European Union changes every six months. We are always negotiating a solution to some problem and finding it gets placed on hold because the leader of the EU rotates. ~~(S)~~

Now I have the information about U.S. sales to Iran that I mentioned. The Isfahan nuclear center uses a mass spectrometer, model 79-92P produced by the U.S. firm Canberra. Another example: a heavy water plant build in Iran is an exact copy of a U.S. plant on the Savannah River. ~~(S)~~

The President: We probably sold this in the 1970s. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: We have intelligence that Italy, Sweden, Germany, and Japan are sources of nuclear technology in Iran. We provide Iran with conventional weapons, but have nothing to do with missile and nuclear weapons technology. That will not

happen while I am President. It would be contrary to the national interests of Russia. ~~(S)~~

The President: It sure is. (U)

President Putin: Iran is trying to develop a missile with a range just 200 kilometers short of Moscow. So the problem exists. We are ready to work on this problem. Sergey Ivanov wants to establish a working group to trace sales that raise questions. ~~(S)~~

The President: That is a positive idea. (U)

President Putin: Concerning Iraq, you should hear the report of Igor Ivanov. We know Saddam Hussein is crazy. Our problem is their debt to Russia of \$8 billion. There are commercial ties, as well. Russian firms have signed contracts worth \$44 billion. Well, half of this sum is not real, but half is, so \$22 billion. I hadn't planned to say this, but I will: our companies ask me what they should do. They have made plans and signed contracts. ~~(S)~~

The President: So your business interests in Iraq are tied to their debt to you? ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Yes. I tell them that we should wait to see about the outcome of the war on terrorism. But we will need some answer, just like we need something on the Northern Alliance. ~~(S)~~

Dr. Rice: We will look into the issue of support for the Northern Alliance, I promise. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Good. I'm going tonight to meet the Northern Alliance and will see Rabanni. ~~(S)~~

The President: Condi and Colin have to go down and talk to the media, and then we are flying back to Washington. So thank you for this meeting and dinner. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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8642

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Expanded Meeting with Vladimir Putin,
President of the Russian Federation (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense
Andrew Card, Chief of Staff
Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Karen Hughes, Counselor to the President
Stephen Hadley, Assistant to the President
and Deputy National Security Advisor
Ari Fleischer, Assistant to the President
and White House Press Secretary
Alexander Vershbow, U.S. Ambassador to
Russia
A. Elizabeth Jones, Assistant Secretary of
State for European Affairs
Thomas Robertson, Director for Russian
Affairs, NSC Staff, (Notetaker)
Eric Edelman, Principal Deputy Assistant to
the Vice President for National Security
Affairs
Nikolai Sorokin, Interpreter
Kyrill Borissow, Interpreter

Vladimir Putin, President
Vladimir Rushaylo, Secretary of the Security
Council
Igor Ivanov, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Dmitriy Medvedev, First Deputy of
Administration
Sergiy Prikhodko, Deputy Chief of the
Administration
Yury Ushakov, Russian Ambassador to the
United States
Marshal Igor Sergeyev, Assistant to the
President on Defense Issues

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 11/21/11

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685211

Anton Danilov-Danilian, Director for
Economic Policy, Presidential
Administration
Georgiy Mamedov, Deputy Minister of Foreign
Affairs
General Yuriy Baluyevsky, First Deputy
Chief, General Staff, Russian Armed Forces
Vladimir Chkhikvishvili, Director,
Department of North America, Ministry of
Foreign Affairs
Sergey Ryabkov, Senior Counselor
Igor Neverov, Deputy Chief of Mission
Yuriy Filatov, Deputy Director, Department
of North America, Notetaker
Valeriy Zaitsev, Interpreter
Aleksey Obukhov, Interpreter
Andrey Tsybenko, Interpreter

DATE, TIME November 13, 2001, 11:15 a.m. - 12:15 p.m. EST
AND PLACE: Cabinet Room

The President: Welcome to the Cabinet Room. This is where I meet with Cabinet secretaries once a month as a group. It's probably the first time an American President and Russian President are together in the Cabinet Room. (S)

I want to tell our teams of our commitment to a new relationship, a new alliance with Russia. We speak of our friendship. It may take longer for our nations to be friends, it won't be instantly, but I am determined to see it. (S)

On our strategic relations, our Ministers are working on how to talk about all this at the press conference. We both have our interests, and we don't always agree. (S)

President Putin has been very strong about representing his country's interests. Now I told him my wife and I don't always agree 100 percent of the time, but we still love each other. President Putin says he and his wife do agree all the time; his marriage is unusual; he does everything she says. (S)

I believe it is in the American people's best interests, my nation's best interests, that we have an alliance with Russia in both the short-term and in the long-term. (S)

The President has been most cooperative in the war with terrorism. He has been very helpful, he has given us advice about Afghanistan, and his work with Afghanistan with Tajikistan and Uzbekistan has been invaluable. ~~(S)~~

Our relationship is more than military. It is also economic, cultural, and it will mature with time. ~~(S)~~

I want to welcome you to the formal part of our meetings. Later I will welcome you to the informal part, to my favorite place at home in Texas. I can think of no better gesture than to have the Putins as the first foreign leader in our home. ~~(S)~~

As for NATO, I can say that it is in my nation's and the world's interests that Russia be given a unique role with NATO, a role that both President Putin and we can be comfortable with. I can't speak for all of NATO, but I can speak for America as a part of NATO. We welcome a dialogue. It's important for the Russian government to construct a new relationship with NATO. ~~(S)~~

I welcome the President's assistance on counter-proliferation and counterterrorism. He and I know that evil can strike in different ways. We have a lot to work on. ~~(S)~~

So, Mr. President, you can proceed with any subject you would like. I understand that at lunch we will speak about commerce. ~~(S)~~

By the way, I told the President we would be getting rid of Jackson-Vanik, that we would take steps to help Russia get into the WTO. There's a lot of important things we can do together. We want the relationship to succeed. ~~(S)~~

I can be very frank with the President when we are alone. Not that I wouldn't be with the rest of this group. But when we are alone and look at each other across the table we can be frank. ~~(S)~~

I didn't mean to give a "speech," and I apologize. Just wanted you to know how strongly I feel. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Thank you. This is an extremely important and interesting historical place, where one of the most powerful countries in history was created. Developing our partnership is very serious, and very important. We discussed it extensively, and I will mention some of it in general terms. You are aware

of our position on strategic relations. We are looking for a way forward to a decision acceptable to both our countries with respect to our national security and to calm world public opinion. We think we can find solutions, based on mutual understanding and taking into consideration each side's interests. This relationship has lots of components. The most important is enhanced trust. (S)

For us, frankly, strategic stability encompasses not only ballistic missiles, but also tactical nuclear missiles. Frankly, while they are located beyond the borders of the United States, they could reach Russia. So it is an important subject, whether ballistic or tactical. These problems we have inherited from the past, and we must work carefully and patiently to solve these issues, and I think solutions are possible. (S)

There are other issues besides these. Our experts must work to prevent proliferation of weapons; not just missiles and nuclear weapons, but also biological and chemical. (S)

The President: Yes. (S)

President Putin: Our experts are prepared to cooperate on preventing CW and BW proliferation. As I understand it, it is clear that the types of anthrax in the United States are most likely not weapons-grade. They apparently are "softer" types unlikely to have been developed in the United States or Russian laboratories. Our experts must work seriously with yours. (S)

We need to understand the logic of your positions, your plans with respect to the BW Convention. We are continuing destruction of our chemical weapons. We want to continue working efficiently, we have developed the relevant programs. Sometimes we hear from your experts that the United States has concerns whether everything is being destroyed. We wish to be utterly transparent. It is in our interests to destroy all stockpiles. Let's keep working. (S)

I'd like to say a few words on nuclear arms. We need to understand your plans with respect to nuclear testing. Will you resume testing or not? If so, what kind of tests, modes, and types? This is of concern to Russia, and to others. (S)

The President: We have no plans to test right now, and I've made that clear to the American people. This is not to say that ten years from now, we might decide to do it. But we will keep the testing ban in place. (S)

(President Putin: I understand. This is an important statement for us. Another issue I would like to draw attention to is that concerning flank restrictions of our armed forces and arms in Europe (under CFE). I don't think we have to make a decision here. We've observed every restriction and are consistently removing our weapons and soldiers from Transnistria and Georgia, even though the Georgian leadership is not behaving well today. We stand by the Istanbul commitments President Yeltsin made, and they will be fully implemented. (S)

Our last soldiers left their base in Georgia. There is one aspect of flank restrictions you need to understand. (S)

(Explanation about what flank restrictions refer to.)

(We exceed the limits in the Caucasus area, for reasons that are understandable and justified. As the situation continues to get better, we will continue to remove our soldiers. It is not so much that we are fighting with Chechens, rather with Arabs and fighters from other Islamic states. We have destroyed about 400 of these foreign fighters, but 500-700 still remain active against us. Our experts should think about this so that the flank issue would cease to be a problem for us. We need to speak of our ABM treaty relationship, strategic stability, flank limitations and disarmament. (S)

(A major problem in the world is nonproliferation. We are prepared to work closely together. I want to draw the President's and his colleagues' attention not only to Iran, but also to Pakistan. We discussed this extensively in the Oval Office. There is a different aspect, that with Musharraf hiding weapons. He should not be allowed to gain de facto legalization as a nuclear power in the region in the process of safeguarding his nuclear weapons. It's not in our interests, nor in yours. India, China, and Pakistan are of concern. We should not expand the nuclear club to take in Pakistan or India. Musharraf should feel pressure from you and from the world community. (S)

(As for developments in Afghanistan, as we agreed in Shanghai, I met with the Northern Alliance in Dushanbe. We focused their efforts on the situation in the north in Afghanistan. They promised, in principle, not to capture Kabul before the question of a new government had been decided. (S)

(It was a surprise for me when I heard the news they had taken Kabul. Now they claim they didn't attack Kabul, and didn't

break the agreement. They were approaching Kabul when the Taliban abandoned the city and they did not attack, and did not take by force. In order to avoid looting, they inserted some security forces. (S)

The President: I heard the same thing. (S)

President Putin: I spoke to Rahmonov and Karimov of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and they had nothing unusual to say, except they said that that the United States was pushing the Northern Alliance to attack Kabul. (S)

The President: That's not true. The Taliban escaped, they're fleeing like rabbits. (S)

President Putin: The Taliban left on purpose to keep and protect their personnel and equipment, move them to their areas of traditional support where the Northern Alliance are less able to fight. Those same areas support the Taliban. They had originally moved into other areas of Afghanistan; now they have returned to their own areas. There is a real danger of the flow of personnel and arms from Pakistan, and we will be unable to prevent them from fighting for the Taliban. I am not saying that Musharraf would personally do this, but some of his generals might. (S)

The President: We, too, are worried about the flow from Pakistan into Afghanistan, but we are also concerned about the flow of al-Qaida from Afghanistan to Pakistan. We need to think about how we can seal the border. We have the same concern, I would be interested in your advice. Our ministers should discuss this. (S)

President Putin: It's hard to give advice, and it's not only hard, but impossible to seal the border. We need to destroy them like rats, or buy them off. When the Taliban moved into North Afghanistan with the support of Pakistan five years ago, the field commanders would just change their uniforms and flags (and their turbans). Now it's happening in reverse. (S)

But of course the Taliban have now withdrawn in an organized fashion to their staging posts in order to regroup. It doesn't matter where the center of terrorism is, north or south, it must be destroyed. Frankly, for us, it was most important to clear Northern Afghanistan where the training camps for Caucasus terrorists were located. But for you, it is important for you to go wherever you need to get those sponsors of terrorism who

continue to threaten the United States. We should not limit ourselves to Northern Afghanistan. We are ready to work with you to clear all of Afghanistan. If we let them regroup, they'll come back. (S)

The President: We are not quitting until we have achieved our objective. (President taps on table.) No matter how tired others may become, we will be steady, we will be relentless, and we will get them, we will hunt them down. We will not forget the mission. I promise you, Mr. President, I am determined and the Secretary of Defense here is determined, no matter how long it takes. North, south, east, or west, we'll get 'em. "Dead or alive." (And I have a preference.) (S)

President Putin: The Northern Alliance's troops are approaching Kandahar. They are basically ready to assault Kandahar. It is the Taliban's base. We agree with you fully that we need to be active. According to our data, bin Laden is somewhere down there in the south in Afghanistan. He used to be closer to the Iranian border, but Iran has become more active and he has moved. We have tried to engage Iran and other neighbors to work jointly with us. I know you have problems with Iran. (S)

The President: We had a good 6 plus 2 meeting yesterday. Igor (Ivanov) did a fine job in facilitating the meeting. But, no, we're not in love with them, nor they with us, but perhaps we can work on a better relationship with your help. (S)

President Putin: We are trying. They also want the situation to be stable for the long-term. Perhaps if they set aside their ambitions. Extreme Islamist circles don't allow us to formalize our cooperation, but we will keep trying. But this is an important success. In liberated northern Afghanistan, they are playing music, women are burning their chadors. Unfortunately we don't see this on TV. (S)

The President: Some on TV want the Taliban to win. (S)

President Putin: On the Northern Alliance in Kabul: even yesterday the government communicated that they shouldn't introduce armed forces into Kabul. They should make clear that these are just security forces (police) to restore law and order so as not to rock the boat for Musharraf. Otherwise it would be a defeat for him. (S)

The President: Yes, some Pakistanis started claiming that the Northern Alliance was already raping women in Kabul before they even got there. (S)

It will take time for the U.N. to put a team together, so we will have to manage this transition between the military victory and the establishment of a new government. But I understand what you're saying about the consequences and the public relations problems we face. (S)

President Putin: We need to speed up the solution of the future of Afghanistan. We need to engage them on the problems of tomorrow and land a place for the Northern Alliance. They say that their forces are dying in liberating Afghanistan while their political future is being decided by those far away sipping coffee while they fight. (S)

The President: You mean the King? (S)

President Putin: Yes, there are very strong reactions in military circles to the King. Whatever, it must be done quickly. In the south we need to think about what we will do. We have now demonstrated results in the north. While there is some negative in what has happened in Kabul, it is positive that Kabul is free. It will be hard for the Northern Alliance to go farther. With the Pushtun tribes perhaps we can take a stick and force Musharraf to do his job. It is not enough for him to simply put down demonstrations. We need to create a government and normalcy, he can help in cleaning up the south. We have great experts in some of the Arab countries. They will have an interesting thought. They'll say, the goal is achieved, Kabul is liberated. Now stop all activities. That would be a trick; don't buy it. We have only achieved our tactical objectives by liberating the north. Now we have to capture Kandahar. (S)

The President: You're right. The goal has not been achieved. (Taps the table.) Five thousand people, including Russians, were killed. We will not stop until we have justice. They will be hunted down, and we will get them. I promise you we will not stop until we have brought al-Qaida to justice. Don't worry about the United States. Others may wring their hands. I told our Arab friends who wanted us to stop for Ramadan, that they (al-Qaida) may try to get us during Ramadan. We're not stopping and we're not leaving until we get them. (S)

President Putin: You've taken the right stand. We'll be with you. (S)

The President: I am not in the least bit worried about you. I might be about some of our allies. As great nations, we're the most vulnerable targets. You understand the stakes: 1) you know what happened, that they attacked the United States and what that means and; 2) you have been attacked yourself in Moscow, had buildings blown up, seen innocent women and children killed. No, I'm not worried about you. You're the type of guy I like to have in the foxhole with me. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: We also need to support Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Pakistan is a curious ally, strange bedfellow. They help while, at the same time, they burn American flags. Others are different. Some may be better allies than your traditional allies. They are Muslim countries who have problems that they want to address on their own. They do not ask you for help. They go ahead and help without making noise. We have to think about how we can help them. ~~(S)~~

Regarding our possible participation in search and rescue for downed air crews. We have spetsnaz troops armed with the necessary means, communications, and helicopters, who have experience in Chechnya. They are now in Dushanbe. They have trained there with your people. I won't speak publicly about this, but we are prepared to use them in Afghanistan if necessary. We have a division, 12,500 men in Tajikistan, plus we have another 10,000 border guards who protect Tajikistan's borders. They are mobilized, well-armed and a powerful threat to the Taliban. ~~(S)~~

I am grateful you have decided for compensating us to finance arms purchases for weapons for the Northern Alliance. ~~(S)~~

The President: The Secretary of Defense is always looking for more money for his budget, although I guess that's coming from another budget. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: No matter. In Russia we have an expression: "Money doesn't have any smell." ~~(S)~~

The President: This is coming from the Defense budget, right? Or is this coming from Condi? ~~(S)~~

President Putin: We love her even more for that. At the time of Secretary Rumsfeld's visit, we saw attempts to buy Russian arms from the Kyrgyz, and the Kazakhstans, but not from us. There's a certain logic. The Americans buy arms, increase their

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(influence. But how could you buy from the Kyrgyz whose soldiers are in sneakers? They sold their arms and uniforms. You can get the arms more cheaply there and send them on to Afghanistan. ~~(S)~~

But I am thankful to the Secretary of Defense that he listened to me when he was in Moscow and had an impact on the decision. Now that the Northern Alliance has entered Kabul, we will tell them to be moderate or we'll stop providing them with arms. Believe me, we want to cooperate with you, honestly and transparently. ~~(S)~~

The President: It is in our interests that we succeed in fighting al-Qaida but also that we succeed in stabilizing Afghanistan. There are 60 al-Qaida cells all over the world. They are just as bad in Russia as in the United States. We are tracking them in the United States and seeking them out. And I can assure you that if we have intelligence of a threat in Russia, we'll tell you immediately that we had specific information. ~~(S)~~

(Thanks for your comments on Georgia, and on non-proliferation. I am told it's time for lunch. As you call them experts, and I call them advisors, they need to understand we have started out on a new relationship, one that is based on trust and cooperation. I know you feel the same way. ~~(S)~~

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 15, 2002

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Putin

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin
Condoleezza Rice
Vladimir Rushaylo
Peter Afanasenko, Interpreter

DATE, TIME: June 27, 2002, 7:45 - 8:25 a.m. (MDT)

AND PLACE: Delta Lodge, Kananaskis, Canada

The President: Making good progress on Iran.

President Putin: I read your letter and had a good small meeting. You are right, I agree we are making progress. I have studied some other info. The key is not to allow the Iranians to generate a nuclear cycle. That means technology and equipment for weapons grade plutonium. I gave additional instructions to my Atomic Energy Minister. He has contacts with your specialists. There is a permanent working group with whom he will maintain contact. He is clean. He is not involved in any commercial activity. We could establish another group on biological. Ask Condi to think about how to really deal with both of these problems. As for spent fuel, there is some progress. Told Iranians we will not ship any fuel until they agree that spent fuel comes back to Russia. We have signed a protocol with them. They resist introducing amendments.

The President: You understand their nature, they are worse than the Saudis. You have to watch them.

President Putin: As for Iran, I had a very tough feelings after meeting with Khatemi. Aznar told me something interesting. Aznar told me about his meeting with Khamenei. He said instead of saying hello, he just looked at me, "we will eliminate Israel, are you one of our enemy?" Aznar said he was astonished. Closer we work together the better. Gives back tapes about caviar extraction.

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 06/26/2012

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The President: I loved the film. Two quick points on 10+10, we are in good shape. We are content with our relationship. I think you got what you want. Russia can decide if the project (new or old) goes forward.

President Putin: Problem is this, we are being paid, we should be happy, we know. But the guidelines, part of the text says we are appealing the guidelines. Says -- guidelines says new and modified projects, doesn't say what "modified" means. It says we need to provide diplomatic protection to all who work. I asked the Canadians, they said only State employees. In general, I agreed. Then I agreed on the text but it doesn't say that, it keeps it vague. That could appoint anyone. I was a spy, they won't find anything. But, as for civil responsibility that is a different thing. These are dangerous weapons. We can continue to discuss. We are saying let us apply guidelines to new projects.

The President: Well you work it out, you have made progress.

President Putin: We do welcome the guidelines.

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The President: Two other points. Asked you to think about BW any thoughts?

President Putin: We did better with biological weapons.

The President: During Soviet period, sophisticated work was done.

President Putin: I am not concerned with materials but about the scientists.

The President: Do you have a good handle? I have been told a lot was developed during that time.

President Putin: I have instructed an inventory and to centralize it. We have good experts. They say the anthrax was manufactured in the US.

The President: Georgia - I know you don't think Georgians can do the job. They are petrified of joint operations.

President Putin: We will not insist.

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The President: They need to go get the killers.

President Putin: They won't.

The President: Let me push hard. If they don't go get them we can figure out how to get the Al-Qaida killers. We want them dead. My worry about Georgia is not about your goal. We are seeing all kinds of talk about threats to US and Russia from that area. We have an obligation to help you fight them off.

President Putin: Everything should be pried and opened. We will not make any movement on their territory. But if the activities force the terrorists to go to our territory, we will not wait. We will hit them in Georgia. The mountains are very high. If they get over the mountains, we will not catch them. We will do our best to avoid this situation, but if we see them moving toward us, we will strike. I have issued an order. We are deploying troops to block the border.

The President: Do you have eyes on them?

President Putin: Yes.

The President: How many?

President Putin: 2,3-500. Happened a year ago - they approached within 5K. They were moving toward Godi, not out of Pankisi. We will try to avoid it. They are not inhabited areas. As for Georgia, we will not use troops. We wanted to, but will not. We know the houses where they live.

The President: We need to develop a plan. One that you know about. We will develop jointly. A plan that will tell the Georgians what to do. Maybe they can't do it, but we need to give them a chance.

President Putin: They will not fight, they are linked in drug trafficking.

The President: Let's call Shevardnadze's bluff.

President Putin: Sufficient for us to have coordinated activities, so we know what they are going to do. Last time, we learned about it at a late time.

The President: We need to work at this together. This is a very good chance. If Georgians can't do it, we will try something else.

(President Putin: We will not go to their territory.

The President: We will be in constant contact. We can derive the strategy.

President Putin: One question on the Middle East. We are ready to support you in principle. We had special relations with the Arabs and Arafat. Very hard to jump from one position, but we think they need some fresh blood. Therefore, Secretary Powell should stay in close contact w/ Igor. The day before your statement I had a press conference. I said we couldn't replace him. Igor and Powell get along well. 25 questions were asked on financial task force on money laundering. We have implemented all of this.

The President: We will look into it.

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Vladimir Putin of the Russian Federation (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Colin Powell, Secretary of State
Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Daniel Fried, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European and Eurasian Affairs
Peter Afanassenko, Interpreter

Vladimir Putin, President of the Russian Federation
Igor Ivanov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation
Igor Neverov, Director for North American Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Sergey Prikhodko, Deputy Head of the Presidential Administration
Valeriy Zaitsev, Interpreter

DATE, TIME May 31, 2003, 8:45 - 9:35 a.m.
AND PLACE: Konstantov Palace, St. Petersburg

President Putin: First, I'm very glad that you're here. I watched your interview, and appreciate your kind words. I appreciate your whole approach to world issues; in that interview, your views were right on target. (C)

The President: First, thank you. I appreciated your letter of May 16, 2003. Second, I understand that the Iraq issue was difficult for you and that you had serious disagreements with the decision that I made. I understand that. The key is to move on. We should use that experience to strengthen our relations. I'm the most disturbed at the behavior of France and Germany. They tried to divide Europe from the United States. I

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Classified by: Gregory L. Schulte
Reason: 1.5(d)

appreciate how you handled your decision. Other countries stirred up anti-American feeling. You didn't. You expressed your opposition, but did not stir up anti-Americanism. So, let's move on. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: I agree with this way of expressing the issue. As for Europe, we can't influence them. But it is true that the good relations between us do have an influence on them. I felt it yesterday. I'm always being asked about my relations with Bush. I say that we have differences, and the Iraq issue was important. But more important is how relations will develop further. I say that Bush has said that our relations should be that of partnership. In partnership, we take account of the views of the other. ~~(S)~~

The President: Absolutely. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: I said so to Condi and to the Secretary of State, and I'm telling you more. That's the first thing. The second thing is that being friends means being able to talk frankly to each other. Russia cannot have decisions made elsewhere. ~~(S)~~

The President: I understand. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Maybe Denmark and Poland can function that way, but not Russia. Our history has known a number of rulers who followed such a course, and such leaders were hanged, or loaded into cannons and shot into the air. What is most important is a systemic approach to problems. This was what I was saying yesterday, and I repeated again and again that our friendship with Bush is very good and that I appreciated that. Second, I said yesterday that the United States is the major power in the world, and we should not confront it, but should engage with it. For us in Russia, even apart from the economy, nobody can replace the United States as a factor in the balance of power in Asia. The role of the United States is important in Europe as well. I told that to them and I am saying this to you. ~~(S)~~

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: We do not forget the source of two world wars. The situation now is different, but we have to confront the new threats systemically. Nonproliferation is a major 21st Century threat, as are terrorism and fundamentalism. In its history,

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(the United States has had no more steadfast champion in the fight against terrorism and fundamentalism than you, Mr. President. Yesterday at dinner, I said publicly, so that it could be heard, that I was glad to welcome you as a friend. ~~(S)~~

The President: Thank you. I noticed that. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: I did not say that there are no differences. We have discussed Iraq many times. In principle, our objectives in Iraq were the same. Unfortunately, we differed in the ways to achieve this. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's right. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: We have discussed Iraq before. My security ministries kept asking me why the United States was so aggressive, when we could have achieved the same results by other means. But maybe what happened is not so bad after all. ~~(S)~~

(I'm worried about the growth of Iranian influence, and I discussed this with Tony. He said that the Shiites of Iraq were not the same as those of Iran. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's right. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: In principle, the agreement on the U.N. Resolution, thanks to these two gentlemen, seems quite acceptable. What is important for us is not the preservation of the Oil for Food program, but our economic relations with Iraq generally, and the possibility for our companies to participate in future work and projects in that country. This wasn't put down on paper in the resolution, but it would be good if we have agreed among ourselves here that the important thing is to instruct our economic ministries to do the necessary and not to force out our firms. ~~(S)~~

The President: I've heard that you were concerned about reports of nullifying an energy contract, a Gasprom contract. It wasn't true. The press will try to create tension, but Russian firms will be considered, under economic terms. There is no plot to freeze Russia firms out of Iraq. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: That's wonderful. I hope firms may come to agreements. ~~(S)~~

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(The President: Retaliation is not a word in my vocabulary. In my statement at our press appearance, I want to announce that you are coming over in September. People who are retaliating are not going to extend an invitation. You ought to come to Camp David. You haven't been there before. We should do that. It would be good. What is Igor saying? Speak up so we can all hear. (S)

Foreign Minister Ivanov: I said that we can discuss this at the press conference. (S)

The President: Is that okay with you? (S)

President Putin: Yes. (U)

The President: Let's set "retaliation" aside. (S)

President Putin: So, for us the crucial issue is not Oil for Food. We don't care about that. This isn't such a good program. It benefits crooks, and I don't know whether the Russian economy gets anything from it. (S)

(The President: I want to thank you for a couple of things. First, there has been progress on the war on terrorism and we have worked together. The Pankisi Gorge has become a good example of our cooperation. (S)

President Putin: We got a guy from there who was involved in the Moscow explosions. (S)

The President: That's good, and it shows what's possible when we hunt together. We get them. (S)

We've talked about Chechnya. It's good that you are making progress in a political process. This is what you said you would do. (S)

It's good also that you told Colin that you would not help Iran's nuclear program. Iran is harboring al-Qaida killers. We believe some have been arrested. If so, they should hand them over to their country of origin. (S)

Third, about your favorite country of Saudi Arabia, we are making progress with them. (S)

(President Putin: We see that. (S)

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(The President: The royal family is divided. The Crown Prince is taking over the operation against terrorists. The security service was penetrated by al-Qaida sympathizers, and we're getting rid of them. Saudi Arabia is still a dangerous place. There is still a lot of money going out of Saudi Arabia to fundamentalist groups. You were right about that. Our best hope is to support the Crown Prince, who has the best chance to work on the problem. We should keep in touch about this. I share your concerns about them. You have been more passionate about them than I have, but I'm coming around to your passion. (S)

President Putin: Sixteen of the nineteen September 11 hijackers were from Saudi Arabia. (S)

The President: You're right. (S)

(Relations between us should be more than fait accompli. I'm using a French phrase here. So we have set up a strategic dialogue process, and it could be very useful. We should make sure it goes forward. If you see that it is not moving with the proper energy, or that you are not comfortable with the process, let me know. (S)

President Putin: What group? (S)

The President: The strategic dialogue group. (S)

President Putin: Right. (S)

The President: I want you to be comfortable with it. If not, let me know. (S)

President Putin: Let us not forget about terrorism. This, like other issues, must be a two-way street. The CIA may help us catch 2-3 bad guys. The key guys we want are Udugov and Yandarbayev. One of them is in Qatar, and we know where he is. If Powell could put pressure on them to extradite, it would be good. (S)

The President: Do we have the names? (S)

National Security Advisor Rice: Yes. (S)

(The President: About North Korea, if Russia, Japan, China, and South Korea as well as the United States send the same message to the North about not developing nuclear weapons, they won't.

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If Kim tests or launches a weapon in a test, I won't react publicly, but I'll call China and ask why they aren't doing something about this. Jiang told me that he had no influence over North Korea. (S)

President Putin: He said the same to me. (S)

The President: I said what about all your food aid? My attitude toward Kim is that he throws fits and tries to frighten people, especially the South. But he won't frighten us. We'll ignore him and say that if you change your behavior, we'll help your economy. When China finally decides to do something as a respectable citizen, we will make progress. This is a key to keep Japan from developing nuclear weapons. That would make China nervous. It would make all of us a little nervous. (S)

President Putin: There is no sense to that. (S)

The President: Right, but that would be the effect of North Korea developing nuclear weapons. We must stop from the North from moving plutonium around. Some people believe it has no capability, but we believe that because of Pakistani technology, there is a chance that they have two weapons. We don't know, however. (S)

President Putin: Kim told me that he told Clinton that he had nuclear weapons, and he said that America was aware but kept silent. Now, Kim said, America is going public with this information to pressure me. (S)

The President: That's interesting. But he signed an agreement with Clinton that he had no nuclear weapons. (S)

President Putin: Clinton told me that Kim just alluded to something going on. Kim explained that he had told Clinton that he was prepared to discontinue further production of nuclear weapons and put them in a stockpile, if America provided fuel oil. But now that America has cut off those supplies, Kim says, North Korea must develop its weapons. (S)

Our approach is the same as yours. We are against North Korea developing a nuclear capability. Three days ago, Hu visited us in Moscow and then came to St. Petersburg for this anniversary. He left last night. Hu said that Korea has told them that they have nuclear weapons but Hu said he did not believe that. We in Russia have no information about North Korean nuclear weapons but cannot exclude this. China says this is all a provocation

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by the North: I'm not sure; I don't know. But we are very concerned. They are trying to scare South Korea. They have no modern delivery means for nuclear weapons but can frighten South Korea and attack Seoul. (S)

The President: Especially Seoul. (S)

President Putin: This is a very dangerous situation. We must tread carefully. You have presented us with a strategy. I think it is the right strategy, but you have not told us everything. (S)

The President: Yes, we have. (S)

President Putin: Then there is not enough in your plan. We can't just watch this develop. (S)

The President: I see what you mean. (S)

President Putin: We need proactive approach. (S)

The President: That's right. Our experts need to talk. There could be an effort on this. The military option is lousy. (S)

President Putin: We're against a military option. There are too many variables. (S)

The President: I said it was a lousy option. (S)

President Putin: The population there is dense. (S)

The President: Let me jump to some issues before we have to go to the press conference. First, I hate to bring this up and tell you the same thing. I do intend to remove Russia from Jackson-Vanik, I promise you. The problem is that some in the Congress are using this issue to create tensions over agriculture matters. We have to work on tariffs and agricultural issues. I'll try again on Jackson-Vanik and will say so publicly if you want. I don't want to say it and have people react that I say it but don't do it. But if I don't say it, they'll criticize me for not even mentioning it. (S)

President Putin: That's okay, but before we turn to chickens, we have to continue with some difficult problems. (S)

About Iran, we do not want Iran to develop nuclear weapons. They're crazy. It would be unacceptable, inadmissible. First,

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they would use these weapons to destroy Israel. They'll do it. We cannot accept this. Israel is important to us; it is an important element of stability in the Middle East. They will attack Israel and then you. So, this is very sensitive. El Baradei has said that they have technology to produce nuclear weapons. This technology came from UK and Dutch firms. He said he saw equipment from other European firms and even U.S. firms as well. Your propagandists are criticizing Russia and Russian firms for this, but this puts the focus wrong. We should face the real threats and be clear about this. This requires our personal oversight. Neither Blair, nor the Queen of the Netherlands, nor you knew about these transfers. But firms do these things. Perhaps even some of ours. Money goes a long way. Our services should stop distrusting each other and cooperate on these issues. (S)

The President: We need to get the IAEA to convince Iran to abandon this program, or else Israel will go in and blow it up, and you and I will be on the phone trying to stop a war in the Middle East. (S)

President Putin: We have leverage, and I told Colin Powell that we won't supply nuclear fuel until all their programs are under IAEA control. We have told Iran. (S)

The President: Thank you. (S)

President Putin: There shouldn't be leverage against us. We can't have our firms pressed out by the British, Danes, and Dutch. (S)

Now, about chickens and Jackson-Vanik, for the last 4 years, the quantity of chickens from the United States to Russia has grown six times. (S)

The President: I'm aware of that. (S)

President Putin: In the American market, the share of imported beef is 15 percent; the rest is domestically produced. (S)

The President: We've got a lot of cows. (U)

President Putin: If we don't restrict imports, we'll never have a lot of cows. In our market, the market share domestically produced chicken has dropped from 77 percent to 45 percent. We established quotas for agricultural products, with 70 percent of

the quota for the United States, and the remaining 30 percent to Europe and other places. (S)

The President: We have to work through this. Some may see this punitive. But I just am giving you a heads up. This is not about leverage. (S)

President Putin: Our experts are not fools. Let them talk and come to an agreement. I sent Gordeyev to the United States. He knows everything. Of course we need a solution. But U.S. domestic standards are high, and your chicken exports are not under the same controls. (S)

The President: I don't think that's so. (S)

National Security Advisor Rice: We'll check, but I don't think there is a difference. (S)

President Putin: What we eat must be the same, of the same quality. (S)

The President: Yes, the same. Our laws don't allow double standards. (S)

President Putin: I assure you that this is right. (S)

The President: We'll check, but it isn't true. (S)

President Putin: Let our experts talk. If we stop imports, prices will rise, which will help our producers. (S)

The President: They want us to do the press conference now, but I want to say that we are making good progress on the energy front. There are significant mergers being planned. Congratulations on this. (S)

President Putin: I have a question. BP, British Petroleum, bought 50 percent of one of our major firms for \$6.5 billion. There is another major Russian energy company negotiating with a U.S. firm. We'll support this. Let them work this out. But there is one key element: our pipelines are state owned and will remain so for some years to come. This is because we need to maintain control of oil going to our domestic market. The prices of oil domestically in Russia are still lower than world prices, and if we don't maintain controls on exports and transport of oil, all the oil will be exported, which will

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(damage our agricultural interests at harvest times. Our economy would collapse. ~~(S)~~

The President: What's the date for our September Summit? (U)

National Security Advisor Rice: September 26-27. (U)

The President: That's the weekend. It would be good. It will be after the UNGA. (U)

Let's go to the press conference. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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NW#: 78134

DocId: 34685214

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Vladimir Putin of the
Russian Federation (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Andrew Card, Assistant to the President and
Chief of Staff
Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Daniel Fried, Special Assistant to the
President and Senior Director for European
and Eurasian Affairs, NSC (notetaker)
Peter Afanassenko, Interpreter

President Vladimir Putin
Sergey Ivanov, Minister of Defense
Aleksey Korzhuev, Interpreter

DATE, TIME: September 26, 2003, 5:15 - 6:00 p.m., EDT
AND PLACE: President's Cabin, Camp David

The President: Let me raise something. We intercepted some HEU
in Georgia, and we want to work with you to analyze where it
came from. We will give you samples and all information about
it. (S)

President Putin: I don't know about this issue. Where was its
origin? (S)

The President: I'm not sure. It seems to me it was a sample,
just sample, but we have the fear that this guy was going to
sell it to Arab terrorists. (S)

President Putin: When did this take place? (S)

The President: In late June. But we just got the materials.
It happened in June. The Georgians apprehended him, but they

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Classified by: Gregory L. Schulte

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 9/30/13

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685215

approached us only in August. We will give you all the information. We know the guy, but not where he is now. (S)

President Putin: We can trace the sources of this material. (S)

The President: That's why we want you to have it. (S)

President Putin: We can make an analysis and trace it back. (S)

The President: This could be the beginning of a larger issue. The Georgians let the guy go, which was foolish, but they let us know about him and the uranium, which was good. (S)

President Putin: Sure, they let him go: he gave them money. (S)

The President: We can work this together. Condi will brief Sergey. (S)

Another thing; we captured Abu Atiya, the Pankisi killer. (S)

President Putin: I know. (S)

The President: We'll share this information, too; we'll share whatever we get from him. We're interrogating him now. (S)

President Putin: We have a lot of information about him. (S)

The President: How did your visit go with Crown Prince Abdallah? (S)

President Putin: He's a bit complicated. He talks only a little; he is not direct. But we can understand his way of thinking. For example, he believes the situation in Iraq will improve only when the United States and Great Britain leave. (S)

The President: He's wrong. We'll leave, though. He also worries about the Shia. Did you talk about terrorism and terrorist financing with him? (S)

President Putin: I told him everything. (S)

The President: He needed to hear it. (S)

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President Putin: He spoke about how he hates extremists and extreme Wahabiists. He was harsh. But his aides told us not to share any of that. (S)

The President: He changed his tune after the Riyadh bombing. Now he realizes that the terrorists want to kill him. He can't control the money coming out of his own family, so he has a self interest in anti-terrorism. (S)

President Putin: I don't know what he wants, but I told him what we think about what is happening. (S)

The President: He's smart. (S)

President Putin: Sure, but not smart enough. Or he should apply his intelligence in an appropriate way. (S)

The President: There were some signs that [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] That is dangerous. (S)

President Putin: Exactly. The situation is complicated. (S)

The President: We don't want to overthrow them or see them overthrown. He's the best there is there. (S)

President Putin: They have different views. They think that Americans will look for young and promising princes to support. They are under strain, I think. But we should not pretend to be satisfied with the regime in Saudi Arabia. It is simply not possible to turn a blind eye to what is happening. (S)

The President: I'm worried about their hypocrisy. They don't work, but spend billions. They spent \$1 billion for a one month trip to Spain for King Fahd. One month in Spain, \$1 billion. The danger is that they will be overthrown by Wahabbists, and then you and we have a problem. If you think we have a problem now, just wait. They think that the Jews in the American press are out to get them. He's got to realize that the fact that 18 of the 19 hijackers were from Saudi Arabia is a problem. He's got a problem now. (S)

President Putin: Those who are fighting against Russians are being financed from Saudi Arabia. (S)

The President: You told him that? (S)

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President Putin: Yes. ~~(S)~~

The President: Did he say he would stop it? ~~(S)~~

President Putin: He can't control it, he said. But he said he will get better control over some of the funds in his country.

~~(S)~~

I met with Chirac and Schroeder in New York. I told them that in principle we must remain realistic. Extreme positions on Iraq are not possible. Just saying that the U.K. and United States must leave is not realistic. Second, we must take into account the danger of a vacuum of power in Iraq, like in Chechnya. If you leave now, there will be a vacuum for sure.

(C)

The President: I had a good meeting with Schroeder. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: (to his interpreter). The gift. (U)

Now he is going to get lost. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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NW#: 78134

DocId: 34685215

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Vladimir Putin of the
Russian Federation (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
The Vice President
Colin Powell, Secretary of State
Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense
Andrew Card, Assistant to the President and
Chief of Staff
Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Alexander Versbow, U.S. Ambassador to the
Russian Federation
Daniel Fried, Special Assistant to the
President and Senior Director for European
and Eurasian Affairs, NSC (notetaker)
Peter Afanassenko, Interpreter

President Vladimir Putin
Igor Ivanov, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Sergey Ivanov, Minister of Defense
Sergey Prikhodko, Deputy Head of the
Presidential Administration, Head of the
Foreign Policy Directorate
Igor Neverov, Director, Department of North
America, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Yuri Ushakov, Russian Ambassador to the
United States
Sergey Kislyak, Deputy Minister of Foreign
Affairs
Aleksey Korzhuev, Interpreter

DATE, TIME: September 27, 2003, 9:00 - 10:50 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Laurel Cabin, Camp David

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Classified by: Gregory L. Schulte

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 3/30/13

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685216

The President: Well, we've got an 11:00 press availability, we have about an hour and 45 minutes for work. I suggest we cover Iraq, Iran, nonproliferation and other issues, and our bilateral relations. Let's start with them, before we go overseas. (C)

Your remarks last night were a perfect prelude for this. You defined a vision well, and we have developed a checklist that breaks out a series of areas of interest and tasks that we can use to achieve two goals: first to change the culture of cooperation, if that's the right word, and reduce suspicious by working together; and, as important, to achieve concrete results that benefit both our peoples. This checklist is a way for you and me to hold our governments to account. We can measure progress by concrete results. This is a very good start. I'm pleased with the work on this. (C)

On this list, there are two areas I'd like to point out. One is military-to-military cooperation. This is important to change old habits. The other is one I'm pleased to see on the agenda. In Tokyo, our ministers got together to negotiate a meat agreement, white and red, so to speak, or beef and chicken. (C)

Ambassador Vershbow: And pork. (C)

The President: And pork as well. This bilateral agreement, when implemented will help us head off pressure from farm state Senators and Congressmen. I call this to your attention because it represents good progress and I hope our governments will ratify this agreement and use it as an example of cooperation. There are a lot of other issues in the checklist, but this is a very good start. (C)

President Putin: First, I thank you for this invitation. The atmosphere is, well, very pleasant and the company is good. (C)

The President: Not everybody. (U)

President Putin: No comment. But this really is very good company, and it is good to talk frankly and informally, too. I want to stress that we highly evaluate the development of Russian-American relations. This is a common achievement. The quality of that relationship has been demonstrated and strengthened in the past years. I think that we should focus on some important issues, subjects on which we can take joint action. (C)

First on our list of priorities is the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions. We should not forget this. We have a special responsibility, the United States and Russia. The atmosphere of the world depends a lot on our relations in this area. We remember how it was born, and we remember the discussion with the United States about your withdrawal from the ABM Treaty. We still think that there was no need for withdrawal, and all you are doing could have been done without that withdrawal, but that is history. It happened. We are now discussing cooperation on missile defense. We want to develop principles by which we must and shall be guided in this area. We must centralize our cooperation from our side. There is no way to decentralize this. (S)

The President: Good. (S)

President Putin: I want to confirm our readiness for such work according to this principle. We're ready for cooperation in very many areas. The Group on Strategic Dialogue deserves our support and we should give it real meaning to ensure nothing breaks in our agenda. (S)

The President: Right. (S)

President Putin: I believe that in principle it is important for strategic relations that we launch implementation of these ideas. I am satisfied that our experts have begun working on an agreement on defense technology cooperation, and this can help achieve tangible results. It is most important the Ministers of Defense and persons in the Ministries take a productive line here. (S)

The President: Is this happening? (S)

Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld: Yes. (S)

President Putin: Yes. Recently, discussion within the Group on Strategic Dialogue included a paper you presented on Principles of Cooperation in Eurasia. Essentially, this meant U.S. ideas for cooperation in the post-Soviet space, including all countries that formed part of one country, the USSR, and are now in the Commonwealth of Independent States. We are ready to pursue cooperation in all regions of the world. But I just ask you to keep in mind that these states were not just part of one country, but are all Russian speaking to some degree, and they include 25 million ethnic Russians. All people who live there have close family and many have close business associations with

Russia. In essence, we are providing a lot of non-budget assistance to these countries that amount to many hundreds of millions of dollars. They are taking advantage of our cheap energy resources. Due to this, we have no choice but to attach great significance to these countries. (S)

The President: This is understandable. (S)

President Putin: We understand that they are independent countries. We respect this. They have the right to make their own choices. We would rather have the United States present there than some other, unnamed large countries. But I ask you to consider the special circumstances of these countries. (S)

The President: Let me say that we have no intention of crowding anybody out. We are very sensitive to the history here, and these are your neighbors, your relatives, with a common language. Our intent is to promote stability in this region, at the request of the governments there, in partnership with you, and we have no interest in competing. We're interested in bringing stability to a region that could be a hotbed of terrorist activity is important. Anytime the United States is active in a country on your borders, it sends a signal. I fully understand that there might be doubts, and we must work to ease these, so that it's understood that our actions are mutually beneficial. I'm glad you brought that up. If we don't handle it properly, it could lead to tensions. You put it well, and thank you. (S)

President Putin: Thank you. Now, I want to say a couple of words about our cooperation on terrorism. We faced this before some others considered this a danger, or felt that terrorism would bypass them. And we have had a long, bloody experience. We have sincere feelings about what happened to the United States. What you have done in response has borne fruit, including in Afghanistan. We supported your consistent, tough policy, and it helped break the Taliban's power there. If it were not for this, we'd face dangers in Afghanistan; these affect us, too, of course. Now, Afghanistan has turned around. The level of our cooperation, trust, and confidence here has increased, too. (S)

But frankly, we still we believe that some U.S. views with respect to Chechnya are not correct. Regrettably, attempts have been made to take advantage of the Chechnya situation to influence the domestic political situation in Russia. I have no other explanation for the fact that U.S. officials in Qatar met

with people recognized as terrorists by the United Nations, and Yandarbiyev maintains ties with guerilla groups in Afghanistan. He is an enemy of Russia, and your officials met with him. (S)

Secretary of State Powell: There is no evidence that our people met with him. On the contrary, we're in the process of pressing the Qataris to render him back to Russia. If you have more concrete information about this, please send it to us. (S)

President Putin: According to our information, this meeting did take place. (S)

Secretary of State Powell: Let's exchange our information. (S)

President Putin: On the whole, the way the United States talks about Chechnya, and the way your media covers it, could be much better. We realize what's happening there. We are making great efforts and showing great patience in order to bring order to Chechnya, and to bring it back to being a peaceful part of Russia. We don't receive any help from the international community, and we do not ask for such help; we only ask that no one hampers us in our efforts. We have no intention of terrorizing ordinary people in Chechnya. One thing should be clear for everyone: those who fight against us in Chechnya are a branch of al-Qaida. We have explained and this has met with understanding on the part of some Islamic states but from our new partners we don't see such support. (S)

The President: You have no stronger friend in the struggle with terror than the United States. We will not compromise in this struggle. When you were attacked in Moscow, we were the first to express our support. Others were quiet, but not us. Words are important, but not as important as actions. When we received information that terrorists were moving into Chechnya from Georgia, the first thing we did was to toughen up efforts in the Pankisi Gorge and start intelligence sharing. I agree that we need to find terrorists before they kill your people and our people. If we don't stop them in the Pankisi or southern Russia, they'll come to the United States. We're allies in the war on terrorism. We spoke yesterday about Abu Atiya, and we have exchanged intelligence about his efforts to steal MANPADS to shoot down your planes. He was planning to place bombs near your summer residence, and he wanted to kill you. He wants to kill me, too, I suppose. We are sharing intelligence and we brought him in. We are cooperating. You will hear criticism about Chechnya, if it looks like the elections are not going to be free and fair. I praised you about the decision to have

Chechen elections in front of the press when we were in Russia. On one hand, we must fight terrorists, and on the other hand we must allow people to express their opinions at the polls and have more power to run their own lives. Your leadership for that vision is critical, and people are more likely to accept your vision if elections are free and fair. With terrorists, however, you have so stronger ally and friend. I'm the guy who said, "dead or alive," and I meant it. (S)

President Putin: George, if we didn't see you as allies, we wouldn't be sitting here and talking about these things at all. (S)

The President: If you want more intelligence cooperation on this issue, and at the border, we can do that. We should also cut off their money, like you said to the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia. (S)

President Putin: About the elections in Chechnya, we'll discuss Iraq later, and you know my position: there shouldn't be a vacuum of power, though there should be greater transfer of power, and the trappings of power. We should be careful as we take these steps. (S)

The President: That's our position, too. (S)

President Putin: Our positions are very close. And Chechnya is the same thing; it isn't different. The question is only when, and to what extent, to share power. All the candidates in the Chechen election were acceptable to us. No one was unacceptable. Many were living in Moscow and had business interests there, so we know them well. None of the candidates was associated with the guerillas or the opposition. So, the question is which of them has enough character, enough strength, to keep the situation under control. We know what is happening there, and we will achieve a final settlement. We won't put our partners in an uncomfortable position because of our actions. But keep in mind that anything can happen there, like in Iraq: your troops shot a family in a car. It was an accident. We understand. These things happen. We didn't blame your government or stick our nose in your affairs. We understand the political aspects, and we won't make our partners uncomfortable there. (S)

The President: One thing is very important to us: to send a consistent message to the world. Everybody is listening to us, to you and to me. It is very important that we speak about the

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elections as free and fair elections. That's why we also speak of the importance of a free press. It is part of our value system. I'm not trying to poke you in the eye, but it's part of my credibility to speak consistently about these things. We must hold the ground on issues which we hold dear. So, you will hear consistently from us, and on a high plane, about values, including those values we want to see put into effect in Iraq. ~~(S)~~

About Afghanistan, thank you for what you said. It looks like Karzai is gaining strength and confidence. We do need help with Pakistan in chasing down the Taliban leadership. They have done very well about al-Qaida, for example with Khalid Sheikh Mohammad and operatives close to Osama bin-Laden. Pakistan didn't tell anybody; their intelligence didn't leak about this operation and we moved in together. This was top al-Qaida leadership. Now they must get equally tough on the Taliban on the southeast border. Karzai is worried about the south, not the north. The other issue there is drugs. People are making 1 dollar a day busting their behinds working. And they can make 5 dollars a day carrying poppies. And so they will carry poppies. Plus, a lot of people in Europe use heroin. Our strategy on drugs in Afghanistan is not very good; it's not working. We have to develop one that does. Thanks for your understanding on this. It is very important to the world that this works. There should not be a vacuum. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: I have one question about Afghanistan. We have a good military base in Tajikistan, with about 15,000 troops, including border troops. This would be a good background base for your forces in Afghanistan. We could help with air transport. We are also ready to share intelligence. Our partners are not enthusiastic about this, however. We don't insist, but we are ready for this cooperation. We have a proposal, and there are no hidden thoughts behind it. ~~(S)~~

The President: Thank you. I was just asking the Secretary of Defense about this and he says we're aware of the offer. This is a very kind gesture. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: There are advantages to using this base. Our people there have experience; they know the situation well; they have a network of agents locally. Their knowledge could be useful. ~~(S)~~

The President: The best intelligence for finding the killers is human intelligence. It was very good for a while to intercept

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their phone calls, but they got wise to this. Now they use pigeons. (S)

President Putin: We should shoot the pigeons. For soup. (S)

The President: And eat them. "Messenger soup." (S)

President Putin: This is a good opportunity to talk about Iraq. It's important for us to understand what U.S. objectives are for the documents we are preparing at the U.N. Let me underscore what I shared with Colin at dinner. Whatever document passes in the U.N., the situation there will remain very complicated. I recall the beginning of my actions in Chechnya. I met personally with many Chechens, especially in the beginning. I have continued such meetings, but in the beginning these were very frequent. The point is that some of them told me that to defeat us, you must be as brutal as we are ourselves. I believe this will be true in Iraq as well: the problem in Iraq is that your soldiers will not be as brutal as those they are fighting. These people are of a different civilization. I do not mean religious or ethnic differences, but there is a difference of mentality. So, the best way to bring order is to get Iraqis to fight themselves. (S)

The President: That's right. I've made a note to myself about this. (S)

President Putin: What is the best way to ensure this? It took a long time for us in the Caucasus. If the U.N. resolution passes, it will show we are on the right path. But what is your objective in Iraq? (S)

The President: Our objective is to have an orderly process. This will start with a constitution, involving all the ethnic groups in the country. Then there will be free elections, and we will leave. Of course, if after the elections the government still wants us around to provide security or humanitarian aid, we'll consider it. Our intention is to have a peaceful society there. I understand what you mean when you raised their mentality. The priority is to work at this carefully and seriously, and to deal with the outsiders who are coming there to disrupt things. Some people are coming in, like from Saudi Arabia, to destabilize Iraq. The best way to get rid of these groups is to have the Iraqi people go after al-Qaida, Ansar al-Islam, Hezbollah, and the others. (S)

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You and I share goals: reasonable progress toward elections, on the basis of a constitution, and we will move on this. Thanks for your advice. (S)

Second is our strategy with respect to security. We are trying to kill as many of the enemy as we can. But our capability is limited by our capacity to gather human intelligence. We need to infiltrate the cells. It is hard. A lot of arms are moving around. Not small arms, but mortars. The terrorists are using them, like at a market recently. This is all aimed at driving us out. The casualties are having an effect on the U.N. The U.N. is pulling out. Why? Because they're afraid. They're afraid, but we're not. It's tough. No one likes signing a letter to a mother whose son has died. But a peaceful Iraq will change a part of the world that needs to change. It would change Saudi Arabia; peace in the Middle East would be more possible. This would be the beginning of a strategic change in the Middle East. Your point about a power vacuum is key. We had our differences about how that vacuum was created. But it is time for people to understand the stakes. Clear statements, like Schroeder's statement on television, would be very important. (S)

The third aspect is rebuilding the country that Saddam ruined. We're making progress with hospitals running, schools functioning, and with oil. The biggest problem is electricity. It's up, but not yet to pre-war levels. There is a lot of sabotage, and our priority is to do a better job. The infrastructure had deteriorated, though. We've been there five months, and there's been a lot of progress. But the world, well, we live in a world where everything is supposed to happen yesterday. A free press has its drawbacks. We're getting our asses kicked everyday, everyday. But we have to remind people we've only been there five months. I'm not changing my mind about a free press. They're writing a constitution, and it took us 12 years to write one. There's progress. We'll get the money out of the Congress. They will extract a couple of pints of blood, but we'll get it. (S)

We'll work on a resolution, too. We want sovereignty, and the best way to get it is for an election, and for that you need a constitution. We won't let people we don't know well spend \$20 billion. These are nice people, but we don't know how it will end up. Thank you for your comments: (S)

President Putin: Let me follow up. First, we won't block the resolution. That is for sure. (S)

Second, we want to be active participants, and actively support you: We will determine what to do depending on how our point of view is taken care of in the resolution. (S)

Third, we want to avoid some wording that is susceptible to dual interpretation. Colin and Igor can work at this. (S)

Secretary of State Powell: Yes. (S)

President Putin: I'm pleased by what you said about the Middle East in general, and how Iraq can be the beginning of a larger process of change in the region. That's a very serious statement. (S)

The President: I meant it. (S)

President Putin: It is right to think of stability in this way. I should say at the outset that we will take a selective approach. We will treat each case separately, and we will make sure that changes do not go against our national interests. But the idea is right, and we will look at joint work to support this. (S)

The President: Each case is different, and each country is different. Some have hope; others do not. No one expects you to go against your national interest. But it is important that you and I keep in mind the larger objective: we should help create conditions for positive change in an area that could become a hotbed of recruits for terrorists and fighters in the war we are fighting. We should recall Japan after World War II. It's a very different country, but the same principles apply here: we rebuilt it; we helped put in place a constitution and free elections; and now, 50 years later, it is not a threat to anyone, but is a friend to Russia and the United States. People think in the short-term about what can be done in a year, but you and I need to think 20-30 years ahead. China will be a challenge, but the part of the world that we're discussing will also be a challenge, and we need to resolve issues there. (S)

Let's take Iran. You have interests there, so do we. We have short-term objectives: we want them to hand over al-Qaida operatives that they are holding to their countries of origin. They have 60 of them, of which 10 or 11 are top killers. We have had signals that they want to work out means to settle this. You should help us by passing the word to them that this is important. (S)

President Putin: Yes. We have spoken to them. ~~(S)~~

The President: Thank you. It's also in your interest to get them out of Iran. There's no telling where they could strike: against you in Moscow or Chechnya, or against us in New York. Second, we want Iran to help with the Shia in southern Iraq so they don't stir up trouble; Russian pressure would be helpful. Third, it is important to settle the issue of their development of nuclear weapons. Your statements have been strong. This is an area where the international community needs to work together. The best thing to do is to come together with a common message. I talked to Chirac about this, and he was very tough about Iran's nuclear ambitions. We can work out a cooperative way to do this. I recall how you pointed out that Iran had received some equipment from U.S. and Dutch firms. No one is pointing fingers, but I believe we're making progress on this. My worry is that if it looks like they're developing a nuclear weapon, our friend Sharon will blast it. Then what the hell would we do? ~~(S)~~

President Putin: They'd build another. ~~(S)~~

The President: They'll blast back. And no one knows what events it would trigger. We need the IAEA to make sure there is transparency and accountability. You have influence with Iran. We must work together. They may have legitimate reasons to have a nuclear power plant, but I don't know why when they have more oil and gas than they know what to do with. The key is that they do not have weapons. The best solution is a diplomatic one. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: We need to agree on principles of cooperation. From time to time you place sanctions on our firms, but not others. The United Kingdom, German, and Dutch firms transfer equipment, but there are no sanctions. There should be an equal approach. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's fine with me. This policy should be applied equally. I've checked, and no U.S. firms are involved. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Otherwise, our businesses will make trouble and make things difficult on other issues. ~~(S)~~

The President: We don't do things that way. The French do this. I agree with you on this. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: We could discuss this in the G-8. This is a G-8 issue. ~~(S)~~

The President: First of all, at the first G-8 we had, there was not a lot of concern expressed about Iran, and some thought we were exaggerating their weapons program. At the next G-8, there was more universal agreement, because there was more evidence that Iran was taking advantage of availability of purchased and stolen equipment. The Dutch equipment, we believe, was stolen, by the way. Each case is different, and Iran is different than Iraq. We can achieve important outcomes together without damaging anyone's interests by working together. We can work together. There is a real danger of Iran with nuclear weapons.

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President Putin: It's in their constitution. ~~(S)~~

The President: The other thing is that if they have nuclear weapons, and you or a future Russian President expressed friendship for Israel, they could aim their weapons at you, or at us. That's international blackmail. We have a common interest here. But frankly, it's harder for us to influence Iran. We have no commercial relations with them, so we need to work together. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: We understand and share your concerns. The only thing is to work out common principles, but on WMD we have common concerns. On WMD, we have one question: what about Iraq? I don't intend to raise this issue publicly or suggest that the war was mistaken; I'd prefer to remain silent on that. I challenged Blair on this, but frankly I'm sorry I did. The real concern is if there were WMD in Iraq, where are they now? This was a serious responsibility for the U.S. military. The United States has taken responsibility for finding them, and they are a potential source of real danger to you and to us. In whose hands are they now? If they're in nobody's hands, thank God. ~~(S)~~

The President: If there were none, Saddam Hussein would have let the inspectors in. This guy David Kay, the former inspector, is developing a report and this will come out soon. We'll put out the report next week. I don't know what's in it. If I did, I'd be accused of having written it. We're learning more about this and we should talk after Thursday, when it

becomes public. Interviews with Iraqi officials we have in custody are hard, because we don't practice torture. But there are some indications that they were ordered to destroy weapons. But there is a question of whether this happened, and what happened to them? I believe the intelligence on which the U.N. Security Council voted was valid. (S)

President Putin: We are interested in this and will use all means available to us, and will share all the information we have with you. (S)

The President: I want to thank you for your support on North Korea. You were helpful on this. (S)

President Putin: They were offended by our position. (S)

The President: Who gives a damn? (S)

President Putin: They've been offended and could stop cooperating. My approach is different. I gave Kim three Orlov horses for his birthday. He loves horses. We don't know what he has. This may be blackmail as you suggested. But it can't be excluded that he has something. I'd like to hear your position. North Korea says it wants security guarantees and that the United State has been evasive. Why not give them? (S)

The President: We did, orally. In South Korea, I said that we had no intention of invading the North. You never take the military option off the table, you know that. It would be the best diplomatic course if we are able together to make the same strong point about nuclear weapons. Our first strategy was to energize the Chinese to take this seriously. There are the most interested in preventing North Korea from developing them, because they are right on the border. (S)

President Putin: So are we. (S)

The President: I beg your pardon. Look, Kim Jong Il is broke and his population is shrinking. Their military has lowered the height requirement for military recruits and the weight requirement as well. We want to help the people; we feel sorry for them. But we won't until they have agreed to get rid of nuclear weapons. If they want a joint statement from us that there will be no invasion, we could consider it. But this is not on a treaty level, and the Senate would never ratify something like this anyway. He's trying to wriggle out of the net. They want to weaken the front. He's like a baby who

throws his food on the floor. All the adults run up to him and try to calm him down and put the food back. We pick up the food and he throws it down again. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Just don't let him go horseback riding. ~~(S)~~

The President: We want to make progress, but we can't convince him if he thinks that Russia and China don't care. The best way to handle this is for all of us to say the same thing. If we do, he will change his mind. We should just let the food stay on the floor. If he has weapons, we need to stop their transfer. That's why we have worked on our proliferation security initiative. He's running drugs as well, including to your country. Why do we care if he's mad? What can he do? He can't affect your economy. He's a bad dude, as they say in California. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Our logic is understandable. Thanks for the bigger picture of your thinking. We must all check our position with each other, from time-to-time. Soon, whether he or others are in charge, the country will start changing. We must create the conditions for change there. We shouldn't make him feel isolated. ~~(S)~~

The President: We should remember the first step. Our common goal is to get rid of his weapons. It's okay to say, "let's open up," but we have to simultaneously get rid of his weapons. He would just take advantage of anything we offered, and not get rid of his weapons. Remember that he made a deal with my predecessor and lied. You can't trust him. When he does get rid of the weapons, that's something else. We want to help the people. We do care about the suffering of the people. It breaks my heart. Children are eating tree bark. But we can't let our emotions get ahead of the reality of these dangerous weapons. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: I understand. Thanks. ~~(S)~~

The President: We've got five minutes before we have to prepare for the press conference. There is one issue to raise: intellectual property rights. This isn't just a Russian problem. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: They tell me that this is on the checklist. ~~(S)~~

The President: Good. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: We have passed a law. We will work on this.

The President: You know, there is one other thing, not on the checklist: that's the sex trade. It's a problem in Kosovo, the Far East and other places. It's a bad deal. Young girls are sent out and exploited. There are sex tour operators in the United States, and we are planning to arrest them and put them in jail.

President Putin: I agree, we are also working on this. If we can do as well as we do on counter narcotics, we will get results.

The President: It is hard for us to complain a lot about narcotics when so much of the trade is driven by demand in my own country.

President Putin: I want to raise another point, about Guantanamo. You are planning to return our citizens detained there.

National Security Advisor Rice: Seven of the eight.

President Putin: I don't know what we will do.

National Security Advisor Rice: Attorney General Ashcroft sent a letter to Ustinov about returning seven of the eight.

President Putin: I have no doubt that they are guerrillas who belong in jail.

The President: I don't worry. They're coming your way.

President Putin: But we can't put them in jail. We have no proof. We interrogated them in Guantanamo, and they claimed that they were just praying to Allah when the Americans grabbed them. To bring them to court we must have evidence. We have put this in the checklist and will discuss it. But we must take them back only after we have evidence and can bring them to trial and keep them in jail.

The President: We'd rather have you feed them than us.

Secretary of State Powell: We sent you a letter and got a response.

President Putin: I spoke to the prosecutor, and we don't have evidence. ~~(S)~~

The President: You don't want them back? ~~(S)~~

President Putin: We must get our people together to develop the evidence first. Without evidence, once they are on Russian soil, we can detain them only for 48 hours.

National Security Advisor Rice: That's news to us. ~~(S)~~

The President: Okay, let's prepare for the press conference.
(U)

-- End of Conversation --

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4160

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Vladimir Putin of the
Russian Federation (U)

PARTICIPANTS: UNITED STATES

Andrew Card, Assistant to the President and
Chief of Staff
Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Thomas Graham, Special Assistant to the
President and Senior Director for Russian
Affairs, NSC Staff, (Notetaker)
Peter Afanassenko, Interpreter

RUSSIA

President Vladimir Putin
Sergey Prikhodko, Assistant to the President
for Foreign Policy
Yuri Ushakov, Russian Ambassador to the
United States
Sergey Kislyak, Deputy Minister of Foreign
Affairs
Aleksey Korzhuev, Interpreter

DATE, TIME June 8, 2004, 4:40 - 5:45 p.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Dunbar House, Sea Island, Georgia

The President: Good to see you Vladimir. It's warm here. Did
you have a good trip to Mexico? (U)

President Putin: I made only a brief visit. (U)

The President: Did you see Fox? (U)

President Putin: Yes, he sends his best regards. (U)

The President: Did you go to Los Pinos, to his official
residence? (U)

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Classified by: Gregory L. Schulte

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 6/14/14

President Putin: Yes, it was in a beautiful park. (U)

The President: Thanks for the Iraq resolution. It's good. I appreciate your help. It should pass as we talk. I appreciate your good work on it. (S)

President Putin: I had a word with Lavrov. It will pass. (S)

The President: Thanks a lot. I have a Presidential Checklist for us to approve. (S)

President Putin: Is the bureaucracy giving us assignments again? I know what you are talking about. Kislyak has briefed me, and he didn't object to anything on the Checklist. So it will be fine. How's your mood? (S)

The President: Good. It's been tough. The prison scandal created problems. As your ambassador will tell you, it made people sick, but the public mood will change. It's already starting. People are seeing progress. With the prison scandal and the killing in April and May, a lot of people said there was no hope. But views are changing. We are getting rid of Bremer. He acted like a dictator. He was telling the Iraqis, "Do this! Do that!" It was important that he did that for a time. But the Iraqis got tired. Now there's a new leadership, and they get to decide. It's a good change. (S)

President Putin: You maintained a good position on this issue. The less the President expresses himself on such matters, the better. (S)

The President: You follow me pretty closely. (U)

President Putin: I have high regard for you. You're a friend. We've established good relations. You have many problems sometimes. You need to work, argue, but you're moving ahead. Your policies don't need serious change. (S)

The President: I agree. (U)

President Putin: We don't have partisan guidance on such issues. In general, I'm a democrat. (S)

The President: You got 74 percent of the vote. But the people will decide. The economy is the most important thing. Our economy is good, damn good. (S)

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3

President Putin: Our economy is doing well, too. We had 8 percent growth last year. (U)

The President: Can you see the change? Condi was just in Moscow. (U)

National Security Advisor Rice: Moscow is fantastic. It's changing fast. (U)

President Putin: We are taking steps to reform the social system. For ten years, the economy was falling apart, the country was falling apart. We were taking populist steps. We couldn't provide for salaries, wages, pensions. We promised certain benefits in laws, but we couldn't provide them. I decided to change this whole system. (S)

The President: The pension system? (U)

President Putin: The system of benefits. I will monetize them. (S)

The President: How are things going in the rural parts of Russia? Is the money spreading? (S)

President Putin: The provinces are changing. (S)

The President: Do they feel better about the future? (S)

President Putin: Not all of them have a bright future, but some have. The monetization of benefits will help the rural areas most. The benefits are received mostly by pensioners, veterans. Earlier only urban pensioners could make use of the benefits. Those in rural areas did not have access to them. (S)

The President: What do you mean by "monetize the benefits"? (S)

President Putin: The veterans had privileges: reduced phone rate, free travel on public transportation, paid vacations. We will now compute the cost and provide that amount of money directly to the veterans. (S)

The President: I see. (U)

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4

President Putin: So people will pay in cash. It's about 80 percent of what they receive. It's not large by American standards, of course. ~~(S)~~

The President: Who's this for? (U)

President Putin: For veterans, invalids. Under the previous system, the government provided funds to the clinics, railroads, etc. But much fraud resulted. The government didn't pay the full amount, then the railroads, for one, raised the fares. ~~(S)~~

The President: And that hurts the customer. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Next year, we are going to reduce the VAT by 2 percent points. ~~(S)~~

The President: And you have a great income tax, a flat tax. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Thirteen percent. (U)

The President: We need to do that in America. Our tax code is that thick. You need to pay a specialist to find out what you need to pay. Are you pleased with the success of Hadley and Chernov? ~~(S)~~

National Security Advisor Rice: The Strategic Dialogue Group. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Igor Ivanov will be taking over. He's a big boss now. He'll be working with Condi. We'll find someone to replace Chernov for Hadley. ~~(S)~~

The President: What about energy cooperation? ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Not bad. (U)

The President: Are U.S. and Russian companies working together? ~~(S)~~

President Putin: They are working together. Now we are looking at gas. But there is a question about the desire of the U.S. side. The United States wants a pipeline from West Siberia to the Barents Sea. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's not the Solovki project? ~~(S)~~

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(Presidential Assistant Prikhodko: Murmansk. (U)

President Putin: We won't allow private Russian companies or foreign companies to own the pipelines. (S)

The President: Who will build them? (S)

President Putin: A company that is 85 percent owned by the government. Our legislation is unregulated in this area, and we can't supervise this sector effectively. In the South Urals, some Russians sold a gas field through a fictitious U.S. company to China. We can't find out who sold it. The owners were registered off-shore. (S)

The President: The Getty family? (S)

President Putin: We can't find the Russian owners. But the Chinese got it and one week later they call Gazprom to Beijing and they want them to send all the gas to China. Three thousand workers worked at a compressor facility at this field, and they would lose their jobs. (S)

(The President: So there's a cost in jobs. China's the biggest long-term problem for both of us. (S)

President Putin: More for you. (U)

The President: They're not on our border. But we'll all have to deal with China. (S)

President Putin: They will seek leadership. (S)

The President: Right. But they have a big problem: how to feed a billion people. (S)

President Putin: That's not a problem. (U)

The President: There's intense poverty in rural areas. (S)

President Putin: That doesn't matter to them, not to the government. It's like North Korea. I was in North Korea. (S)

The President: When? (U)

(President Putin: Before Okinawa, 4 years ago. I saw how they treated their people. I was in a motorcade. There were a lot of women along the road. Some got pushed into the road.

(Instead of helping them, the security people just cracked their heads. It's the same in China. (S)

The President: Pretty tough. Vladimir, of all the world leaders, you understand the war with terror. I appreciate your help. We need to fight these bastards. Some people don't see it as war. (S)

President Putin: Spain left a bad impression. The terrorists set a political goal, and they achieved it. (S)

The President: Yeah, and then Prodi says, "Let's give up, we can't win." What should we discuss? We could talk about political reform, the press. Are you still moving on reform? (S)

President Putin: I don't understand your points. The press is one thing; I am another thing. (S)

The President: I don't like a lot of what I read in the press, but it's important. (S)

(President Putin: I don't read a lot of what they write. (S)

The President: We set up a forum where we could discuss the press, how to make it independent. (S)

President Putin: Our press is completely independent. You might have some problems. (S)

The President: Our press is independent as hell. (S)

National Security Advisor Rice: We're talking about the media dialogue, for financing an independent press. You were worried about the concentration of TV, the press, in a few hands. There's now a concern that the independent press is being pushed aside by the government. We had a media dialogue. We need to intensify it. (S)

President Putin: How many TV stations do we have? (S)

Presidential Assistant Prikhodko: Hundreds in the regions. (S)

(President Putin: And they're all independent. On the national level, the biggest is state-owned. The second one is in both state and private hands, but is a joint stock company. The third belongs to Gazprom. But it wants to sell it. (S)

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7

The President: Are they going to sell it on the stock market?
(S)

President Putin: No, but they are quite active. Gazprom will sell it. They are setting up a bidding process. (S)

The President: I hear you didn't know Barbara was in Moscow. Didn't you hear from our Ambassador? (S)

President Putin: You should have told our Ambassador. He tells us everything. He writes long telegrams. I'm tired of reading them, honestly. But turning to space, since the shuttle disaster we have been carrying all the astronauts and supplies to the international space station. There is an agreement that the United States should buy transportation services from us. But you are not paying, you are making reference to Iran. (S)

The President: How's that? (U)

National Security Advisor Rice: Congress is involved. (S)

The President: We need to take a look at that. We shouldn't have made promises if we couldn't fulfill them. (S)

President Putin: It will hurt the space program. On Iran, we won't move forward on our project, unless Iran signs the spent-fuel return agreement. They have said they will, but they are trying to avoid the issue. But our position remains solid. First, I said no deliveries until you sign. Second, you need to put all nuclear programs under IAEA safeguards. And third, our position is closer to the United States, than it is to the EU's. We insist on the Iranians foregoing work on the nuclear fuel cycle, even if they legally have a right to it. We must convince them not to do that. (S)

The President: Thanks. (U)

President Putin: If we can fix Iran, then we can fix space.
(S)

National Security Advisor Rice: Iran is a problem on non-proliferation. (S)

Secretary Card: The problem with space is that there is no other provider besides the Russians at this point. (S)

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8

President Putin: But we are doing this on our own now. (S)

Secretary Card: I will look into it. (U)

The President: We will look into it. What else do we have to discuss? (U)

President Putin: Military to military cooperation. We need to find a way to work on missile defense. We need to conclude an intergovernmental agreement on defense technology. (S)

The President: Sergey Ivanov and Don Rumsfeld have been talking about that. (S)

President Putin: But we need an agreement. Your people go from institute to institute, enterprise to enterprise, and get what they need. We need a package deal to structure our cooperation. (S)

The President: I'm not sure what that means. Are you worried about industrial spies? (S)

President Putin: No, it's not about spies or espionage. It's just that your people know what they want. They know where to find it. They go from institute to institute and they get all this information for free. So we need a more structured process. One more thing on military-to-military cooperation. We are prepared to participate in the exercise in the North Atlantic. (S)

The President: That would be fine. (U)

President Putin: In the fall. (U)

The President: It's a good idea. (U)

National Security Advisor Rice: Rumsfeld talked to Sergey Ivanov about it. We'll work on it. (S)

The President: How about Kim? Are we making progress? (S)

President Putin: Yes. I might meet with him in the fall. If it happens, I'll try to convince him on the need to move forward. He understands the need to change, but he doesn't know how or what to do. If we can instill in him the idea that he is not in danger, that would provide him an argument to do something. (S)

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The President: He'll say, "If we didn't have nuclear weapons, the United States would invade." That makes no sense. Why would we want to invade? (S)

President Putin: You said there was no need to invade Iraq, and then you did. (S)

The President: What if there was a U.N. Security Council resolution? (S)

President Putin: He doesn't read the Security Council any better than you do. We need to make him feel more comfortable. (S)

The President: He says the United States will invade. We have already told him we won't. (S)

President Putin: I don't understand why you don't talk to him directly. (S)

The President: The last time we did that, he lied. So it's better to have five voices. We need to get all five to say the same thing, so he can't lie, the way he did to Clinton. (S)

President Putin: He told Clinton he had nuclear weapons. He told me he told that to Clinton. (S)

The President: Well, Clinton didn't tell anyone. (S)

President Putin: He had to attend to more serious things. Well, now we have covered almost everything. (S)

The President: We need to advance strategic dialogue at all levels. (S)

President Putin: Agreed. Why don't we personally participate in the naval exercise in the North Atlantic. It would make a great picture. (S)

The President: That would be interesting. But I won't have the time. I'll be out campaigning. (S)

President Putin: But it wouldn't hurt the campaign. You could always say that you had to devote time to affairs of state and could not afford to waste time chasing votes. (S)

The President: It doesn't work that way here. Anything else?

(S)

National Security Advisor Rice: PSI. (U)

President Putin: We will also take part in patrolling the Mediterranean. (S)

National Security Advisor Rice: We also need to continue to work on liability issues. It's critical to the Global Partnership. (S)

The President: What's the problem? (U)

President Putin: Kislyak can explain. (S)

Deputy Foreign Minister Kislyak: We have signed agreements on liability protections with all of the G-8 except the United States. We have suggested negotiations to the United States. But the United States' position was that it would not talk until the Russians had ratified the 1992 umbrella agreement. Now we have put it on the Checklist, and Kislyak and Bolton are charged with looking into this issue. This is a good sign. (S)

National Security Advisor Rice: This concerns plutonium disposition. We are under time pressure. This is a big deal.

(S)

President Putin: I hope they will make progress. (S)

National Security Advisor Rice: It's a complicated issue. It concerns coverage for U.S. employees, workers. (S)

The President: You and Bolton are discussing this? (S)

Deputy Foreign Minister Kislyak: Not yet. The United States wants us to ratify the CTR agreement in the G-8 framework. That's not acceptable to us. I'll give you an example. Under the CTR arrangements, not only U.S. officials, but also contractors, sub-contractors, and sub-sub-contractors are freed of all responsibility for any accidents. With other countries, we have agreed on who will take responsibility, but we haven't with the United States. Suppose there was a terrorist or a deliberate act of sabotage. Why shouldn't these people be held liable? Since 1992, we have concluded agreements on different terms, along the lines of those we have signed with other G-8

countries. And we have even signed some agreements with the United States that do not have CTR-like provisions. Only today do we have an instruction to work on this issue. (S)

National Security Advisor Rice: We shouldn't underestimate the Congressional problem. We need to make sure that all our private contractors have the same protections. We need an agreement so that we can move forward on plutonium disposition. (S)

President Putin: On WTO, we need to coordinate our positions. (S)

The President: I'm mindful of the deal you cut with the EU. But we're not going to join Kyoto. (S)

President Putin: This is not about a deal. Everyone is interested in Russia's joining the WTO. (S)

The President: What's the problem? (U)

National Security Advisor Rice: The biggest problem is IPR, the absence of prosecution of those engaged in piracy. If this is not stopped, it will produce action against Russia under our system. (S)

President Putin: Condi has a point. We have started to work on this matter, and we intend to build on our effort. We will work on it. (S)

The President: Russia's being in WTO will be great. (S)

President Putin: I spent a lot of time persuading the public that we need to enter the WTO. Many are concerned that our economy is not very competitive. (S)

The President: But it's getting better. (U)

President Putin: But many problems remain. Our industry is not energy-efficient. (S)

The President: I have a friend in a law firm, which has an office in Moscow. He tells me the smartest people in that office in Moscow are Russians. (S)

President Putin: They're still hungry, so they work well. (S)

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12

(The President: Is it time to bring the press in? Okay , we'll both say something, but no questions. (U)

: -- End of Conversation --

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8186

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Memcon with President Putin of Russia in
Santiago, Chile, on November 20, 2004 (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Secretary Powell
Steve Hadley, Assistant to the President
Thomas Graham, Special Assistant to the
President and Senior Director for Russian
Affairs, Notetaker
Peter Afanasenko, Interpreter

President Putin
Sergey Lavrov, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Sergey Prikhodko, Assistant to the President
for Foreign Policy
Igor Neverov, Head, North America
Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Notetaker
Aleksy Fokin, Interpreter

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: November 20, 2004, 12:35 - 1:45 p.m.
Santiago, Chile

The President: Thanks for stopping by. (U)

President Putin: Congratulations on the election. It was a tough battle. I was very pleased that you showed your character. You reacted flexibly, but you didn't change your character, and you won. (U)

The President: It was a tough race. (U)

President Putin: We saw that. People complain of the tough tactics we use in Russia. But now they see where we learned them. (U)

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Classified By: Gregory Schulte

Reason: 1.4(d)

Declassify on: 11/22/2014

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685218

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2

The President: My opponent was very gracious after I won. (S)

President Putin: Your advantage was clear then. (U)

The President: He didn't have any choice. (U)

President Putin: What I didn't like was the way your opponent stood before the cameras waving the newspaper and saying that the war was going wrong in Iraq. The terrorists' goal in Iraq was to kill 1000 of your soldiers and hope that would affect the election campaign. Your opponent played into their hands. That was shocking. (S)

The President: I appreciated your statements of support. I saw them as an expression of friendship. That meant a lot. Now we have a chance to work together for four years. (S)

President Putin: If you had lost, I would have had a lot of problems. (S)

The President: You are always a practical man. (U)

President Putin: I did what I did deliberately. (U)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: I didn't say the terrorists would win if you lost. I said they would be celebrating. And that's what would have happened. (S)

The President: We have a framework to go forward, a strategic dialogue which we have talked a lot about for four years. The commitment is to continue on a variety of fronts. I'm beginning to understand your way of governing, and you understand me. That makes it easier to work together. As part of the Strategic Dialogue, we need to work together on your immediate neighborhood. Our officials need to be in contact. We need to understand what you are dealing with and work together on this level. (S)

President Putin: I agree. There are mechanisms. We need to use them. (U)

The President: Good. Let's do it. On Georgia, I thought cooperation was good. The situation has calmed down. Thank you for the ability to deal with a sensitive issue for you. (S)

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3

President Putin: There are 5 million Georgians. One million live in Russia. In essence, they maintain their families by working in Russia. We try to find the possibility for dialogue. It's important that they don't cross the threshold and talk about war. The problem is historical. It didn't begin with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Georgia has always pursued a policy of Georgianization of the Ossetians and Abkhaz. It's been that way for centuries. It's a complicated question. In the past, in people's passports, they said people were Georgians even when they weren't. Georgia is a mini-empire. They need to be patient in dealing with other ethnic groups to keep them in one state. (S)

The President: How's their leader? How do you get along with him? (U)

President Putin: Okay. (U)

The President: He's very enthusiastic. (U)

President Putin: Overenthusiastic. I can talk to him. But he has friends who are a bit too much. They put people in jail without investigations and court hearings. Then they start arresting and expropriating property, especially the Minister of Internal Affairs. (S)

The President: The Georgian Minister? (S)

President Putin: Yes. There's a difficult situation within the governing group. Everyone wants to be on top. (S)

The President: That's how it is in America. You think 2004 was bad. Wait until 2008. (S)

President Putin: I had the same problem in Chechnya. Ask any Chechen on the street if Chechnya needed a president, and he would say, "Yes." Ask him who the president should be, and he would say, "Me." (S)

The President: Very good. What's your view of Chechnya? (S)

President Putin: It's as to be expected. Not much good is happening in the rebuilding of the social environment. But it's quiet. (S)

The President: Are you able to track terrorist acts? (S)

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4

(President Putin: It's difficult. There are no fixed borders, especially with Georgia. There are a lot of refugees, including from neighboring republics. (S)

The President: Thanks for all the positive things about Iraq. (S)

President Putin: Everyone was trying to stir up the situation. There are enough problems. I'm looking for solutions. (S)

The President: I appreciate that. Germany and France are being very helpful on Iraqi debt. They agreed to an 80 percent write-off. I hope you could consider the same thing. It would be very helpful. I don't want to isolate you, but . . . (S)

President Putin: Germany and the United States are rich countries, unlike Russia. (S)

The President: You have \$50-a-barrel oil. That's what we are paying. (S)

President Putin: Our oil is \$35 a barrel. (S)

(The President: You mean that is your profit from selling a barrel. (S)

President Putin: No, you're talking about Brent, our oil is Urals blend. It has a lot of sulfur. It costs \$35 a barrel. (S)

The President: Well, you have a lot of natural gas. (S)

President Putin: Just what don't we have! But the population is still quite poor. Despite that, as a percentage of GDP, we spend more on write-offs for poor countries than anyone else, including the United States. And we are in third place in absolute terms, after Japan and France, in debt write-offs for poor countries. (S)

Minister Lavrov: For the highly indebted countries. (S)

The President: I'm interested in Iraq. (S)

(President Putin: I talked to Baker about this, and I made a statement that we would write off a significant amount, 50 percent. (S)

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The President: Here's where the issue is right now. The Paris Club can move forward with an 80 percent write-off with you. You're in a strange position, or in a powerful position. Who are you going to be with? (S)

President Putin: We'll look at other countries. (S)

The President: Okay. Thank you. (U)

President Putin: We want to decide this issue after the elections in Iraq. I've invited Allawi to Moscow. (S)

The President: You'll like the guy. He's a tough dude. A very strong man. He told a story about Saddam's sending people with axes to cut up his wife and him. He was asleep in a London hotel, and he wakes up to see two guys with axes. He escaped, although they cut him up bad. [REDACTED] b(6)

[REDACTED] b(6) Thanks for inviting him. (S)

President Putin: I will talk to him. Iraq is a rich country. (S)

The President: It sure is, but made poor by a dictator. A stable Iraq is in your interest. I appreciate your comments to that effect. My attitude is that some people fighting there will fight elsewhere. (S)

Minister Lavrov: If they're not fighting there, they would be fighting elsewhere. (S)

President Putin: It is better to get rid of them there. (S)

The President: That's right. Thanks for your position on Iran. Many people think that if Iran were to come close to a nuclear weapon, the Israelis would launch a military strike. But we have no evidence it's imminent. If it happened, you know the consequences. (S)

President Putin: I know. I talked to our European friends. They say that even if it had weapons, Iran would not use them. They're not afraid. But I think the Iranians are crazy; they are ready to sacrifice themselves and others. The Europeans are not very convincing. (S)

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(The President: I took to heart what you said. Iran got parts from all around the world. I appreciate your offer of feedstock and to take back spent fuel. (S)

President Putin: First they have to sign the agreement. We have insisted that they sign an agreement to return spent fuel. (S)

The President: We need to keep working together. We can work together on North Korea, too. I do not want to return to the past position of this being a U.S.-North Korean issue. When I'm in that position, the only option is the military option. I don't want it to come to that. Otherwise, the North Koreans will string it out, saying the U.S. won't do this or that. Thanks for being party to the talks. Of course, the Chinese have more influence on the guy, and more money. (S)

President Putin: I said to Hu, "George says you are the best guy to handle it." (S)

The President: What did he say? (S)

President Putin: He just waved his hands. (S)

(The President: I don't want the U.S. doing this alone. (S)

President Putin: I think the Six-Party talks are right. (S)

The President: China wants to wave them off. (S)

President Putin: They're very important. (S)

The President: Hu is a modern thinker. (S)

President Putin: For 5-6 years, he was behind Zemin. Who knew what he was doing? (S)

The President: You'll never find out. (S)

President Putin: On Afghanistan, we understand what is happening. We can call the elections "conditional." But we understand the need to settle the situation. The United States, Europe, and Russia need a coordinated position. When the process began, during the military operation, you said you would look at all ethnic groups in forming the government. (S)

(The President: Right. (U)

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President Putin: We supported your idea of a Pashtun leader. This worked for everyone, the Uzbeks, Tajiks, Hazara. Now we see isolation of the Northern Alliance. Honestly, I don't understand why. They are easy to talk to; they fought against the Taliban. They are not close to us; they fought against the Soviet Union. Squeezing them out in the future will only worsen the situation. That's the reason why Afghanistan is not ready for parliamentary and local elections, although initially parliamentary and the presidential elections were supposed to be held simultaneously. (S)

The President: Right. That's why they were postponed for a year. (S)

President Putin: We are concerned about the internal fighting. I propose that the MFA and State Department, the special services, cooperate more on Afghanistan. (S)

The President: Good. (U)

President Putin: All these ethnic groups will run into the former Soviet Union, into Central Asia. We won't be able to stop them there. They will restart civil wars. In essence, they are one nation. The Northern Alliance are Tajiks. No matter what Tajikistan says, they will still help them. (S)

The President: We are close personally, and people ask me a lot: "What's Vladimir's strategy on democracy." I've raised my checks-and-balances concerns. But I am also your strongest defender. I know you gave a speech along this line. That's very good. You caught everyone by surprise, as you always do. It was an interview, not a speech. I understand Russia is in a state of transition. You didn't ask for my advice, but it is important to explain your view. You're one of the most visible world leaders. We've had a good conversation, and I hope you don't take it personally. But Russia is a huge, important country, and you are one of the most unique leaders your country has had. (S)

President Putin: If people ask you questions, just send them to me. (S)

The President: The New York Times asks, for example. You don't want me to send them. (S)

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(President Putin: The New York Times only runs what they are paid for. I'm ready to talk to you. Our country was put together in a unique way. It has a huge territory with ethnic groups with large territories on which they reside. In essence, there is a potential for disintegration. Stalin made a fundamental mistake in state-building. The Russia Empire was multinational, but it was never a federal state. Never. Stalin broke out the national republics and federalized the country. That laid the basis for disintegration. He thought the Communist Party would last forever. Through it, he would maintain a unitary state, even if the country was formally federalized. Today, we need a formula that ensures links between the regional and local authorities and the national level. That's why I proposed that regional leaders be elected by the legislatures on the basis of nominations by the President. (S)

The President: How does that work? People are asking me. (S)

President Putin: The President will propose a concrete person and the regional legislature will vote yes or no. (S)

(The President: Are the parliaments locally-elected? (S)

President Putin: Locally elected. (S)

Minister Lavrov: Direct popular vote. (S)

The President: It's an up or down vote? (S)

President Putin: For or against. (U)

The President: If it rejects the candidate, does the President propose another one? (S)

President Putin: Yes, a different person or the same person. The President can dissolve the legislature or suggest another candidate, if the second candidate is rejected. Election of regional leaders will be by a group of electors. (S)

The President: I wish I had the right to abolish some legislatures. (S)

(President Putin: It's an extreme measure. There are different methods. In some places, regional leaders are simply appointed. In India, they are appointed. In the UK, for all practical purposes, they are appointed - in Wales and Scotland - even

though it's a multiethnic country. You need to take into account the state of the political system in Russia. The influence of economic/political groups works directly, not indirectly, because there is no party system in place. On the regional level, there is a mono-party system. Some examples: In 1999, there was an election in the North Caucasus, in Karachai-Cherkessia. The Karachai are the larger group. They voted for and elected a Karachai President. That night, a violent conflict broke out. There were dead bodies in the street. If we had a multiparty system, a civil society, ethnic clashes would not be so prominent. But in the absence of these instruments, the result is ethnic clashes. In some republics, they alternate ethnic groups at the head. In Dagestan, there are a hundred ethnic groups. Five are titular. If the President comes from one ethnic group, the Prime Minister comes from another one, and the head of parliament from another. Then they count how many representatives of different ethnic groups serve as deputies. (S)

The President: You're worried that democracy would upset the balance? (S)

President Putin: I'm worried about the country. They don't give a damn about the elections. They find a leader, and then they find all the other leaders under him. It's very important to encourage a multiparty system. Party lists should encourage the development of a multiparty system. (S)

The President: That's a message that hasn't gotten out. (S)

President Putin: One minor point. The governors have a powerful impact on the elections in the single-mandate districts. If the President has more influence over the governors, then he would have influence over these elections. I have limited the possibility of the President having that power. (S)

Minister Lavrov: When the President nominates the governors to the local legislatures, his power is limited by going to a proportional representation system. (S)

The President: The people are watching. That message is not getting out. They haven't heard the concept of limiting the power of the President and building a multiparty system. I appreciate that discussion. (S)

(President Putin: We need to explain it better, but there is nothing that contradicts modern principles of democracy. We are looking for a more acceptable form of statehood for Russia. (S)

The President: I'm going to Europe after the inauguration. We could meet then. We would have more time. (S)

President Putin: We could discuss the substance of bilateral relations. I will be glad to receive you in Moscow on May 9, as you promised. It's the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. (S)

The President: When did I promise that? (S)

Minister Lavrov: August 23, during the election campaign. (S)

The President: In the middle of the campaign, I made a lot of promises. But we will agree. We could meet some place in Europe. (S)

President Putin: Like Geneva or Luxembourg. (S)

(The President: How about Ukraine? On Ukraine, who's going to win? (S)

President Putin: It's hard to tell, but I think the Prime Minister - what's his name? - Yanukovich? - will win. Yushchenko has taken all the electorate he will get in the first round. He is a pro-Western politician and the Left will never vote for him. In the first round, the vote split fifty-fifty. The only additional votes come from the Left. Moreover, in the Western regions, the turnout was close to 100 percent, but it was only 60 percent in other regions. (S)

The President: So it's a matter of turnout? (S)

President Putin: If the turnout goes up, Yanukovich will win. (C)

The President: It's time to go. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Putin of Russia. (U)

PARTICIPANTS: United States
The President
Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State
Andrew Card, Chief of Staff to the President
Stephen J. Hadley, Assistant to the
President for National Security Affairs
Beth Jones, Assistant Secretary of State for
European and Eurasian Affairs
Thomas Graham, Special Assistant to the
President and Senior Director for Russian
Affairs, NSC, (Notetaker)
Peter Afanasenko, Interpreter

Russia
President Vladimir Putin
Sergey Lavrov, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Sergey Ivanov, Minister of Defense
Dmitriy Medvedev, Chief of Staff
Igor Ivanov, Secretary of the Security
Council
Sergey Prikhodko, Assistant to the President
for Foreign Policy
Igor Neverov, Head, North America
Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
(Notetaker)
Anton Usbenskiy, Interpreter

DATE, TIME February 24, 2005, 4:20 - 5:30 p.m. local
AND PLACE: Bratislava, Slovak Republic

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Classified by: Gregory L. Schulte
Reason: 1.4(d)
Declassify on: 3/1/15

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President Putin: Look at all the food on the table. Should we have something to eat? (U)

The President: [REDACTED] (U)

President Putin: That's good. (U)

The President: [REDACTED] (U)

[REDACTED] (U) Igor, nice to see you. Where have you been hiding? (U)

Secretary Ivanov: In Moscow. (U)

The President: Thank you all for coming. Vladimir and I had a frank conversation, a good dialogue. We want to make sure the relationship moves forward. I found the discussion constructive, and I hope you did. (U)

President Putin: Absolutely. (U)

The President: Do you want to start? No? Okay, on Iran, thanks for working with Iran. We share the same position. It would be trouble if Iran had nuclear weapons. I appreciate your working with them. We've had this discussion before. The most constructive thing in the dialogue is your insisting that the fuel come from and be returned to Russia. We want to work with you so that Iran does not develop nuclear weapons. That's all I have to say. We have no relations with Iran. We are cheering you on. (U)

President Putin: Americans do have relations with Iran. Such ties do exist. I'm aware of this, especially from the Iranians, but not only from them. I was visited by Ruhani. (U)

The President: By whom? (U)

Secretary Rice: The National Security Adviser of Iran. (U)

The President: I beg your pardon. (U)

President Putin: The Iranians asked me to remind you that the elections in Iraq took place with their support. They don't want you to forget that they took a constructive position on Iraq. The Americans should know that. Iran is preparing a very constructive approach to the situation in Iraq. In general, they would like to begin to have relations with the United States. This is very pleasing, but it raises some

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questions. They agreed to the spent-fuel return agreement, but they are demanding a significant amount of supplies immediately, before Bushehr is finished. We said we were not going to do that. At our insistence, we will deliver it on the eve of the completion of construction, 2 to 3 months in advance, and load it directly. So I should tell you we have a consistent approach. The Iranians need to fulfill the IAEA's control and technical schedule. The second item for attention is that they didn't confirm their intention to continue the moratorium on the fuel cycle. We said we are very disappointed by that. We are opposed to their acquiring the fuel cycle. We were prepared to visit Iran for a summit, but it was postponed. We have to think about such a visit and how it could be used. We should keep in touch with you and Rice. We should work with the Europeans so that the situation evolves positively. (S)

The President: Yes, we should do that. I appreciate your leadership. (S)

President Putin: I just mentioned the details of importance from the visit. (S)

The President: The situation is troubling. If they hear the same message from the Europeans, the United States, and Russia, it will help: energy for electricity, but not for bombs. (S)

President Putin: Their position is that they are developing atomic energy within international guidelines. They have a right to the production of the fuel cycle like other countries. Brazil, for example, has such rights. (S)

The President: Brazil doesn't want to build bombs. (S)

President Putin: Iran says it won't either. I say the same thing, but my reason is different. I say, I understand you. It's unjust, but you need to understand that Brazil is not in the Middle East, it doesn't have the same relationship to Israel. The situation with Brazil is different. So, while sympathizing, nevertheless, I urge them to have more patience. It's a tough conversation. That's what I wanted to say. (S)

The President: Thanks. (S)

President Putin: Getting back to the matter of the CIS and Central Asia. I know the bases, the airfields, were installed to deal with the situation in Afghanistan. According to our information, the Americans are making a further request to

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Kyrgyzstan to place AWACs there. That has nothing to do with Afghanistan. (S)

The President: That's the first I've heard of that. We will look into it. (S)

President Putin: The AWACs would allow for a significant monitoring of Chinese territory. They are very sensitive about that. (S)

The President: We will look into it. (S)

President Putin: It raises some questions. (S)

The President: It bothers you? (S)

President Putin: Yes. (S)

The President: Sergey, did you bring this up with Don? (S)

Minister Ivanov: Yes, in Nice. (S)

The President: So they've talked about it? (S)

President Putin: Several years ago, we established the Collective Security Treaty Organization to help build stability in Central Asia. It addressed itself to NATO to discuss international and general matters. I believe it's a good idea and expect a response from NATO. I hope to get your support. (S)

The President: Have you brought it up with Rumsfeld? (S)

Minister Ivanov: Yes, but to no avail. (S)

The President: Bring up something I know something about. (S)

President Putin: To please you, I will do that and speak philosophically. On the Baltic states, I am trying to find a formula for May 9 that is a positive signal to the Balts, but we also expect a pro-active position by the United States on the situation in the Baltic states. The Russian-speaking minority is in an unequal condition. This has been admitted by all European organizations. The Baltic states have a category of people in Latvia that is unprecedented - "non-citizens." They're 400,000. They are deprived of all rights, including the right to vote. In Estonia, they have the right to participate

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(in municipal elections, but not in Latvia. Our new/old friends in the European Union are inventing interesting options in Macedonia, where 20 percent of the population is Albanian and has the right to proportional representation in government bodies. But in Riga, where 60 percent of the population is Russian, they have no rights. (S)

The President: The ethnic Russians have no rights? (S)

President Putin: They don't have the right to participate in any body of authority. They are deprived of that right. (S)

The President: I appreciate your bringing that to our attention. (S)

President Putin: I talk to the Europeans about this, and they say the situation is different, but why? They say the situation is all right in the Baltics. (S)

The President: So you have problems with the Europeans, too? They like you a hell of a lot better than me. (S)

(President Putin: Russia's a big country, so we have problems there and elsewhere. Do you want me to run through the problems East to West? (S)

The President: No, why don't you do it West to East. Let's discuss the 6-Party Talks. Hu is the main person to convince Kim. (S)

President Putin: I told him that. (S)

The President: He has the best leverage. (S)

President Putin: China has called Rice, so she knows everything. (S)

The President: The world needs to see us work together on North Korea. The same goes for the Road Map. (S)

President Putin: The state of affairs can bring a resolution. There has been significant improvement. (S)

The President: Abbas was in Moscow recently. What did you think when you met him? (S)

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(President Putin: He is absolutely different from Arafat, who was a leader of a revolution. Abbas is a politician. He has real chances. What he is now doing is succeeding in making arrangements with everyone, including Sharon. Speaking of settlements, he doesn't mean that they have to be withdrawn, only curbed. Abbas is also working with Syria. (S)

The President: Good. (S)

President Putin: President Asad recently visited. We invited him 5 years ago, but now everyone is paying attention to our relations with Syria. We had good relations, but he did not visit and he was working on relations with China. But now he is a little bit worried, so he decided to come to us. As for the Syrian troops in Lebanon, he thinks of it as a business problem, because money is involved. We have traditionally enjoyed good relations with Syria, and we are demonstrating good will. He wants to support good relations, and we want to see a positive dynamic. I was called by Sharon on weapon supplies to Syria. There were stories on katushkas in Lebanon. You know what katushkas are? (S)

The President: I know what katushkas are. (S)

(President Putin: They were used in World War II. But no one could provide information on where they were located. We are not going to sell weapons that could be used for offensive purposes against Israel. The usual range for katushkas is over 250 kilometers. In the export version, it's not over 200 kilometers. But I understand the Israelis' concerns, and won't sell them. I stopped the negotiations. We will supply short-range surface-to-air missiles, not MANPADS, but ones on a vehicle with a range of 4 to 5 kilometers. I told the Israeli President that 2 months ago, Israel was flying jets over the palace of the Syrian President. All his children hid under their beds. I asked why they need to do this. The air defense system will make the Israelis think. They are not offensive weapons, they can't reach Israel, and they can't be secretly passed to terrorists. Third, we have demanded the right to inspections at any time any place in the contract. The Syrians object. So these weapons have nothing to do with terrorism. They help develop Syria's defensive capabilities. That's a difficult topic, and a matter for separate discussions. (S)

The President: I want to give you a heads up. I don't usually put words in other leaders' mouths, but Chirac says he knows who ordered Hariri's assassination, the Syrians. That's what he

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thinks. U.N. Security Council Resolution 1559 is a joint U.S.-French resolution. It demands that Syria get its troops and secret services out of Lebanon. We can work together on that, and it's important that that happens, before the elections, if possible. Generally, I do not share private discussions. But that is what he raised with me point blank. (S)

President Putin: I know his stand on both matters. Chirac was a close friend of Hariri's. He introduced me to him. He was a good person. But I don't believe that the Syrians had anything to do with it, it would have had a bad effect for them. President Asad told me he supports the current government in Lebanon for economic reasons. I'm not sure that is true, but it is a complex situation. (S)

I want to raise a couple of other matters. First, WTO accession. It's a complex controversial problem in our country. Those in the processing industries are opposed to WTO. They believe we do not have a competitive advantage. But those in oil, metals are for accession. Our accession is in the interest of all our partners, including the United States. We are striving toward accession. Russia is prepared to make its contribution to liberalizing tariffs, to liberalizing access to services, including financial services. We want everything to be on standard terms, we want no special terms for Russia. I am grateful, George, for your initiative. The negotiators will feel it. (S)

The President: IPR is a key element. (S)

President Putin: That's a separate item for discussion. I am also prepared to cut tariffs by 40 percent for leasing airplanes and to remove all obstacles for financial companies in Russian markets. The agreement on meat quotas is on track. (S)

The President: Chickens or meat? (S)

President Putin: Today, the quota is the same as the one in the unsigned agreement. (S)

Minister Lavrov: The actual quota for this year is the same as agreed to. (S)

President Putin: We believe there will be an unbiased approach to negotiations. Cuba, you know, is a WTO member. (S)

The President: Cuba really is a member? (S)

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President Putin: Yes, and causing us problems. They demand that we fully open our market for sugar. They have a very tough position on this. If we are to accede in 2005, we have to sign our bilateral protocol already in May. (S)

The President: May would be hard. (S)

President Putin: I don't see any reason why not. We have agreement on all positions. (S)

The President: I don't know. I haven't talked to Zoellick, who, by the way, now works for Condi. (S)

President Putin: You don't need to talk, just give instructions. On space cooperation. We don't have a second rescue vehicle. The limitation is linked to Iran, there's a law on Iran that blocks procurement of necessary equipment from Russia. I told you about our cooperation with Iran, nothing is a secret. But the position taken by Congress is unhelpful. I'd like to ask you to join me in dealing with this. (S)

Secretary Rice: The law is the Iran Non-Proliferation Act. There is some missile cooperation going on. But this is one item we should take a look at. (S)

President Putin: We are prepared to be tough. We don't want missile technology to be developed in Iran. (S)

National Security Advisor Hadley: There's a certification procedure. (S)

The President: Bodman is going to be the main guy on energy, LNG, pipeline construction. (S)

President Putin: There is a good project on LNG for the U.S. market. If negotiations go as they should, by 2011/12, there will be large-scale deliveries to the United States. Gazprom is involved. American companies are buying into the oil market. In one of our companies, Lukoil, the state owned 7 percent. We sold that to ConocoPhillips. (S)

The President: Right. (S)

President Putin: We made a good profit, but not too much. (S)

The President: It's never too much. (S)

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President Putin: In principle, we didn't get what we could have. But we didn't need additional money for the budget. So I agreed not to violate the existing arrangement. (S)

The President: How's the economy doing? (S)

President Putin: Last year, it grew at 7.1 percent. (S)

The President: That's good. (S)

President Putin: China exceeds 10 percent every year. (S)

The President: They're a powerhouse. They consume more energy than we do, more steel, more raw materials. They are growing. (S)

President Putin: Another opportunity for cooperation is a pipeline in West Siberia, a Northern Pipeline to export to U.S. markets. (S)

The President: The more customers, the better. (S)

President Putin: China urged us to build a direct pipeline to China, but we chose another market, and will build a line to Nakhodka. (S)

The President: How are relations with Hu? (S)

President Putin: Very good. We had been in negotiations to settle the border problem for 40 years. Last year, we signed a border treaty. (S)

The President: Congratulations. (S)

President Putin: It was the biggest event in Sino-Russian relations. (S)

The President: You have a lot of Chinese across the border. (S)

President Putin: There are more of them in large cities in Russia, now. The numbers are growing. (S)

The President: We have 8 to 10 million illegal immigrants, mostly from Mexico and Central America. (S)

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President Putin: I know, in the south of the United States.

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The President: The Mexicans actually help our economy. They do work Americans wouldn't. They make money and send an important part of it to Mexico. (S)

President Putin: We also get cheap labor from the CIS countries. There are 25 million ethnic Russians there. There is no difficulty if other people come to Russia from there. We don't care about ethnic differences. They speak Russian, they are people of Russian culture, so they have no problem in adapting. It's not like Africans to the EU, who take long years to assimilate. In Ukraine alone, there are 15 millions Russians, which is 25 percent of the populations. That's what the official census showed 15 years ago. One hundred percent of Ukrainians are Russian speaking. By the way, the Ukrainians are going to fully nationalize their economy. They are talking of nationalizing 30,000 [did he say 30,000 or 3,000?] enterprises. That is the entire economy. The Prime Minister, Tymoshenko said that. Yushchenko corrected her and said not 30,000 but 30 key, strategic ones. But this is the whole economy. You always speak about Yukos. But we went through legal procedure, and the Ukrainians are talking about practically the whole economy. Lots of people from Ukraine work in Russia, in low-wage, unskilled work, such as construction. In Armenia, there are 2 million Armenians, and there are 2 million Armenians in Russia, more than in Armenia itself. There are 5 million Georgians in Georgia, and about a million in Russia. They transfer money to their families in Georgian, more money than in the Georgia budget. (S)

The President: That's what you get for being a big economy. Are there Koreans in Russia? (S)

President Putin: Kim refused to come for the May 9 celebrations. He was dissatisfied with our position on the 6-Party Talks and concerned about aggressive American imperialism. (S)

The President: As if we are getting ready to attack him. It's hard to believe. (S)

President Putin: He wants to talk to you directly. The Chinese ask both of us to make changes to the U.S. position. (S)

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The President: We can't let Kim peel us off from China. We can't afford to lower our leverage. (S)

President Putin: The Chinese asked you to consider if the U.S. could hint at recognizing North Korea's sovereignty. It's quite reasonable. It would be good grounds for the Talks. (S)

The President: Recognition of sovereignty? (S)

President Putin: Just hint that this is possible. (S)

The President: We won't attack. But Kim keeps changing what he wants. He's insecure. (S)

President Putin: They have nothing to lose. (S)

The President: Great meeting. Time for the press conference. (S)

- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Vladimir Putin, President of the Russian Federation (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State
Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense
Andrew Card, Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff
Steve Hadley, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
William Burns, American Ambassador to Russia
Thomas Graham, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Russian Affairs
Peter Afaneseenko, Interpreter

Vladimir Putin, President of the Russian Federation
Sergey Lavrov, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Sergey Kislyak, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
Sergey Prikhodko, Assistant to the President
Yuri Ushakov, Russian Ambassador to the United States
Igor Neverov, Director of North America Department, MFA
Andrey Tsibenko, Interpreter

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: September 16, 2005, 2:15 - 2:45 p.m. EDT
Oval Office

The President: Where's the Secretary of State? Is she coming? Oh, there she is. I was just telling Vladimir that I passed a note to Condi during the Security Council session earlier this week. "I have to go to the bathroom. How do I do this?" Now, I know how to go to the bathroom; my mother potty-trained me. But in any event, they took a picture of the note and blew it up and put it in the newspaper. (U)

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Classified by: V. Phillip Lago
Reason: 1.4(b)(d)
Declassify on: 9/20/15

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President Putin: That's not right. I was talking with Sergey [Lavrov] about the need to change this. Yours was a personal thing. Suppose it has been something secret? (U)

The President: What if it had been a dirty word? That would have been worse. (U)

Secretary Rumsfeld: What were you supposed to do? Raise your hand and ask for permission? (U)

The President: Vladimir and I had a good conversation: Iran, North Korea, the CIS. On the CIS, we agreed we should have a dialogue, a strategic dialogue, led by the MFA and Bill Burns, I mean Nick Burns, on our side. So everyone can understand what everyone wants, to dispel rumors, to understand strategies and intentions. (S)

President Putin: Precisely. We need better coordination and to avoid contradictions. (U)

The President: We also discussed the WTO. I want to get this done. I've told my people to work as hard as they can so that our bureaucracy can cut deals with Gref. But Gref has to work with his bureaucracy so that he can cut deals. We need to work on banking, civil aviation, and other things. (S)

President Putin: You have better relations with Cuba than you do with us. They're in the WTO. (S)

The President: Not because of us. (U)

President Putin: Yes, this is what you inherited. (U)

The President: We had a good talk about China, a philosophical discussion. But we both have good relations with China. (S)

President Putin: We also discussed Iran. (S)

Foreign Minister Lavrov: We discussed only Iran. (S)

Secretary Rice: Yes, we had a good extensive discussion of Iranian matters while you two were talking. We agree that no one wants Iran to have nuclear weapons and that we need to do everything to avoid nuclear weapons in Iran. Our concern is Iran's ability to reprocess and enrich. It is very important to come to a place where Iran can't enrich or reprocess. That

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would be dangerous and could be turned to a military program. We made available to the Russians our briefing on weaponization. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: I've read it. (U)

The President: Vladimir said he wanted to have his experts take a close look to get a sense of the reality of the document. I told Vladimir that is fair. Hadley, can you make that happen? ~~(S)~~

Secretary Rice: We can arrange an exchange of experts. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: This is why George mentioned the need for experts to meet. ~~(S)~~

Secretary Rice: Let me mention one other thing. The Russians believe the time for referral hasn't come. I made the point that it is important that the Iranians paid a price for the way they have acted. The Russians have some creative ideas on how to prevent the Iranians from developing an indigenous enrichment or reprocessing capability. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Sergey has laid out our idea. Our concern is that immediate referral will lead Iran to take the North Korean route. If they are indeed striving for nuclear weapons, then we will have lost control over what is happening in Iran. Then we need to do something. What? Strike? Who does that? Where? What targets? Are you sure of the information you have? It's important that we build a basis for our position. But I agree with George. If Iran violates international law, as just formulated here, then we have the right to bring this matter to the Security Council. ~~(S)~~

The President: It's not only international law. They've agreed to the Paris Agreement. It makes me nervous when they agree to something and then walk it back. It's their mentality I don't understand, in agreeing to something but not meaning it. We need to get some sense about this. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: We won't be able to read their minds. ~~(S)~~

The President: We don't need to read their minds. We just need to see how they act. Vladimir met with the Iranian president, and he gave me a description of their talks. ~~(S)~~

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President Putin: The agreement you mentioned wasn't an agreement. The Iranians say they took a voluntary step on the moratorium. (S)

The President: That's an interesting question. We believe they made an agreement with the Europeans, and so do the Europeans. They said, "We agree to this." Now they're saying they didn't agree, but the Europeans thought they had. It's hard to fathom the mindset of a country that agrees, and then doesn't mean it agreed. That makes me nervous. We don't have any contact with them, so we have to rely on others to keep the weapons out of their hands. We need to discuss how to achieve this. (S)

President Putin: I had an uneasy conversation with him, lengthy and uneasy. (S)

The President: How long? (U)

President Putin: One hour twenty minutes. I told him if he didn't continue negotiations he would drive his country into a corner and isolate it. How would he get out? (S)

The President: They're testing and probing. They are looking for a weak link. Germany seems to be the weakest link in the EU-3, so they turn there. Then they turn to Russia. I understand they are the new guy on the block, that they have a new government. But it's the same group of unelected mullahs who are making the decisions. He needs to know the parameters he can move around in, or we are going to face a nightmare. The military option stinks, but we can't take it off the table. Sharon is thinking about the military option. If you or I were Sharon, we'd be thinking about the military option. Iranian nukes really scare the Israelis. Diplomacy must work. That's an important point to keep in mind. If Sharon feels he needs to strike Iran, all hell will break loose. I'm not saying it will happen, only that the most likely military reactions will come from Israel. (S)

President Putin: But what will they target? (S)

The President: If they think there's enriching at Natanz, that's one. But we aren't doing the targeting for Israel. (S)

President Putin: But it's not clear what the labs have, where they are. Cooperation with Pakistan still exists. (S)

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The President: I talked to Musharraf about that. I told him we're worried about transfers to Iran and North Korea. They put A.Q. Khan in jail, and some of his buddies. Under house arrest. We want to know what they said. I keep reminding Musharraf of that. Either he's getting nothing or he's not being forthcoming. (S)

President Putin: As far as I understand, they found uranium of Pakistani origin in the centrifuges. (S)

The President: Yes, the stuff the Iranians forgot to tell the IAEA about. That's a violation. (S)

President Putin: It was of Pakistani origin. That makes me nervous. (S)

The President: It makes us nervous, too. (S)

President Putin: Think about us. (U)

The President: We don't need a lot of religious nuts with nuclear weapons. That's what Iran has running the country. (S)

President Putin: I have the sense they have made a decision. I mentioned this to George earlier. They made the point that they want to continue negotiations with the EU-3. That's positive. (S)

The President: We're making progress on safeguarding nuclear sites and in the program to decommission weapons systems. I get pressure from Congress all the time to keep these programs moving forward. (S)

President Putin: We have a simple and clear position. We are ready to continue on a reciprocal basis. When our experts visit American sites, they are brought to a certain point and told they can go no farther. We will reciprocate and decide how far we will allow each other to go. We need to look at this. (S)

The President: Is there a problem, Don? (U)

Secretary Rumsfeld: Not with us. (U)

National Security Advisor Hadley: It's mostly DOE. (U)

Secretary Rumsfeld: We do not make weapons or dismantle them. We just shoot them, or just prepare to shoot them. (S)

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The President: So we need to check with another guy, Bodman.
(U)

Secretary Rice: We are prepared to reciprocate. (U)

The President: We need to have the same standards. (U)

President Putin: I hear you are developing a small nuclear charge. It will always be tempting to use them. (S)

The President: You are accusing us of building small nuclear weapons? (S)

Secretary Rumsfeld: I talked to Sergey Ivanov about this. We are talking about building small nuclear weapons. We are asking Congress for permission to take large dirty weapons and make smaller ones. So many people are doing stuff underground. You can't get them with conventional weapons. But we haven't gotten Congress to agree. (S)

The President: Rumsfeld just gave away all our secrets. (S)

President Putin: I read all those secrets on the Internet. I also read how to make an A-bomb. (S)

The President: We need to keep quiet. (U)

President Putin: The ways and means of using these nuclear arms changes the psychology of countries with nuclear weapons. Their use becomes possible, and if it's just a little smaller or a little larger, who will care? That makes a difference. (S)

Secretary Rumsfeld: You have made the same argument on small nuclear weapons that Ted Kennedy makes. (S)

The President: That's about as big an insult as we can make. Should we discuss North Korea? Our position is simple: No light water reactor, period. If we stay together, we can get the deal done. China understands and accepts our position. So does Japan. You can't succeed in negotiations if you are negotiating with yourself. If they get the same message, that will be good. Otherwise, nothing will get done. (S)

President Putin: Our positions coincide. The North Koreans huff and puff, they walk in and out, but our positions are the same and we don't want any dents in it. (S)

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(The President: It's just a matter of time. Their economy is falling apart. (S)

President Putin: They are putting together an economic reform program, along the Chinese model. (S)

The President: They've put together ten reform programs, and it's getting worse and worse. I feel sorry for the people of North Korea. They are starving people to death. It's pathetic, pathetic, extremely sad. They're isolated. (S)

President Putin: When I visited North Korea, on the way back even the security guards said they never wanted to go there again. (S)

The President: I bet even some of the North Korean guards wanted to take off with you to get to the promised land. (S)

(President Putin: No, they didn't. There may be a lot of nuts there, but not everyone is. I used to be a member of the Communist Party. I believed in the ideas of communism. I was prepared to die for them. It's a long road to inner transformation. People are limited to the cubicle they live in. And many are sincere in what they believe. The North Koreans live in more seclusion than we lived in. They are more isolated than the Soviet Union was under Stalin. The overwhelming number are prepared to die. This is not East Europe or East Germany. For any serious change in mindset, there needs to be rapprochement between the North and South. (S)

The President: That's right. (U)

President Putin: When I first visited Israel, it was quite a revelation. I was told it's a hostile country, and what I saw was totally different. It takes time. The people in the North need to see what is happening in the South. That will make a difference. We need to engage them in negotiations in this light. (S)

The President: Agree. I recommend you read this book on Alexander II. It's a good book. Who's the author? (U)

Secretary Rice: Radzhinsky. (U)

President Putin: Yes, he's a good storyteller. (U)

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The President: It's a really good book. (U)

Foreign Minister Lavrov: Just one last thing, we have a joint report on the new Checklist. (U)

The President: We have to check off on the new Checklist? Okay. (U)

President Putin: Fine. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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4325

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Vladimir Putin, President of
Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: United States
The President
Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State
Stephen Hadley, Assistant to the President
and National Security Advisor
Peter Afanassenko, interpreter

Russia
President Putin
Sergey Lavrov, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Igor Ivanov, Secretary of the Security
Council
Interpreter

DATE, TIME July 15, 2006, 9:30-11:30 am
AND PLACE: Strelna, Russia

President Putin: We were working to bring back IDF soldier held by Hamas. We had worked out with Syria a way to get him back without preconditions, but the Israelis were not interested. The Deputy Foreign Minister said, "fine but not now." So we concluded it was a pretext by the Israelis to establish "law and order." Same thing in Lebanon. The Israelis asked the Russians to work with Syria, Iran, and Hizbollah to push Hizbollah back 40 kilometers from the border. Now they have decided to do that by military action. The question is whether it will work out. We don't know if Iran is using this to distract attention from its situation. They do control Hizbollah. But we don't know.

The President: The release of first soldiers would have calmed the situation down, and then the militant wing of Hamas worked with Hizbollah to seize two more prisoners. Olmert is not Sharon. Sharon had the political strength to be measured.

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We've urged restraint on Olmert, but it has not worked, obviously. We believe Syria is behind this. Iran is funding Hizbollah. We don't know if they funded this action. If there is a press for a cease fire at the G-8, the United States will be isolated. We won't press for a cease fire now. Use the United States as a card to get something broader [gap]. I'm uncomfortable speaking out against the Israeli response. People argued our response in Afghanistan and your response in Chechnya were "disproportionate." I think this was a terror attack against Israel so a response is appropriate, although I may not agree on all their tactics. I can't have one standard for the United States and one for Israel. (S)

President Putin: The military response by Israel has not produced a result yet, so you want to wait. I also think military action is a way to put pressure on Syria, but those dispossessed or radicalized by the Israeli action will be a problem for us there and elsewhere. (S)

The President: They can't win military, I agree. We all need to send a message to Syria. Abbas, Olmert, and some elements of Hamas were ready to reach an agreement, but the radical Hamas element in Damascus doesn't want this, and Asad cannot make up his mind which side he's on. And Ahmadenijad wants to be the new Nasser. (S)

President Putin: Basically you are right. The issue is one of tactics. (S)

The President: Your role is key. Syria is another area where we can work together for you to have influence in Syria. (C)

President Putin: Iran says the G-8 is an anti-Iran conspiracy led by Russia. (S)

The President: That's good for U.S. and Russia. Working together is an important signal and may change Iranian behavior. The issue is whether there is a rational group of people in Iran that wants a deal. That's what we need to find out. (S)

President Putin: In Iran, there are lots of groups outside the government that influence it and we have few contacts with them. I have seen Ahmadinejad. He acts confident, but he's not so aggressive when he talks. He's not smiling; there are circles under his eyes. He's showing the pressure. He tells Russia if Russia does not support them, the United States will replace Russian influence and Europeans will seize the contracts. We

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have told them to have good relations with U.S. and Europe even if it's at Russian expense. They did not expect this. They are playing games - not to stop that. We need to get them to take decision. We don't believe Iran has decided. We need a strategy to force them to take the right decision. Joint work, especially in the U.N. Security Council is important. (C)

The President: Your proposal on civil nuclear power still might be the way out - fuel supplied and collected after spent. That solves everyone's problem. The way to get them is to show them all of us are working together.. (C)

President Putin: The center for enrichment and reprocessing was suggested just for Iran but should be offered globally, to all threshold countries, so the Iranians don't feel singled out. We need an international center for enrichment and then reprocess spent fuel. The EU seemed to support. (C)

The President: Good idea. I'll support it. (C)

President Putin: We should get G-8 to agree and then announce that at press conference. We tried to have a lobbyist but they said State Department discouraged them. (C)

The President: That's not true. You can hire anyone you want, but that's not your problem - which is groups did not want me to come to G-8 and want me to denounce you on democracy. Americans aren't sure of you. So to the extent you can talk about democracy and explain your decisions, it would help. It's not hostility to Russia, but concerns and questions. (C)

President Putin: I have a different perspective. We have a clear vision of how to develop our country. There is an historic possibility for the West to have Russia as a partner over the long term and we want that but we won't allow others to dictate or teach us on domestic affairs or try to cut us off from China and other countries. It is a unique opportunity. It's hard to predict what comes next. We want to move in this direction. (C)

The President: Last night you talked about the need to develop a registry for privately owned land, property. That's an interesting idea and you should hire someone in Washington to explain it. No one will try to dictate your decisions but once you make decisions, you need to explain them. This shows the differences and challenges you face. Hire someone to get your story out. (C)

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President Putin: We are doing that. The laws we are adopting now really are significant: market-based labor laws, laws on private property. (C)

The President: And the law on bureaucrats. People need to know. We want you to succeed. Yesterday I talked to Gaydar's daughter. Her concern was whether there will be a real political opposition. (S)

President Putin: On Iran, the key thing is common position. Iran is looking for distance between us. On North Korea, China is mad at the North Koreans. (S)

The President: Part of the problem is that China does not want Japan to get credit for any resolution. (S)

President Putin: If we leave them alone, Kim Jong Il acts to try to get our attention. We have the third largest reserves equal with Germany, but we need to diversify our economy. While COCOM is over, there are still export control restrictions. We have no desire to give technology to your opponents. Your opponents can become our opponents. Our military reviews every transaction. (C)

The President: Our restriction apply to everyone, even the U.K. Blair has also raised it with me. (C)

President Putin: We also have concerns about Iran, for example. (S)

Secretary Rice: On North Korea, we want Chapter VII, but China thinks this give us a pretext to use force. This is not our intent. So we are thinking about using an article of Chapter VII that makes this clear, but it's important to us and the Japanese that it be Chapter VII. (S)

The President: If Russia takes the lead, then it won't be a Japanese success. (C)

Minister Lavrov: We are following the Chinese. (C)

The President: Don't hide behind the Chinese, lead the Chinese. (S)

President Putin: I understand the experts failed to agree on protocol for WTO accession. This means we will reconsider a

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(number of things we were doing unilaterally in anticipation of a bilateral agreement. We gave you 70% of our import market on assuming beef negotiations would succeed. In the wake of failure, we will reconsider. (X)

National Security Advisor Hadley: We have made progress. We have a plan going forward that will result in a signing in October. We don't want to lose all the progress we have made. (X)

The President: We are ready to go back to this once the deal is complete and signed. (X)

President Putin: But now your farmers have everything they want, and they have no intentions to negotiate. (X)

The President: What about Georgia? Saakashvili? (X)

(President Putin: He's another Akmadinejad. He opened an occupation museum. That's ridiculous. After Stalin, Georgia occupied Russia. The North and South Ossetians are one people. The internal border was administrative only. It was easier to supply South Ossetia from Tbilisi. When the Soviet Union broke up, South Ossetia wanted to join Russia. That was ridiculous. Just like it was crazy that 95 percent ethnic Russian Crimea went to Ukraine. That said, to avoid a Yugoslavia outcome, we accepted the administrative borders as international borders. The solution is for the Georgians to treat the South Ossetians as equals. We were pushing the South Ossetia and Abkhazia toward Tbilisi under Shevardnadze. I never met with their leaders. Then Shevardnadze started allowing the Chechens nearer our border in Abkhazia. So we started to support the Abkhaz, and they moved away from Tbilisi. And that affected South Ossetia. Georgia says it wants to be a NATO member. For Russians, that would be a hostile act. The order should be to improve NATO/Russian relations first and then let the neighbors into NATO. I told Saakashvili that I can only help him on South Ossetia and urge the Ossetians to move close to Georgia if I can say Russia and Georgia are strategic partners. So Russia will still be able to help you through its relationship with Georgia. But instead, Saakashvili continues [to attack] Russia and says he'll join NATO. Also, the North Ossetians would be unhappy and support [gap] Think again. (X)

(The President: Not everyone in NATO wants Georgia in. I told Saakashvili he could not rely on my friendship if he provokes

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you. Saakashvili wanted me to raise the crossing with Georgia you've closed. (S)

President Putin: That crossing point was used to supply Basayev from Georgia. That was abetted by a customs official trained in the United States under the Train and Equip program. Our security services believe the United States is behind this support to terror but I tell them it is nonsense. (S)

The President: Have Ivanov tell Hadley the name and I'll check it out, but we don't support terror. (S)

President Putin: I know you don't. The solution is to put detection equipment at the crossing so we can reopen. Saakashvili will not want the Rokki tunnel [controlled by Russia] to be the only crossing between Russia and Georgia. (S)

-- End of Conversation --

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4243

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Luncheon Meeting with Vladimir Putin,
President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: United States
The President
Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State
Nicholas Burns, Under Secretary for
Political Affairs
Ambassador Susan Schwab, United States Trade
Representative
Joshua Bolten, Chief of Staff
Stephen Hadley, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Dan Bartlett, Counselor to the President
Tony Snow, Press Secretary
Tom Graham, Special Assistant to the
President and Senior Director for Russia
Peter Afaneseenko (interpreter)

Russia
President Putin
Sergey Lavrov, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Sergey Ivanov, Minister of Defense
Igor Ivanov, Secretary of the Security
Council
Sergey Prikhodko, Foreign Policy Adviser to
the President
Yuriy Ushakov, Ambassador to the
United States
German Gref, Minister of Economic
Development and Trade
Igor Neverov, Director, North American
Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

DATE, TIME: July 15, 2006, 1:05-2:20 p.m., Strelna,
AND PLACE: Russia

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Classified by: V. Phillip Lago
Reason: 1.4(b)(d)
Declassify on: 7/18/16

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President Putin: We deserve lunch. (U)

The President: It was a good press conference. I was surprised they didn't drill in on the Middle East. The American press asks about it all the time. (U)

President Putin: The Russians and the Americans asked one and the same question about Iran. (U)

The President: When do the other leaders arrive? (U)

President Putin: Starting in an hour. We will have a good evening tonight. (U)

The President: I bet we will. What do we have to discuss? (U)

[gap]

The President: Vladimir, would it be helpful if Susan explained where we are on the WTO? (U)

President Putin: Yes, but it will prevent them from eating, but then they weren't working either. (U)

The President: They were working hard. (U)

President Putin: You can't force women to work too hard. (U)

Ambassador Schwab: There were tough negotiations. We made a lot of progress, and we are close to being done. Three tough issues remain: financial services, intellectual property rights, and sanitary and phytosanitary issues for market access of agricultural goods. We are done on two of the three other than minor details. We are 85-90 percent done with the agreement. The only reason nothing is ready to sign today is that the Russian Federation wants a three-month agricultural inspection related to beef and pork. We respect your decision to do the inspections. When they are done in October, I am confident we will resolve all the remaining issues and be done. (S)

President Putin: The most important thing is that we don't raise new issues. (S)

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Ambassador Schwab: We would like to lock in everything, freeze decisions on which we agree, and work on what is left. There should be no going backwards, no new issues. (S)

President Putin: There is another opinion in our government. We can't comply with unilateral obligations, including quotas on meat. I would like to let Gref discuss this matter. He is attacked in our country more than you are. (S)

The President: Wait until we publish our agreement. Trade agreements are tough. Merkel wanted me to visit a village, and this farmer comes up to me and says, "Leave us alone in the WTO." (S)

President Putin: Some in our country say the same thing. (U)

The President: It's hard to reach agreement. It scares some people. I was in South Korea, and some don't want a bilateral agreement with us. (S)

President Putin: The same is true here. (U)

The President: Agriculture is always the last issue to be resolved. It's the toughest. (U)

Minister Gref: I hope we can agree to a protocol at the end of October. Mr. President, speaking honestly, I had thought earlier that Americans were pragmatic people. (S)

President Putin: As the host, I forbid attacks on the United States here. (U)

The President: It's OK, Gref. You can fire away. (U)

Minister Gref: The issues over which we can't agree, the import of U.S. beef and pork into Russia, is a matter of \$10 million. It's small. It's like our insisting on having low tariffs on bananas because we want to supply bananas to Africa. The issues we have agreed on are matters of billions of dollars. We have agreed to a significant liberalization of the Russian market, broader access for U.S. goods. From the strategic standpoint, it is important for both countries that Russia join the WTO. (S)

The President: I agree. (U)

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4

Minister Gref: I hope we reach agreement in October. We can't continue to deceive public opinion. (S)

President Putin: Oh, yes we can. (U)

The President: I haven't been paying close attention to the issue of inspections. (S)

President Putin: I'll answer. According to our rules, we need to inspect every carcass if the meat is to be used for retail. You send your meat here for wholesale reprocessing. (S)

Ambassador Schwab: We sell nothing to the retail market, only to wholesale. But we would like to sell to both. (S)

President Putin: Your vets say that if it is deeply frozen, it will kill all infectious organisms. Our vets don't agree. This issue concerns the safety of our people. Our specialists want to verify that your process kills infectious organisms. (S)

The President: This sounds like Japan. (U)

President Putin: I am like a Japanese. I practice judo. (U)

The President: We have the same question with Japan. (U)

President Putin: We are ready to compromise. The meat that is boneless can be used for retail, but not that on the bone. We want to initial the agreement now and have it come into affect after the inspections. But you don't like that option. You want to wait until after the inspections to do anything. If that's the way it has to be, it's not a tragedy. (S)

The President: We could initial everything that we have agreement on. (U)

Minister Gref: I tried to persuade Susan to do that. (U)

Ambassador Schwab: We would be happy to initial everything that is already agreed. That's a good idea. (S)

President Putin: We agree to your approach. After the inspection procedure, your offer will come into effect. If the inspections are not finished, we won't sign. (S)

The President: We have agreement on 90 percent. Let's sign the 90 percent, and work on the remaining 10 percent. (S)

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President Putin: I agree. We can't initial the other 10 percent, if it's not agreed on. We want to do the inspections, but let's announce the negotiations are concluded. (S)

The President: Whatever works. (U)

Ambassador Schwab: We should initial everything that is agreed. We should initial a work plan on the handful of issues left. We expect them to be resolved -- they are resolvable -- when the inspections are done. (S)

President Putin: German? (U)

Minister Gref: The best guarantee is a signature. We can initial everything at the end of July. (S)

President Putin: Why can't we initial? (U)

Ambassador Schwab: We can initial anything that is agreed. As soon as we reach agreement on other things, we could initial them. (S)

President Putin: But we have agreement on all questions, except for inspections. (S)

Ambassador Schwab: We have a handful of issues left. We should be able to work them out without much trouble. We came close last night. (S)

The President: She said we need two months. (S)

President Putin: The issue isn't only meat. Meat is the toughest. There are some others left. (S)

Ambassador Schwab: Terms for aircraft leasing, for example. (S)

The President: I don't want to negotiate here. I hope she is not being too easy. (S)

Ambassador Schwab: German is very tough. He has worn out three negotiators. (S)

President Putin: That's the problem. All your negotiators start from the beginning. (S)

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The President: Actually, they do other jobs. (S)

President Putin: We would like to finish. We are fulfilling unilateral obligations. We worry there is not going to be an agreement. You prefer to take in Ukraine. The issue isn't substance, but the political environment. (S)

The President: I hope that is not the case, but I can see why you think that way. Susan is trying to ensure that the agreement can get through the Congress. (S)

Ambassador Schwab: There is also benefit to Russia. Some of the text we are working on we will take to the WTO to accelerate the multi-party agreement. (S)

[gap]

The President: Thanks. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Vladimir Putin of
Russia (S)

PARTICIPANTS: United States
The President
Joshua Bolten, Chief of Staff
Steve Hadley, Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
John Negroponte, Deputy Secretary of State
Judy Ansley, Special Assistant to the
President and Senior Director for European
Affairs
Nikolai Sorokin, Interpreter

Russia
Vladimir Putin, President
Sergey Prikhodko, Assistant of the President
Igor Shuvalov, Sherpa
Sergey Kislyak, Deputy of the Foreign
Affairs Minister
Igor Neverove, Note Taker
Sergey Gogin, Interpreter

DATE, TIME Thursday, June 7, 2007, 3:20 - 4:00 p.m.
AND PLACE: Heiligendamm, Germany, G-8 Conference Hall

The President: I told Vladimir I'm looking forward to having
him to my family's place in Maine. He said, "I'm afraid you're
going to strangle me." But he's the judo expert, not me. (U)

President Putin: I think the situation there will be disarming.
It's hard to fight when you're in a warm family environment.
(U)

The President: Particularly with my mother watching. (U)

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Reason: 1.4(b)(d)
Declassify on: 6/26/17

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President Putin: For me, it's a source of great pride. (U)

The President: Let's start with North Korea -- you raised the issue over lunch. Your concerns, I think we've addressed them with your bank receiving the money. It's a technicality. (S)

President Putin: My concern is simple. Americans are tricky people, and we are just simple people. You have legislation, the Patriot Act, which prohibits entering into financial relationships with North Korea. We have apprehensions even if we send letters asking for this to the State Department, if our financial institution allocates money to North Korea, they will fall under sanctions. (S)

The President: I understand -- it's a legitimate concern. (U)

President Putin: Because all the letters from the State Department are at lower levels than the Act. We're ready to help, but we want to clear up this matter. (S)

National Security Advisor Hadley: I've been talking to Secretary Rice and Secretary Paulson at the direction of the President. You will get a letter of assurance from the Treasury and Justice Departments, on behalf of the United States Government. It will make clear there will be no sanctions for any violation of U.S. law, and it specifically mentions the Patriot Act. It's being worked with lawyers representing the Russian bank, and we think it will give you the assurances you need. (S)

President Putin: I should first of all look at how to bypass sections of the Act which makes the letters lower than the Act. It's not a matter of government -- imagine the legal case, especially in the civil area. Our banks working on the terrorist act in the United States encounter problems with civil cases and they forget about all assurances you give and take up a case against us. (S)

National Security Advisor Hadley: We'll take a look at it. I'm not sure who's in a position to bring a civil suit. We think we have a broad assurance that applies to all parts of the government, including the Justice Department. (S)

President Putin: You should clearly understand we are ready. The only thing we need to find is the legal formula to protect our bank in the future. (S)

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The President: Thank you. We fully understand. This has to work for the North Korean deal; if not, we'll find a South Korean bank. I think we can get it done. I'd assume if your lawyers representing the bank are happy -- that should get it done. (S)

President Putin: I think we now need to talk a bit about the missile defense problem. We need to say something afterwards, and I agree we need to find something positive to say. I won't start from scratch, but I need to explain our position. I have already said by the conviction of our military experts the deployment of missile defense in Europe is aimed at constraining the military potential of Russia. When you withdrew from the ABM Treaty (Anti-Ballistic Missile), I told you that in that case we would have to do something to develop our own system. We didn't have the money to do this, but we built enough missiles to overcome your system. You told us we weren't enemies; we accept that. To preserve the balance, we have taken steps to preserve our position. (S)

What your experts are proposing now -- to place missile defense at our borders -- is aimed at nothing but the nuclear potential of Russia since there are no other objectives, and there won't be any in the near future. That undermines the security of the Russian Federation. That is an objective fact. The information system will add up to a global missile system of the United States. Our experts believe that on this, a lot of interceptors can be added in different regions -- in land, on ships, in the air. (S)

In the coming years, we don't see any threats from Iran. The missiles you're trying to defend yourself from are now non-existent in Iran. Now they have missiles with maybe a range of 1,300 kilometers (km); in 2015, maybe they'll have 2,000 km. For them to threaten Europe, they need a range of 4,500-5,000 km. Let's assume they're evil. Indeed, they are tricky, and we don't know their plans, and we need to think about the future beyond 2015. To have a common idea of the missile threat, to understand how missile defense technology will develop, and to develop the means of defense together, we need to engage other countries. Of course in separate segments, we need to involve Europe, and we listened to Secretary Gates about China. This cooperation should be extensive between us, but cooperation that means we would train those who would launch the U.S. missile defense system is not realistic. (S)

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We don't see the necessity to act as you do, but we share your concerns. We have a specific proposal about the first stages. You know about our radar station in Azerbaijan called Gabala. It is active, and it is aimed at those countries from where in your point of view the threat to the United States and Europe is emanating. We're ready to consider the possibility of giving you information from this radar station. And not just transfers in a year's time, but to do it automatically and each time. Our experts will decide how to do it. If this is accepted by the American team, the third site in Europe will be absolutely unnecessary. And if the Iranian missile threat ever becomes tangible, you can deploy your ships with Aegis to deploy to this region. (S)

Look here (shows the President a map) -- it fully covers the region you're interested in. If you draw in the Aegis system, then unlike the plan you are suggesting, this system will work more efficiently since it will destroy missiles at the booster stage. That means debris of the missiles won't fall on European states. In this case, the system will cover not part of the European continent but all of it, and the debris will fall here to the ocean and miss Europe. This means that in this case, we will carry out our commitment not to aim missiles. We agree about that, and we are honoring our commitments. (S)

We are concerned with two other issues that we believe are threats to strategic stability. First, the development of antiballistic missiles in outer space. If this is developed against Iranian missiles, this suggestion excludes the need to place any systems in outer space because, I reiterate, they will destroy missiles at the boost phase. You don't need to wait for missiles to reach outer space. (S)

The other issue is not directly linked to missile defense but greatly affects the entire system of international security. The development of an ABM system makes the time lag very small for taking decisions. If the United States were to equip strategic missiles with non-nuclear power, it would be important for us to say from where it's launched and whether it's nuclear or not, and we'll have only a couple of minutes to decide. Secretary Lavrov talked about this with Rumsfeld and he agreed. (S)

We realize what purpose is needed -- to fight terrorists hiding in the caves or mountains. We understand all this and know it's not aimed at us. But we think it will increase the risk of unintended actions. Before doing this, we need to discuss and

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(agree among ourselves. If we agree on everything, we'll not only comply with our statement on non-targeting, we will not place missile capabilities in Kaliningrad and along our border.

(~~S~~)

We would like to draw to your attention that we have honored all of our commitments to conventional arms in Europe. We have withdrawn all of them from Europe. In Georgia, we have honored all of our commitments, but in response we see you are enhancing your bases. It's hard for us to explain this to our public. Everyone has an idea about the mounting threat. But we'll talk about that later because I have more revolutionary proposals to make. Just to finalize with missile defense, to be frank, we would not like to see that under the cover of consultations with the United States, the United States begins preparations to deploy a system in Europe. We know the realities. Let's assume Iran will develop missiles we fear. How will they appear? They need to be developed and tested. Once they carry out the first test, we'd realize that. From the first test to full operation of the missiles, 4 to 5 years would elapse. If we do not agree, but I doubt that, then what to do? You can easily put missile defense wherever you want. There will be enough time. There would be 4 to 5 years before a system is fully operational. You can deploy any system in that time. (~~S~~)

(The President: Thank you. I must confess I didn't realize the harshness of your reaction to the system. That's my fault. To be perfectly honest, it caught me by surprise. I'm not surprised that you react firmly, since you're a firm leader. I am surprised that you view this as a direct threat, and I take you at your word. It's from your heart, and I take it seriously. It's an interesting idea, the only problem is I'm not technically able to accept it. My question is, does it make sense to put everything on the table and have the relevant experts look at everything? For example, is the radar in Azerbaijan the right one? It would assure the people of the United States and Russia who are not wanting us to create conflict. And we should literally share technology and ideas about technology. For example, our Aegis may eventually be able to shoot down a launch, but it's not technically capable to now, and we ought to share that with you. And we may never be able to develop that technology. I think it's in your interest to know where we are, and I'm willing to share it with you. I don't view you as the enemy. Maybe one idea is to go out and say we've shared ideas, and will put together a strategic group to examine them. It's a very interesting idea, but I can't accept it now because I don't understand it. (~~S~~)

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I was asked yesterday about Russian targeting of European cities, and I said I can't imagine a circumstance in which Russia would shoot them -- it's not in your nature. We're not at war with Russia. We're friends. Maybe I'm naïve, but you have me for another 18 months. The other thing, this system will take a while to develop. We're at the initial stages only. This is the kind of thing we should share with you. (S)

President Putin: George, of course we don't want to target anyone in the United States and Europe. We want to be friends and develop normal economic and political relations. We'd like to come closer together with the United States and Europe. But if you'd like to push us to target Europe, this is the right path to follow. It is already creating tension. You say you're not an expert on military things; I'm not an expert either. My generals and experts on military things came to me and said, "As soon as our American friends implement this, they'll have the illusion they devalue our nuclear potential." This breaks the belt on which the world is hinged. It has no personal aspect. Once you create such a threat, you're sure you don't want it. You should hear our concerns, to see if we can protect ourselves in a different way. (S)

The President: Do you mind having a strategic dialogue with our generals so they can discuss and resolve differences? Maybe we can say that you expressed concerns, made a proposal; maybe we can get our generals together. I can say we respect you, and we can resolve tensions. When we argue it makes people nervous. There's no reason for that. (S)

President Putin: I agree. (U)

The President: Do you mind going outside and saying this to the world press? (U)

President Putin: Okay. We can talk about other issues in Maine. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Breakfast Meeting with President Vladimir
Putin of Russia (S)

PARTICIPANTS: United States
The President
Nikolay Sorokin, Interpreter

Russian Federation
Vladimir Putin, President
Anton Uspenskiy, Interpreter

DATE, TIME July 2, 2007, 8:15 - 9:00 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Kennebunkport, ME

President Putin: Eighteen cascades and 3,000 centrifuges in Iran by the end of the year...enough to produce one bomb's-worth per year. Withholding fuel doesn't further delay their program. I'm considering providing the fuel for Bushehr because it gives me some degree of control. (S)

The President: Interesting. We'll think about it. (S)

President Putin: (S)

FOIA(b)(1) STATE, NSC

The President: (S) I tried on
Jackson-Vanik. (S)

President Putin: If we get into WTO this year, we'll be quiet on Doha. But if we can't get into WTO, Doha will be a big problem. The Europeans subsidize more than we do. We're now allowing in meat over the quota. If we don't get it resolved, domestic pressures will force us back down to quota level. It would be a problem. Chavez does not know the oil business.

He's a populist, proud, and if shown respect, might respond positively. Chavez is the Kaczynski twins to Russia. (S)

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(-- End of Conversation --

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WASHINGTON

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4515

Declassified Case: NWW# 78134 Date:
18-25-2025

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Vladimir Putin of
Russia

PARTICIPANTS: United States
The President
Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State
Steve Hadley, Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Nikolay Sorokin, Interpreter

Russian Federation
Vladimir Putin, President
Sergey Lavrov, Foreign Minister
Sergey Prikhodko, Presidential Foreign
Policy Adviser
Anton Uspenskiy, Interpreter

DATE, TIME July 2, 2007, 10:45 a.m. - 12:40 p.m. EST,
AND PLACE: Kennebunkport, ME

The President: Because the Iranians might know how to enrich,
why not start shipping fuel to Bushehr? (S)

President Putin: We were supposed to deliver fuel in 2005, but
have not delivered it in violation of our contract. We used
protests to delay delivery, and we did not want the Iranians to
have quantities of low enriched uranium (LEU). By year-end,
Iran will have 18 cascades and 3000 centrifuges, and will be
able to begin the enrichment process. Iran could produce enough
fissile material for one warhead by the end of 2008. We agree
we need to delay shipping fuel for the next 6 months or so, but
any further delay would be useless. Rod deliveries would,
however, give us leverage over them. There's no reason to open
up rods to take out LEU. They'd be shipped from Russia under
IAEA seal and operated under IAEA observation in the reactor.
If the Iranians tried to open up the rods, they would forfeit
their support within the international community and Muslim

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NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685225

world, and they have no need once they can enrich. We could build in other proliferation protections, such as if the Iranians break relations with the IAEA, the rods come back to Russia. We also need a means to monitor the independence of the IAEA. (S)

The President: The problem is suggesting to Iran that cheating is okay, that they pay no penalty, and it sends a bad signal to other proliferators as well. The next 6 months give us time to pressure them. They also may not be as far along as we expect. So let's avoid a bad signal. (S)

President Putin: I agree. We have no intention to link. And Russia is willing to participate in the development of a new UNSCR with more stringent measures.

[REDACTED] (S)

FOIA(b)(1) STATE, NSC

Secretary of State Rice:

[REDACTED] (S)

President Putin:

[REDACTED] (S)

National Security Adviser Hadley: We need to get our "123" Agreement through Congress -- and this could hurt that. (S)

Secretary of State Rice: Kill it. (S)

President Putin: I understand. We would take that into account.

[REDACTED] (S)

The President: Thank you for sharing that with us. The Iranians could elect a different set of leaders, with whom we could have a relationship. (S)

President Putin: [REDACTED]

FOIA(b)(1) STATE

[REDACTED] What do we do on missile defense? (S)

The President: We have a way forward. Your experts think this is part of a broader, sinister plot. We have to open up to you and explore whether the Azeri radar site makes sense. Our effort is only to counter a single missile -- and we'd like a chance to convince your experts of that. If my experts are fooling me, then I need to know that too. (S)

President Putin: Your experts will not be able to convince ours that this is not aimed at our deterrent. But here's how we see it. Missile defense allows the United States to defend its territory and maintain U.S. leadership in Europe. This may not be bad for Russia. I don't know. Missile defense gives you a political and economic umbrella and leverage over Europe. If the system threatens Russia, we will respond with something. It won't necessarily be costly, and it won't necessarily damage our relations. You should ensure your leadership, but without antagonizing others. Let us join with you to address this issue not just bilaterally, but in the NATO context. We agreed on a launch information center in Moscow, but never did it. Let's do it. And let's establish a second center in Brussels. Link it in, and show how our radar can monitor the situation in Iran, as it did during the Iran-Iraq War. We're also willing to upgrade the Azeri radar, and we're also building a new launch monitoring center in Armavir in southern Russia. But if you pursue deployments in Poland and space, it would make this impossible. (S)

The President: It would be hard for us to abandon the Czech and Polish deployments, but having a broader, regional shield would be a good thing. Our system would be overwhelmed by two to three missiles launches at the same time. But our experts have to convince you of that. I like the idea of doing it as part of a regional system. (S)

President Putin: I agree. And if we could cooperate in this area, this would put U.S.-Russian cooperation at the level of allies, for cooperation in the security sphere has that effect. (S)

The President: I agree with this. U.S.-Russian relations will be critical in the future. The challenge is for the United States and Russia to work through these issues. I know there's a lot of suspicion of the United States in your country. One of the things we are trying to do between the two of us is to remove those suspicions. (S)

President Putin: I'm not talking about something tactical, but strategic -- something that looks into the future. There are no anti-U.S. elements in the Government. In the Duma, yes. In the Government, some people get annoyed, but they are not anti-American. (S)

The President: We need to talk about Kosovo. I think we can't go back -- it has to be independence. We don't need to resolve it here, but we need to discuss it. (S)

President Putin: I agree. We have discussed it, and we will ask our ministers to pursue it. I've met with both Tadic and Kostunica, and I did not find any differences, even in nuance. (S)

The President: I understand Saakashvili has been more reasonable. (S)

President Putin: Yes, he is moving in the right direction, but there is still violence. We are exchanging signals that we want relations to improve on both sides. I do not want to dismiss problems with CFE. If the Baltic states weren't part of the USSR, then they should ratify the Adapted Treaty. You've talked about the Istanbul Commitments, but they aren't in the Treaty. There's nothing on paper, there was never any signature to that, which is another problem. We will implement the Istanbul Commitments, but as a separate matter. We have implemented each one -- we've withdrawn bases from Georgia, and agreed to withdraw the other two; we've implemented the commitments in Transnistria, either evacuating or destroying heavy weapons. Russia has implemented CFE completely. I can show you the facts. I agree that our Ministry of Defense should not have denied requests for inspections; we will comply with the treaty and give 150 days advance warning before suspending it. And if partners do not implement their obligations, we will suspend it indefinitely. We have met our obligations. If partners aren't interested in meeting theirs, we will not be bound. (S)

-- End of Conversation --

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7370

Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Vladimir Putin of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: United States
The President
Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State
Susan Schwab, United States Trade Representative
Jim Jeffrey, Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor
Daniel Price, Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Economic Affairs
Dana Perino, Press Secretary
Nikolay Sorokin, Interpreter

Russian Federation
President Vladimir Putin
Sergey Lavrov, Foreign Minister
Sergey Prikhodko, Foreign Policy Advisor
German Gref, Economic and Trade Minister
Igor Nevorov, Note taker
Anton Uspenskiy, Interpreter

DATE, TIME: September 8, 2007, 3:50 - 4:50 p.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Sydney, Australia

President Putin: Iran does not need enrichment as they will receive nuclear fuel as part of the Bushehr project. We do not understand why the Iranians need 3,000 centrifuges in operation by the end of the year. (S)

The President: This is exactly why the United States supports the Russian Bushehr initiative. (S)

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Classified by: John I. Pray, Jr.
Reason: 1.4(b)(d)
Declassify on: 10/30/17

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685226

(President Putin: Iran must suspend its enrichment activities, in return for negotiations. (S)

The President: What is your assessment of the situation in Georgia? What were the recent explosions all about? Have you been in contact with President Saakashvili? (S)

President Putin: There are lots of terrorists in Georgia. A few days ago, some terrorists connected to extremists in the Republic of Karachay-Cherkessia tried to infiltrate Russian territory from Georgia. We eliminated them at the border. (S)

The President: How is your relationship with President Saakashvili? (S)

President Putin: We talk. I invited him to Sochi but he refused my offer. (S)

(The President: I do not want Saakashvili to overreact. As for terrorism, you cannot negotiate with terrorists. We have been cooperating with President Musharraf of Pakistan to push terrorists into Afghanistan where we can deal with them more effectively. (S)

President Putin: I warned former President Clinton of the dangers of Afghanistan back in 1999. We are pleased with US-Russian intelligence sharing and appreciate the counterterrorism intelligence passed to us, even on attacks in Moscow. What's going on with the U.S. sub-prime financial market? (S)

The President: Well, our mortgage industry is going through a period of adjustment. Banks have had to deal with increasing foreclosures because of speculative lending. However, we are working to strengthen mortgage lending standards and bank disclosures. (S)

President Putin: Russia is fairly exposed to the sub-prime turbulence. Half of our 400 billion dollars in foreign exchange reserves is in U.S. paper, much of it linked to mortgages. (S)

The President: The fundamentals of our economy are still strong; economic growth is healthy, job growth is up, and wages are rising. (S)

(President Putin: We have tried to help you by not pulling funds out of the U.S. market. We don't want to rock the boat and are trying to contribute to your market stability. (S)

(The President: You are in an ironic situation. I remember my first meeting with you when one of your most serious problems was the overhang of Soviet-era debt. Now you are running a trade surplus. (S)

President Putin: The Russian economy is doing very well. We have achieved 7 percent annualized GDP growth, an exchange surplus, and we have almost 70 billion dollars of Foreign Direct Investment in this year alone. (S)

The President: What about reforms in the pension and healthcare systems? (S)

President Putin: We have established several programs to provide quality healthcare and have started a pilot program to raise the birth rate. We have also proposed a new investment project involving Sakhalin II. EXIM Bank supports our proposal but the State Department is raising objections. I don't understand why there are objections since our aim is to sell LNG gas to the United States, which would be a step advantageous to both parties. (S)

(The President: We will look into this. On Missile Defense, we will be sending a team to the Qabala Russian radar site in Azerbaijan later this month. Our people will be open minded on the visit. I think this is a strategic opportunity and we need to seize it. (S)

President Putin: I agree with you. If our own military people cannot agree, it is a missed opportunity. (S)

The President: How are preparations for the Duma and presidential elections? Do you have any predictions? (S)

(President Putin: Elections to the State Duma will be held in early December and the presidential election in mid-March. I think that United Russia will probably win 35-38 percent of the vote and about 4-5 parties will win entry into the Duma. I am also thinking about telling political parties to eliminate big business from their party lists. European democracy is in a crisis of parliamentary systems because of the influence of big business on party politics. Businessmen have to choose: either politics or business, you cannot do both. Although, I turn a blind eye to Chubays. As for the presidential race, there will be five serious candidates. (S)

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The President: I suppose you also want to talk about WTO.
Ambassador Schwab has outlined the steps you need to take to get
things done. Do you support your guy Gref? (S)

President Putin: Yes, I support him. (U)

The President: Good. Then you should know there are things you
need to do to get the WTO accession completed. I hope you will
support what we are trying to do with the APEC climate
statement. (S)

President Putin: We will support you on climate change if you
support us on WTO. By the way, I do not plan to attend the UNGA
session this year. (S)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
18-25-2025

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: United States
The President
Bill Burns, U.S. Ambassador to Russia
Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State
Stephen Hadley, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Judy Ansley, Deputy Assistant to the
President and Deputy National Security
Advisor for Regional Affairs
Nik Sorokin, Interpreter

Russia
Vladimir Putin, President of Russia
Sergey Lavrov, Foreign Minister
Yuri Ushakov, Russian Ambassador to the
United States
Sergey Prikhodko, Foreign Policy Advisor
Igor Neverov, Notetaker
Yuriy Gariyev, Interpreter

DATE, TIME: April 6, 2008, 10:00 - 11:00 a.m.
AND PLACE: State Residence of the President of Russia
Bocharov Ruchey, Round Room, Sochi Russia

President Putin: Once again I'd like to welcome you all here. We have been preparing for this meeting and your visit not only for a long time but quite intensively. And this work has been based on proposals from Condi on a strategic framework for our relations. I believe this is a good idea. Of course, certain differences exist between us. We know about them, but it's important to cement the positive achievements. This is the way to go. (U)

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Reason: 1.4(b)(d)
Declassify on: 4/7/18

CAUTION: A Memorandum of a Meeting Conversation (MEMCON) is not a verbatim transcript of a discussion. The text in this document records the notes and recollections of NSC policy staff who attended the meeting and memorialized the conversation in written form.

An interpreter facilitated this conversation. Differences in interpretation may result in subtle differences in the exact meaning of phrases.

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685227

Back in 2002 we signed the Moscow Declaration, and if today we are able to submit a document for agreement, that is the right way to go. The document we're working on today sums up the positive achievements of the last few years. At the same time, the agreement reflects our disagreements but does so in an open and transparent manner and reaffirms our willingness to work out these differences. (S)

It is natural that one of the most difficult issues is missile defense. There hasn't been any major progress here, however I do take note that our American partners are frankly and openly looking at our concerns. We realize the most important thing is to ensure transparency and ongoing monitoring of sites in the Czech Republic and Poland. When Condi and Secretary Gates were in Moscow I told them it's very important for us to see what's going on in those sites every day and every moment. I've told that to the Czechs and Poles as well. It's not about any infringement on their sovereignty. It's natural that we see what's going on and whether it's targeted against us. It's that simple. The military shares this view, even the U.S. military. I won't go into details; let the experts go into that. The fundamental issue here is whether our experts have full access to the sites or are just stationed at the embassy and need permission to visit the sites from time to time. And what is also critically important is for our experts on both sides to expand exchanges and deepen their cooperation. I think we should not give up on this idea, especially since there's interest about this by the U.S. military. At the same time, we understand that elements of the third site have not just a regional but a global dimension. (S)

A couple of words on START; there is a section on START. We discussed this with our U.S. colleagues in detail, and I believe there should be a certain understanding of our concerns. It is clear that withdrawing from any kind of controls on nuclear warheads is a dangerous thing to do. (S)

The President: We need to work on that. I'm concerned about transparency on what looks like a nuclear launch and everyone panics. We need to work this out. Let me just say I understand your concerns. (S)

President Putin: I think this has advanced with us, but with the Chinese we have no such agreement. They refuse to agree on more notification of launches. (S)

(The President: Yes, they'll be dangerous in a few years. (S)

President Putin: Mr. Lavrov is working on this with them but there is no document yet. But it should be clear that in our relations with the U.S. the issue is quite clear too. A missile launch from a submarine in Northern Europe will only take six minutes to reach Moscow. (S)

The President: I understand. (U)

President Putin: And we have established a set of response measures -- there's nothing good about it. Within a few minutes our entire nuclear response capability will be in the sky. (S)

The President: I know. (U)

President Putin: And if we talk about launches from areas of other oceans, we have to calculate the trajectory of the missiles. It's a very complex thing. I realize there may be no other opportunity to destroy Bin Laden in Tora Bora, but we need to find a solution. (S)

(The President: Some think it's an important tool, but I understand your concerns about sending the wrong messages. I don't want to put someone in quick response moments where the whole system is to react. That creates the possibility for mistake. I agree with you on that. (S)

President Putin: I believe that in spite of all the difficulties experts can find an agreement, but it's a matter of trust. We also realize that some counterterrorism operations may be launched and the services don't disclose until the last moment, but something needs to be worked out. (S)

The President: I'm worried about the next ones who will come to power. We need to work something out while we have an open relationship so the next ones don't overreact. That's why this agreement is very important. Secondly, we got the 123 agreement; that's very good. (S)

Foreign Minister Lavrov: We don't have it yet; we will. (U)

(The President: I understood it would be signed by the end of April. On CFE, hopefully we can help you on the issue. I fully understand what you said at NATO. Your logic is very clear. We talked in the car about sending the treaty to the Senate and being the first to ratify. I don't want to drop it in the

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(middle of a political firestorm with all the Presidential politics. I don't want Russia to become a campaign issue. The relationship is too important. (S)

On missile defense, I think the thing that will intrigue people is transparency and confidence building measures and the idea of exploring a regional missile defense system where Russia will benefit like everyone else. I think once the government becomes convinced the system isn't aimed at you, Russia will see a regional system can deal with some nut in the Middle East who might get a missile with a nuclear weapon. You'll see the system cannot possibly intercept more than one or two missiles. You have a lot more than that. Anyway, that's what confidence is all about. (S)

(I'll say to the press that you don't like the idea of the Czech and Polish sites. It's important people know there's still disagreement on that, but its important for our people to see we're working through an agreement based on transparency and true confidence building measures. The reason I think it's important is it will cause a future U.S. President to have to work with Russia. We're setting the stage for creating the conditions that will cause people to work in the framework we've set up. There needs to be a path forward for better relations with Russia. I don't want a U.S. President to come along and say we don't need relations with Russia. I think we do, and that's really the reason why this is important and why I appreciate you meeting us. (S)

President Putin: What you've just said is very important. All the preceding decades the world was a safer place because there was a certain balance in place. And the military has come to me now, they tell me the following: "There was the balance and the threat of Mutual Assured Destruction. Now, the Americans are going to build a missile defense umbrella and have the feeling that they are invincible." What should we do? Either create the same umbrella or our own strike systems to neutralize their defenses. Creating a missile defense system is quite expensive. It's simpler and cheaper to create a new strike system which would overwhelm your defenses. And they're already coming to me with proposals that strike me as very barbaric. When I read them I'm horrified. And not building a platform for our cooperation on this front, we're forced with this type of arms race. (S)

(The President: That's why this is so important. You won't be comfortable until we can prove it to you. Our intention is one

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or two single launches to counter a North Korean or Iranian or whatever threat emerges. We need to calm your experts down by showing them the truth. That's why transparency is important. My vision is a joint operation. That's what this starts hopefully. (e)

President Putin: Okay. Now I'd like to repeat what I said to Condi and Gates in Moscow on NATO enlargement. It won't be new to you, and I don't expect a response; I just want to say it out loud. I'd like to emphasize accession to NATO of a country like Ukraine will create for the long-term a field of conflict for you and us, long-term confrontation. (S)

The President: Why? (U)

President Putin: Seventeen million Russians live in Ukraine -- a third of the population. Ukraine is a very complex state. This is not a nation built in a natural manner. It's an artificial country created back in Soviet times. Following World War II Ukraine obtained territory from Poland, Romania and Hungary - that's pretty much all of western Ukraine. In the 1920s and 1930s Ukraine obtained territory from Russia -- that's the eastern part of the country. In 1956, the Crimean peninsula was transferred to Ukraine. It's a rather large European country built with a population of 45 million. It's populated by people with very different mindsets. If you go to western Ukraine you'll see villages where the only spoken language is Hungarian and people wear those bonnets. In the east, people are wearing suits, ties and big hats. NATO is perceived by a large part of the Ukrainian population as a hostile organization. (S)

This creates the following problems for Russia. This creates the threat of military bases and new military systems being deployed in the proximity of Russia. It created uncertainties and threats for us. And relying on the anti-NATO forces in Ukraine, Russia would be working on stripping NATO of the possibility of enlarging. Russia would be creating problems there all the time. What for? What is the meaning of Ukrainian membership in NATO? What benefit is there for NATO and the U.S.? There can be only one reason for it and that would be to cement Ukraine's status as in the Western world and that would be the logic. I don't think it's the right logic; I'm trying to comprehend. And given the divergent views of areas of the population on NATO membership, the country could just split apart. I always said there's a certain pro-Western part, and a certain pro-Russia part. Now the power there is held by the pro-Western leaders. As soon as they came to power they split

within themselves. The political activity there fully reflects the attitudes of the population. The issue there is not accession to NATO, but to ensure the self-sufficiency of Ukraine. Also, their economy should be strengthened. (S)

Seventy percent of the population is against NATO. Condi told me in Slovakia and Croatia the population was opposed at first and they're now in favor. What we are against is Ukraine's accession to NATO, but in any case we should wait until a majority of the population is in favor, then let them accede, not vice versa. (S)

Now with Georgia, they believe with the shield of NATO they can restore their territorial integrity. Is this the right way to go, to spread NATO's military umbrella and let them start military operations in Abkhazia and South Ossetia? Guerilla warfare will start there as in Afghanistan. Will NATO go to war there? Of course not. The people in Georgia should be forced to resolve their internal problems by other means. They will do it if forced to. There are ethnic problems there that have lasted for centuries. We're ready to help them restore their territorial integrity, but in ways that make the small ethnic groups feel secure. But if they scare people with the threat of NATO coming there, it won't work. They won't be able to do it anyway. You'll see people coming down from the mountains and shooting in every direction. People dressed like those who danced for you last night. Russia knows this well and has been developing friends there. When war was here 10 years ago Chechens ceased their operations against Russia and came to fight there. They played soccer with the heads of Georgians. One of their leaders, two years ago we eliminated him, but there are many more there. We didn't send them there, but they were all here when the war started. (S)

Georgia should be caused to address this issue by peaceful means. Letting them into NATO will only encourage them to address this by military means; taking up arms. And for Russia there is always the threat of new military bases and weapon systems in the proximity of our borders. This is pretty much our argumentation against this development. I don't expect a reaction. (S)

The President: One of the things I admire about you is you weren't afraid to say it to NATO. That's very admirable. People listened carefully and had no doubt about your position. It was a good performance. (S)

(President Putin: I would add another thing now. I do not rule out that Russia-NATO relations could improve in the future, along with U.S.-Russia relations. (S)

The President: What I'm concerned about is U.S.-Russia relations won't get better than what you and I have. History will show it's very good. I'm not sure about the next group -- not Medvedev, but who follows me. I hope you and I can set the example for how to work through problems. (S)

President Putin: I agree.. What I mean is if there is such improvement then many of the problems we have concern with now will be perceived differently in the future. I think certain issues don't need to be rushed. (S)

Now a couple of words on the peaceful nuclear field. Here we need a framework; an inter-governmental agreement. You wrote in your letter that such an agreement will be signed. (S)

The President: It will get done before your presidency is up. (U)

(President Putin: Maybe on your side you could work with your Congress. (U)

The President: We want to do it now. I think it will be well-received. (S)

Secretary Rice: We needed to resolve an issue with Iran. I think we've resolved it. We were concerned we would have had problems with Congress. (S)

President Putin: Everything is under control there. Sometimes there are instances of cooperation they're trying to pursue in a clandestine manner that's not apparent to the government. We will find them and they will be punished. (S)

The President: Where is this being done? (U)

Secretary Rice: Arak. (U)

(President Putin: There are people willing to earn a bit of money on this, but we identify those cases. (S)

The President: I tell people on Iran, your plan was very ingenious. The leaders say they want civilian nuclear power, we say, "Fine, that's your right." Russia says, "Here's the fuel, therefore you don't need to enrich. If you do it shows you don't want civil nuclear power, you want more." People say, "Can you work with Putin?" I say, "Here's the example. He took the lead on Iran and I followed." It was the right thing to do. (S)

President Putin: That's what I told them in Iran when they said they were building a new nuclear power plant, and they needed fuel. I asked when would they complete the plant. It's a long-term project. We've been building Buser for 15 years. I said, "You won't complete a new plant for 15 years, so why are you building up enrichment now?" (S)

The President: You and I had a conversation about the S-300 and you said you'd wait to see how they behave -- a conditional sale, and I appreciate that. (S)

President Putin: We have a contract with them signed four years ago but not being implemented. (S)

The President: I appreciate that. They're nutty. (S)

President Putin: They're quite nuts. (S)

The President: Hopefully rational people will start showing up. You talk to them, we don't. We hope to have more rational people show up; we'd like to have a better relationship. (S)

President Putin: What surprised me when I was there, they may be crazy in their ideology but they're intellectuals. They are educated in university, come from an academic environment - including Amadinejad, his entourage, the Speaker of parliament. They are not primitive people. It was quite a surprise to me. (S)

The President: (To Secretary Rice and Foreign Minister Lavrov) Do you have the language done on this thing yet? You two go and work on it. (U)

Secretary Rice: We're very close. (To Foreign Minister Lavrov) I have a proposal for you. (U)

The President: Will you be in the meeting with Medvedev? (U)

President Putin: No, I want you to talk to him personally. (U)

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The President: I won't need much time. (U)

Secretary Rice: So we use "assuage" and remove the brackets on
"cooperation." (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Andrew Card, Chief of Staff
Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Alexander Vershbow, U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation
Daniel Fried, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European and Eurasian Affairs, NSC Staff, Notetaker
Interpreter

Vladimir Putin, President
Vladimir Rushaylo, Secretary of Security Council, Notetaker
Igor Ivanov, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Sergey Prikhodko, Deputy Head of the Presidential Administration
Interpreter

DATE, TIME July 22, 2001, 1:30 - 2:15 p.m.
AND PLACE: Genoa, Italy

The President: President Putin and I had yet another good discussion. I want to assure everybody around this table about the answer to the question put to me in Slovenia about trust. I feel more strongly than ever about that. President Putin and I have a dialogue that very few American and Russian leaders have had in the past. If I so decide, I will speak to the American people about what we discussed here, too. (U)

We discussed security issues and a number of other issues as well. One was commercial relations. I previewed the Evans and O'Neill visit to Moscow. We are planning experts' talks and not just commercial experts. I think our media representatives should help address the issue of entrepreneurs in the media.

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5 (b)
Declassify On: 7/31/11

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685228

You are free to choose, but we could facilitate this. I appreciated your answer before in Ljubljana on the media, and a dialogue along these lines could help explore some of the issues you raised about the media. Now I'd like to send you some from the media, like the "New York Times." It would be good for them to deal with you. (S)

President Putin: I'd close them right away. I've got experience along these lines. (S)

The President: On the Tobin case, I urge you to resolve this case. That would be good. (S)

President Putin: I agree with the positive evaluation that President Bush has made just now. We are creating a very good political basis for our relations across the entire gamut of issues. We didn't shirk any problems, including those of international security. On this, we have decided to consider this matter in its entirety, including offensive and defensive, because they are, in fact, linked. (S)

Second, I drew the President's attention to the possibility of good contacts between the Parliaments of our two countries. I urged support for this project. Our parliamentarians could visit Moscow and Washington. This could create tangible benefits in morale. (S)

Another issue is our economic ties. The United States is a leading investor for Russia, but the level of our trade is far from the capabilities of our countries. Our two-way trade is at \$10 billion. Russia's two-way trade with Italy is \$9 billion. And how can you compare the United States with Italy? I acknowledge that we in Russia have failed to create the proper conditions for economic growth, and you are aware of this. (S)

But we are doing so now. This year we established the lowest income tax rate in Europe and now we are passing an income tax rate for legal persons at the lowest rate in Europe of 24 percent. Through other laws now in Parliament or passing through Parliament, we are creating conditions for business. We look forward to the visits of your Secretaries to Moscow and to Dr. Rice's visit. (S)

We are preparing two groups in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Defense to discuss strategic security and stability. Our groups already exist, and look forward to the visit of Dr. Rice,

but we could devise other channels for our cooperation in this area. (S)

We also discussed with the President the possibility of Russia's accession to the WTO. We need a political impulse of support to reach the representative of the United States negotiating with us. At Ljubljana, I said that the Europeans were difficult, but the Americans were supportive of our accession efforts. But as soon as I said that, the situation changed drastically! It's true! As soon as I said it. I think this is a detail, and that we can rectify this situation quickly. (S)

I was pleased by and accept the invitation to visit the United States. This will be my first visit to the United States and will be important for me personally and for our overall relations. It will be a pleasure for me to visit you at your Ranch. This will provide an impulse for our officials. My invitation to you stands. (S)

The President: I think, and I want the people at the table to hear this, I think that we are watching history being made. If you think positively, this is a historic moment. This is the only reason to run for office, to make history, to change things. You will be able to tell your grandchildren that you were at the table when we made this breakthrough on the road to a new security for the world. I don't know whether this will happen. But I know I know that this airing of views is not something I can do with every leader in the world. (S)

Let me thank you for your cooperation on Nagorno-Karabakh, and we need to keep working at this together. One area of disagreement is Iraq. We must do a better job on this. Saddam Hussein is a "bad guy," as we say in America. The State Department should keep working with your people. (S)

I appreciate your comments about Macedonia yesterday. He said that there should be no reordering of borders there. We agree. I should say that we don't tilt toward anyone there. Anybody who thinks we do is just wrong. There are some that say we are tilting toward the Albanian insurgents. That is not our intention. We cut off fundraising for extremists from people in the United States, and we, our people, do fund some extremist groups, unfortunately. Has the EU followed us in this? (S)

Dr. Rice: Yes. (U)

The President: I told President Putin that I will be in Kosovo on Tuesday. I'll be there to thank our troops and there is no other signal meant by this. We went in together and will leave when the region is secure. We want to foster cooperation and work to build up institutions to replace our military. We must work to strengthen civil and political institutions and build the civic basis for eventually, and I emphasize eventually, preparing people to govern themselves within the borders now existing. (S)

President Putin: I have a few comments on what you said. On regional issues, our views are more similar. This is true especially in the Near East. The question is objectives and the means to obtain these objectives, so it's about the means, really. (S)

On Iraq, our objective is to keep nuclear weapons out of Iraq and verify that it stays out. Our Foreign Ministry proposed an option to demand that Saddam accept monitors in exchange for sanctions being removed. We want to assure the removal of weapons of mass destruction. Now this is not a course accepted by Iraq. Their Vice President Ramadan visited Russia and asked that we not pursue this approach. Why? Because they like external pressure. This helps their internal situation. It helps them explain to their people why they are suffering, and this works, especially when they are being bombed. (S)

Second, I am obliged to say, and the President knows this, that we have certain economic interests. Iraq owes us \$8 billion and is not paying, and in terms of lost commercial opportunities we have lost an additional tens of billions of dollars. Russia is not such a rich country that we can ignore this. Further, the Paris Club demands its money from us. So Russia cannot get the money owed us, and the rich countries in the Paris Club get the money we owe them. We are not so rich. Are we to deprive our people? We are ready to work, though, to bring our positions closer. (S)

On Iran, the President did not mention this, but we did discuss it last time. Let me say that Italy, or an Italian company, has signed a contract worth \$1 billion. We must look at the whole issue, and we are prepared to coordinate our actions. (S)

On Macedonia, the decisions were taken without our participation, so Russia is not bound by developments there. We will do nothing to disrupt the process. Yesterday, President Bush and I shared our concerns, and I responded positively to

what he said. Russia is not involved in the decision-making mechanism. Maybe this is good; the less responsible we are for this, the better! But the region is close by to Russia. We will be present. All the people in the region will look to Moscow as things develop. Our culture and our language link us.

(S)

The fact of our not being responsible for things there puts us in an interesting position for the future. We will try to help and render moral support. Yesterday, I said that we should not create the illusion that those who create political problems and try to divide borders will succeed. Doing this would create a catastrophe for Europe. How many times could you divide Spain or France? In Eastern Europe peoples are mixed together. Changing borders would be a terrible catastrophe. I support an international conference on the Balkans to reiterate the inviolability of existing borders. If you approve, and we don't have to announce this right now, we could also discuss this through our foreign ministries. (S)

The President: Today, I will announce Dr. Rice's visit to establish a timetable for future dialogue on security issues. We have to give the press something to chew on. (S)

I do want Russia in the WTO. I want to discuss this with my trade minister, Mr. Zoellick. I need to fully understand the details before I undermine my trade minister. So, please don't undermine him yourselves by saying something now. There is nothing worse for a minister than his boss communicating with him through the media. I'll speak to him. I also suggest that you raise this with Paul O'Neill in Moscow. (S)

I have another point. We discussed a lot of environmental issues at the Summit here. It is a sort of environmental religion; I don't know how else to say it. What President Putin said was a breath of fresh air because he cited science. He said that we could adhere to Kyoto all we wanted, but it wouldn't solve the environmental problem. I was grateful to hear somebody say something real. You should be proud of your President. He pulled no punches and advanced Russia's standing in the G-8. Now, we're off to the Press Conference. (S)

Mr. Prikhodko: In your meetings in Ljubljana, you decided to give an impulse to contacts between our businesses. Our experts have discussed this, and we will issue a press statement about this today, if you approve, Mr. President. (S)

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6

(President Putin reviews and approves the Russian language text of the joint economic statement. The two leaders then exchange gifts.)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Expanded Meeting with President Putin of
Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Alexander Vershbow, Ambassador to Russia
Colin Powell, Secretary of State
Donald L. Evans, Secretary of Commerce
Andrew Card, Assistant to the President
and Chief of Staff
Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Karen Hughes, Counselor to the President
Ari Fleischer, Assistant to the President
and White House Press Secretary
John Bolton, Assistant to the President and
Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy
Elizabeth Jones, Assistant Secretary of
State for European and Eurasian Affairs
J.D. Crouch, Assistant Secretary of Defense
for International Security Policy
Daniel Fried, Special Assistant to the
President and Senior Director for European
and Eurasian Affairs, NSC Staff
(Notetaker)
Steve Pifer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of
State for European and Eurasian Affairs
Brig Gen Frank Klotz, Director for
Nuclear Policy and Arms Control, NSC
Staff
Pamela Quanrud, Director for European and
Eurasian Affairs, NSC Staff, (Notetaker)
Interpreter

Vladimir Putin, President
Mikhail Kasyanov, Prime Minister
Vladimir Rushaylo, Secretary, Security

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 5/28/12

Council

Igor Ivanov, Foreign Minister
Aleksey Gordeev, Minister of Agriculture
Sergey Ivanov, Defense Minister
Dmitriy Medvedev, First Deputy Head of
Presidential Administration
Sergey Prikhodko, Deputy Head of the
Presidential Administration and Chief,
Foreign Policy Directorate
Aleksandr Rumyantsev, Minister of Atomic
Energy
German Gref, Minister of Economic
Development and Trade
Igor Yusufov, Minister of Energy
Yiriy Ushakov, Russian Ambassador to the
United States
Yiriy Koptev, Director General, Russian
Aviation and Space Agency
Georgiy Mamedov, Deputy Foreign Minister
General Yuriy Baluyevskiy, First Deputy
Chief of General Staff of Russian Armed
Forces
Vladimir Chkhikvishvili, Director,
Department of North American Affairs,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Yuriy Filatov, Deputy Director, Department
of North American Affairs, Ministry of
Foreign Affairs
Interpreter

DATE, TIME May 24, 2002, 11:25 - 12:10 p.m.
AND PLACE: The Kremlin

President Putin: Welcome to the capital of Russia and the heart of Russia, here in the Kremlin in Moscow. This is an historic occasion, the first visit of President Bush to the Russian Federation. (U)

I am pleased to note that this visit is of an entirely different quality than all other visits by a U.S. President to Russia. Prior Presidential visits were dedicated to overcoming the contradictions in our relationship. (C)

We meet today to attest to our new relations. Our focus now is our security, strategic arms reduction, and our joint participation in efforts to create a safer new world. (C)

This agenda reflects a growing trust in our relations. All of this has developed over the past twelve to eighteen months, thanks to the President and his team. (S)

I am therefore especially pleased to receive you here in Moscow, in St. Catherine's Hall. (U)

I recall well the welcome I received during my visit to the United States last November. I want to respond in kind to the hospitality I was shown at the President's ranch in Crawford. That meeting served as a powerful thrust to our relations. (U)

The President: Many thanks for the hospitality. This is a beautiful room in which we are meeting today. (U)

The treaty we will sign today is more than a strategic nuclear reduction agreement. It is a sign of our friendship. It should help cast away doubts about whether or not we are still enemies. (S)

I look forward to dinner at your home this evening. It is important that the world read that we worked all day, but then settled down at the end of the day for a dinner together. (U)

Getting to this day has required your leadership, President Putin, your vision. This is a vision of the world which is more peaceful, more prosperous, for all. (U)

President Putin: Let us now review the results of the serious talks we just completed. We discussed strategic stability, international security, and limitations on strategic offensive weapons. (S)

I want to express my special gratitude to the members of the United States and Russian teams that put much fruitful work into this effort. I'd like to turn to Foreign Minister Ivanov to brief us further on these issues. (S)

Foreign Minister Ivanov: Mr. President, I would like to point out to you that over the last months U.S.-Russian relations have intensified substantially. This foundation is represented in the agreement to be signed today and in the previous four summit meetings between our two countries. (S)

Looking ahead, I'd like to note our areas of cooperation. (S)

We want to reinforce the international anti-terrorism coalition. We need to bring the coalition to a solid treaty basis. We want to transform our Afghanistan Working Group into an effort to combat terrorism, especially chemical, biological, and nuclear terrorism. (S)

Second, we want to take steps to enhance our nonproliferation and strategic stability efforts. The treaty we will sign today and our Joint Declaration lay out the way forward. These documents, as signed by the most powerful states in the world, confirm our role in the security of the international system. Mr. President, we have agreed to set up a Working Group on Strategic Stability. (S)

We want to sign a framework on international organizations to upgrade our ability to face the challenge of international terrorism. (S)

We are working to address regional crises, in Afghanistan, Iraq, although we have our differences there, and in the Middle East. The role of our two countries in resolving these problems is key. (S)

We note that our favorable external cooperation helps broaden our economic cooperation. To improve this in the future, we need to broaden our people-to-people contact. The statement we will make today on this issue shows our commitment to these issues, including humanitarian assistance and other arenas of cooperation. (S)

Secretary Powell: Foreign Minister Ivanov has summarized well the areas of our broad cooperation. (S)

I'd like to thank Igor Ivanov and Sergey Ivanov for working with me to reach the treaty we will be signing today. The Consultative Group of our four ministers, Foreign and Defense, has important work ahead. I know Don Rumsfeld agrees with me on this. (S)

I'd also like to thank you for your work in the Quartet and the forward movement we are trying to achieve on the Middle East Peace Process. (S)

President Putin: Let us turn to economic issues. Minister Gref? (S)

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5

Minister Gref: Thank you. I'd like to review the results of my talks with Secretary Evans over the past two days. (S)

We made progress on a number of important issues. I'll review the most important issues we covered. (S)

On the determination of the Russian Federation as a Market Economy, we believe we have answered all the questions that have been raised in the context of the petition the Russian Federation filed last year. In our conversations, Secretary Evans and I discussed this process, and we welcome that Secretary Evans has agreed to make a final determination by June 14. (S)

We are concerned that Russia has still not been graduated from the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik amendment. This stands in the way of Russia being granted permanent normal trade relations to Russian firms. We agreed to continue to work with the U.S. Congress on this issue. (S)

We discussed as well the restrictions placed on Russian steel exports to the United States under the 201 action taken earlier this year. This is a serious issue for Russia. It constrains our metallurgy cooperation and hurts the Russian metallurgy industry. (S)

We agreed to address further questions on antidumping and compensation through consultations that will begin next Monday in Washington. Our industry representatives will participate in these talks. Next week we will set deadlines as well for resolving these issues. (S)

We will also discuss the OECD talks on constraining steel production. (S)

As regards poultry, this is no longer a problem. All the issues here have been resolved. (S)

We also discussed a number of projects. In the oil sector, we looked at ExxonMobil's shipping deal. We talked about cooperation in the space and missile launch industry, as well as cooperation in aviation and joint manufacturing. We talked about the need for new customs procedures to facilitate the movement of goods between markets. On energy, we note that our colleagues, Ministers Yusufov and Abraham have been working on this, and that we have agreed on an energy statement for today to advance this relationship. (S)

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There are a number of issues that will require our further attention. (S)

The Russian Federation should be exempt from U.S. modern technology export restrictions. (S)

It is extremely important to resolve the steel issues between us, which we could perhaps fix with a bilateral agreement. (S)

On Russia's WTO accession, we discussed this at length. Together with U.S. Trade Representative Zoellick, we are addressing a detailed workplan. The United States is taking a tough stance on energy pricing practices in the Russian Federation. This is outside normal WTO accession requirements. We want the United States to welcome the Russian Federation into the WTO on standard conditions. (S)

Secretary Evans: This was our third meeting, Mr. President. We agreed to a workplan of priority issues to improve our trade and investment relationship. (S)

We have made great progress on this list. We have made important advances on Russia's WTO accession, on Ex-Im lending to Russia, on bank reform, and in promoting small and medium business development in Russia. (S)

We also made progress on the commercial side. We visited Ford's new \$140 million facility outside St. Petersburg. I saw General Motor's \$300 million investment in Samara. In Samara, I also saw the unloading of 142 harvesters and other farm equipment from the United States, sold by CaseNewHolland and financed by the first loan under the Export Import Bank's new sub-sovereign loan facility: (S)

We have seen much progress over the past ten months. Ten months ago, the business community asked if they should invest in Russia. Now they ask how to invest in Russia. Our work is sending the right signal to U.S. business. (S)

We still have work to do. On steel, we made some progress. On poultry, I am not sure we can say this issue is resolved, but we hope it will be soon. We need to work through this issue with good faith and professionalism. (S)

On Russia's WTO accession, we will want to put particular emphasis on Intellectual Property Rights. We do this worldwide,

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7

and it is a cornerstone of our trade policy. Moreover, the free movement of technology between our countries depends on Intellectual Property Rights protections. (S)

I would like to congratulate your government on your efforts in the tax, land, judicial, and telecommunications reforms underway in Russia. (S)

We spent time talking about energy as well. Clearly there is the possibility of a surge in Russia's capacity to export oil if the Production Sharing Agreement framework is completed through Duma and regulatory action. (S)

This is important to both the economy of the Russian Federation and the global economy. The increases in production in the Russian Federation have kept pace with the increase in world demand for oil over the past eighteen to twenty-four months. (S)

There have been such areas of progress. Confidence and trust are increasing. American business is asking not should they invest in Russia, but how should they invest in Russia. (S)

President Putin: We now enjoy good interaction through many channels: through our foreign ministers, our economic ministers, our defense ministers. The lifeline of contacts is helping the relationship in a very tangible manner. (S)

I agree with Secretary Evans that the growing security and confidence in our relations helps build economic confidence as well. There are also new problems emerging. In my intergovernmental meetings we can no longer sit the Minister of Economy next to the Minister of Agriculture! This is all because of your Secretary of Commerce and his influence. (S)

It is a minor detail, but nevertheless characteristic of the new level of our relations . . . ten years ago we would never have been able to predict that we would be arguing over agricultural issues. (S)

But seriously, agriculture is sensitive for us. We face restrictions from many sides. I understand that this is coming less from North America, but the EU does not follow the rules. (S)

The EU keeps adding new rules, many of which are not transparent. They have nearly closed the Russian Federation out

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of the wheat market in Europe. We have an 80-year history of trade with Europe, almost 5 million tons. The EU has raised and then raised again, and then blocked outright our exports. They subsidize EU farmers and then dump the product on the Russian market. ~~(S)~~

On steel, we see this type of problem everywhere, everywhere. ~~(S)~~

Minister Koptev, please. (U)

Minister Koptev: I'd like to address our air and space cooperation. ~~(S)~~

We are very satisfied with the ten years of high technology and space technology, which started with an agreement signed under the first Bush Presidency. Today we have over 21 active projects. We are the main participants in the International Space Station. ~~(S)~~

It is very important that we move to a new level of confidence, not just government-to-government, but also business to business. This is indicative of a new trend. ~~(S)~~

There are funds available to invest in development. Now the task is to simplify the process. To aid this, we should set up a coordination agency between governments to analyze our cooperation and develop proposals for further cooperation. We need to build on our current good base of cooperation. We need the support of the Presidents for this proposal. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Secretary Evans mentioned energy, so perhaps we should now hear from Minister Rummyantsev. ~~(S)~~

Minister Rummyantsev: Our cooperative activity has been going on in this area for a long time. It is now time to start the next ten year phase of our cooperation. ~~(S)~~

As for non-proliferation, I want to stress the important role that the U.S. Department of Energy has played, but it could be more fruitful if the Russian Federation were allowed to be a player in the U.S. fissile material market. There should be opportunities for plutonium and uranium sales in the United States. ~~(S)~~

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9

President Putin: In our meeting, President Bush and I talked about our good cooperation in both the Russian Federation and other third country cooperation on hydrocarbons. (S)

Minister Yusufov: Our cooperation on energy is good. The Russian Federation is a reliable supplier of oil to world energy markets. (S)

We appreciate the U.S. investment in the oil sector of the Russian Federation. In our Working Group with the Department of Energy, we are considering new investment projects. (S)

Sakhalin I and the Caspian Pipeline Consortium are good examples of our cooperation to develop Russia's export potential. The Russian Government is trying to expand our port infrastructure. (S)

We want U.S. help in obtaining finance for Russian firms. We also want to work with you to obtain high-tech energy efficient technologies. We should also work together in the environmental sphere and on climate change. (S)

President Putin: Iraq is a case in point. The United States gets twenty-five percent of its oil from Iraq, and only 0.2 percent from Russia. Russia is the largest producer of oil in the world. (S)

I would like to make a proposal. If the United States would use Russian oil to fill its Strategic Petroleum Reserve, it would be powerfully symbolic. (S)

The President: I would sure rather you than Iraq get our dollars. (S)

President Putin: We should turn to military cooperation, Minister Ivanov? (S)

Defense Minister Ivanov: I am pleased that discussion has not been just about security issues! (S)

Yes, there are issues on the security side, counterterrorism, nonproliferation, but our cooperation is also of a new level of quality. We are now adopting joint rules of the game. (S)

On the treaty we are signing today, I believe this is the fruit of the many hours of effort by the Department of State, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Department of Defense, and the

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10

Ministry of Defense. We have had hours of meetings with Rumsfeld. ~~(S)~~

Now we need to implement the mechanism between the Ministry of Defense and the Department of Defense. ~~(S)~~

Our cooperation and trust in the counterterrorism field has softened over the past twelve months. You should know that the Ministry of Defense is prepared to firm up this relationship again. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Are we ready to turn to our treaty signing? We'll have time for more discussions tomorrow. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: Jill Sandler, Clark Lystra, Don
Gentile, Tina Yarmchuk, Peter Clement, Hope
Harrison, Jonathan Elkind

DATE, TIME: January 31, 2001, 9:02-9:17 a.m., EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Mr. President, it is my honor to talk to you, sir. I appreciate you taking my phone call, and I know this is going to be the first of many conversations we will have. (U)

President Putin: Mr. President, I am glad to be able to talk to you on the phone and to congratulate you on your election as President of the United States. I followed how you competed courageously and correctly, and I congratulate you on the results. (U)

The President: Thank you very much. Mr. President, I look forward to establishing a personal relationship with you. They tell me you are a candid and straightforward person. I think you will find that I am candid and straightforward as well, which means we will have some interesting conversations. Of course, they will be constructive. (U)

President Putin: I also think so. I agree with your assessment. I remember what you said about that journalist. I heard your assessment of him. It may not have been a good thing to do, but I applauded you secretly. (U)

The President: The only thing I don't want to do is get into a karate contest with you. (U)

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Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 2/2/11

President Putin: Maybe you would succeed. I practice judo, which is a different kind of sport. But looking at you, I conclude you are a very athletic person. I do not know your team very well, but I know Mr. Baker. I met him in St. Petersburg a few years ago, when he was working in the Administration of your father. I would not say he looks younger now, but he is just as professional. If you have such professional people on your team, I'm sure we will find common ground and have good relationships. (U)

The President: Mr. President, I think I have the best national security team ever assembled, and I would tell that to my father. Colin Powell you know, and Condoleezza Rice speaks fluent Russian, and she is talking today or tomorrow with one of your high-ranking officials that you have sent here. I think you will find that this is an Administration that speaks plainly. I am a businessman. I believe in the rule of law. We will be discussing democracy and issues such as free press, but you will be dealing with a very professional group of people who recognizes that yours is a very important country and recognizes the importance of us having good relations. (U)

President Putin: I agree. I have read your letter, Mr. President. I think it calls for additional scrutiny. However, the approaches covered in this letter are an acceptable basis for the development of our relations. We can say a few words about the agenda of Russian-American relations. I know you attached a lot of attention to issues of strategic stability. We will have to work quickly to overcome our disagreement regarding missile defense. However, I am absolutely convinced that there is no impasse. There is an opportunity to find a solution. I fully share your concern about proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and missile technologies. I believe there are opportunities to expand relationships between our two countries as far as the economy is concerned. Our economy is on the rise right now, which is a good message to our American partners. Mr. Ivanov, our Foreign Minister, has already talked to Mr. Powell. As far as I know, they have explored possible times for our first contacts already. I hope they will be able to arrange it. I hope we will be able to find time for a personal meeting with you, Mr. President. I know that Ms. Condi Rice will be in touch with the Secretary of our Security Council, Mr. Ivanov, to develop their relationship. There has been another channel of relations between our countries, contact between the Chairman of the Russian Federation and the Vice President of the United States. We should consider whether to let this channel die out or whether we will resuscitate it. (S)

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3

The President: Mr. President, I appreciate that. My inclination is to let it die out and make sure we have a strong relationship between you and me and our security people. We have a lot to discuss. I look forward to it. I am anxious to sit down with you personally. I know you are a strong man with your country's interests at heart. I appreciate that. I will assure you of two things. First, my deep desire to restructure our nuclear relations, both on the offensive as well as the defensive side. Secondly, I will treat you with the utmost respect, as the leader of a very important nation. (S)

President Putin: Thank you, Mr. President. There is a lot of information about you in our media now, so I know a lot about how you used to live and how you reached the post of President of the United States. Now I have an idea what kind of man Texas raises.. (U)

The President: I appreciate that we have a lot of work to do, sir, and I look forward to seeing you soon. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much, Mr. President. In conclusion, I would like to make one minor remark. You know that the United States, on the instruction of the Swiss Prosecutor's Office, has detained Mr. Borodin. He is an official, a civil servant, and the Secretary of the Belarussian Union. We believe this is primarily a legal issue and not a political issue. However, you have probably heard that in Russia, there is very strong public feedback regarding this. We hope that there will be a solution that will address both the legal and human aspects of the problem. However, the most important thing is the security relationship between our countries. I hope in the near future we will establish personal contacts. I will start to know you personally and start developing relations between our countries. Thank you very much for this call. (S)

The President: Thank you, sir. One quick point. The matter you brought up is a matter of law, and we will do our best to assist the extradition. Mr. President, I really appreciate this. I am so honored that you received my call. This is a very important and positive call. I look forward to knowing you personally. Thank you. Goodbye, sir. (U)

President Putin: We shall be in touch. Thank you very much, Mr. President. (U)

The President: Bye. (U)

President Putin: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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2733

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Nikolai Sorokin

Notetakers: Jill Sandler, Ed Padinske,
Don Cheramie, Tina Yarmchuk, Mark Pekala

DATE, TIME: May 1, 2001, 07:38 - 07:50 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Mr. President, thank you so much for taking my call on your nation's holiday. (U)

President Putin: I am glad to hear from you, Mr. President, and I hope you and your family are doing well. (U)

The President: Thank you. I am looking forward to seeing you. Our staffs are working hard so that you and I can have a good visit. (S)

President Putin: Yes, that would be a very good idea. I will be very glad to meet you personally, and I hope the foreign ministers will be able to arrange this. (S)

The President: Yes, I am very anxious for this to happen as well. (S)

President Putin: Also, thank you, Mr. President, for receiving Mr. Gorbachev and the Vice President, Mr. Cheney, for receiving our Vice Premier, Mr. Kudrin. This will help prepare our meeting. (S)

The President: By the way, Mr. Gorbachev said very positive things about you. (S)

President Putin: I have good relations with him. (S)

The President: Let me tell you why I am calling, Mr. President. In about six hours, I am giving a speech about establishing a new vision on how to keep the peace in the world. It is a speech

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Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 5/1/11

that says we need to consult with our friends, allies, and major countries such as Russia, about how to set up a new framework to deal with the missile threat. It is the beginning to a serious dialogue between Russia and the United States about how to best address the 1972 ABM treaty. In my speech, I do not make any unilateral decisions. It is very much a reflection of your sentiments and the statements you have made in the past, including about limited systems capable of intercepting launches at boost phase. So, I am calling because I didn't want to surprise you, and secondly, because I assure you that our nation will consult with people in Europe as well as yourself. (S)

President Putin: Thank you, Mr. President. You know, in general, our position on this matter. We will always emphasize that we are prepared to interact with the United States on strategic stability and work together on reducing nuclear arsenals. You know I share your concerns about potential threats, and we are prepared to look for means to counter these threats. We should do this in a non-confrontational manner and not destroy the structure of the arms control framework that has been sealed for the last 30 years. Mr. President, we shall study closely your statement today. I believe that when Foreign Minister Ivanov meets with Secretary of State Mr. Powell on May 18, we shall be able to present our position. I believe this problem, like other problems, will form a good basis for our interaction. We have made good progress in Nagorno-Karabakh, and I thank you for your message after the meeting of the Presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia. I would also like to inform you about my meeting with President Mubarak of Egypt. On April 27, he was in Moscow, and we had a lengthy discussion about the Middle East problem. I believe that the initiative they have proposed together with Jordan is a good one. This initiative would form a basis for the settlement, at least for a cessation of violence, although we know it has already been a long conflict, and it will be very difficult to find a solution within a very short time. We expect soon a visit from the Israeli Foreign Minister and later probably a visit by the President of Syria to Moscow. I believe this is one of the problems we should address together. I believe we could make a joint contribution towards finding a solution to the Middle East. If we could have a meeting it would be very good, as I could tell you about the responses of the people I mentioned. If not, I shall call you and tell you about these meetings. Anyway, I thank you for this call, and I wish you all the best. (S)

The President: Thank you, Mr. President. I am so honored to have talked to you today. In my speech today, I will make it clear that Russia is not an enemy; it is a country that we need to talk and cooperate with. Our conversation today proves my point. We will work together on the Middle East. I thank you

CONFIDENTIAL

3

(for your update. You are playing a very useful role, and I know the people in the Middle East are grateful that you are working with them. I hope our schedules will permit us to meet as soon as possible. I am very much looking forward to it. Thank you for taking my call. ~~(U)~~

President Putin: Thank you, Mr. President, and all the best for you and your family. (U)

The President: Thank you, Mr. President, and we will see you soon. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685231

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with the President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: Don Gentile, Bob Schubert, Jill
Sandler, Joel Ehrendreich

DATE, TIME July 6, 2001, 10:58 - 11:07 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Kennebunkport, Maine

The President: Yes. (U)

President Putin: Mr. President, I would like to greet you but I don't know what time it is. (U)

The President: It is 11:00 in the morning. (U)

President Putin: I would like to congratulate you on your birthday, Mr. President. (U)

The President: Thank you, thank you. (U)

President Putin: And I would also like to wish you all the personal well-being and success for the benefit of your country. I would also like to congratulate you on Independence Day. I'm still recalling our meeting in Ljubljana. I must say that I was quite satisfied and this event was met very positively by the general public in Russia. Now, we are awaiting the delegation of your Secretaries of Commerce and Finance here, and also Dr. Rice very much. I think that during their visit here we will develop all of the positive steps which were made during our meeting in Ljubljana. I have already made a decision on constituting two

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groups, as we agreed, from the foreign ministry and defense ministry, to continue our talks on the basis of strategic stability arrangements. Also, I await with impatience the possibility of meeting you in Genoa and think this will be another good opportunity. Mr. President, this is all I wanted to say. I don't want to take too much of your time. This was just a call to congratulate you on your birthday. (S)

The President: Mr. President, first of all, from now on you should call me George, even though I'm one-day-older George. Secondly, I'm so honored to take your phone call, thank you. And thank you for your note on our Independence Day. I, too, felt our meeting was an excellent meeting. And many in my country were pleased to see two new leaders so willing to seek new ground. And I think many nervous people in Europe took a deep sigh of relief when they saw that you and I had established a warm relationship. Secondly, I do want to express my nation's and my personal condolences for the lives that were lost in Siberia. My thoughts are with the families of the victims. I told Evans and O'Neill and Condi Rice that they must work hard to build on the level of respect that we started. There's so much we can do when we work together. I do think we need to work harder on Iraq. I was disappointed we weren't able to reach an accord, and I hope Secretary Powell and Foreign Minister Ivanov can continue to discuss this. If we work together, we can find a smart sanctions plan that will benefit the people of Iraq and also make sure commercial interests in Russia are not disrupted. And finally, it seems, I hope that the cease-fire holds in the Balkans. I know you're very interested in that area. And Macedonia, this is another area where Ivanov and Secretary Powell need to continue a dialog. I'm really looking forward to our meeting in Italy. I know we can advance and continue to make history. And so, I want to thank you again for your kind phone call on my birthday. I'm with my family, and I'm looking forward to telling them that you were the first world leader to call me on my birthday. [REDACTED] b(6)

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[REDACTED] b(6) So, thank you for calling, my friend. (S)

President Putin: Thank you so much, George. And all the best to you and your family. I will see you in Italy. (U)

The President: Yes sir. Your English is getting very good. (U)

President Putin: Thank you. Goodbye. (U)

The President: Thanks and goodbye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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6381

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Russian President Vladimir Putin
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanassenko
Notetaker: Rob Williams, Ed Padinske, Tina
Yarmchuk, Bob Riley and Tom Robertson

DATE, TIME September 10, 2001, 7:40 - 7:51 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Good morning, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: I am very glad to hear from you. (U)

The President: Oh yes, good, thank you. Listen, I wanted to call and touch base with you on a couple of matters. I'm looking forward to a good discussion in Shanghai. And, Vladimir, I hope the Shanghai meeting will be one in which we can have some good detailed discussions about lots of issues, all aiming at some point in time, in Washington or Crawford, about getting a new strategic relationship and framework, not only on defense but also on economic, cultural, and other matters. And finally, I know there's been lots of voices coming from Washington, lots of officials in my Administration. So I'm going to write a letter that's coming to you just as fast as I can draft and send it that will begin to outline in detail and in specifics where I think we can go to make agreement on a wide variety of issues. One thing that I won't be able to put in the letter, but we'll talk about it face to face, is the number of offensive nuclear weapons we can reduce in our arsenal. I told you I would get you a level, and I hope to get you the total number sooner rather than later. In summary, and I know I'm talking too much, I heard of your discussion with Condi on some special matters, and I hope, my friend, that we can get down to

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun

Reason: 1.5(d)

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good work. I stand by my hope that we can forge a new relationship that can lead the rest of the world, and I look forward to seeing you. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Excellent. Well, George, first and foremost, I would like to congratulate you on the end of your holiday and on coming back to the office. Our national television on various channels was showing several times the way you were having rest and relaxation, and I hope it was an excellent holiday. (U)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: At least you looked happy. On the whole, I would like to say this, we are satisfied with the way the relationship is developing. We think things are good on the economic front, and as agreed in October we are looking forward to welcoming the delegation of business leaders led by Secretary of Commerce Evans as agreed between you and me. As you are aware, I recently have received Sharon in Moscow. ~~(S)~~

The President: Yes. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: And we have some things to discuss on that subject also. There is also one other issue I would like to touch base on with you, and I would like you to keep it to you, and the media should not know. It's not a pleasant issue. Yesterday during a terrorist act, Masood, the head of the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan, was murdered. The people from the Northern Alliance are still keeping it close to their chest, and they are going to make it public in a day or two. It may complicate the situation in Afghanistan a lot. We have a working group meeting on October 30 to November 1. So I would like to ask you therefore if we could move up this meeting. And I would like you to talk to your people there in your office, because I believe we must have an identical response to this terrorist act so that the Taliban has no hope of breaking out of isolation as a result. ~~(S)~~

The President: I'll have Condi call Rushaylo on that as soon as possible. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Thank you, that would be excellent. Consultations on issues of strategic capabilities are progressing well. Frankly speaking, there's no discernible movement forward, however, consultations are going fine and I believe we could end up with some results during the Shanghai

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(meeting. Just like you have said, I'm looking forward to seeing you there because there are some things I'd like to say eye to eye, and I'd like to thank you for calling me now. ~~(S)~~

The President: Good, thanks, Vladimir. And if there's anything on your mind before our meeting, just give me a call. I didn't want the relationship to drift. That's why I gave you a call. I think about it a lot. You're a practical man and so am I. If you have thoughts, I'd like to hear them. In the meantime, I hope you're well. Thanks for your comments on the ranch. I'm just cleaning it up so when you come I'll be ready to host you. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Thank you so much. I'm looking forward to our visit. It is always my pleasure to discuss things with you on the phone and eye to eye, and therefore I believe that I am at your disposal, and I'll take the liberty that if I have things to say, I'll give you a call. ~~(S)~~

The President: Thank you, sir. (U)

President Putin: Thank you. Good-bye. (U)

(-- End of Conversation --

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6397

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Russian President Putin (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanassenko

Notetakers: Don Gentile, Jill Sandler, Marcy Caler

DATE, TIME: September 12, 2001, 9:35 - 9:40 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, thank you for calling. If I sound like I'm in a hurry, I am. I have a top level security meeting starting now. I'd like to speak to you later on today when we have more time, at your convenience. Let me say two things quickly. You were the first leader to call yesterday. Thank you for that. Secondly, I believe our country is in a state of war. We're fighting a faceless coward. It's a new kind of war. And I believe the world needs to cooperate and I look forward to working with you, Sir. And I look forward to having the opportunity to work together in a new spirit and to show the world that freedom-loving people like you and me can unite against these cowards. The reason I am in a rush is that we believe there will be further attacks and I need to prepare the nation for that. So, if you don't mind, I'd like to call you back at your convenience before you go to sleep tonight so that we can talk a bit more before your visit. (S)

President Putin: Good, George, agreed. I'm at your disposal. I can tell you, by the way, that I have signed a decree that at 12 noon tomorrow, Russia will be having a minute of silence for the dead to show solidarity with you. All flags will be at half-mast and all entertainment functions will be stopped. (S)

The President: Thank you, friend. (S)

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
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President Putin: And I can only fully agree with you that, after such acts of terror, we must draw proper conclusions and launch acts of cooperation and become closer together. I'm fully with you and looking forward to hearing from you tonight. (S)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: And I can also say that, in conclusion, that our relationship has shown, between you and me, that although the situation is extremely difficult, I'm sure you and your team will triumph. I'll hear from you later. (S)

The President: Yes. Thank you, friend. Good-bye. (S)

President Putin: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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8405

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: Tom Hall, Andy Green, Stacey
Mulligan

DATE, TIME November 8, 2001, 7:44 - 7:59 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Good morning. (U)

President Putin: Good morning, Mr. President. (U)

The President: Hey, Vladimir, how are you? (U)

President Putin: Excellent. I decided to call you just to talk about the key issues we are going to talk about in Washington.

~~(S)~~

The President: Oh, good. Thank you for calling. I'm confident we're going to have a good trip. I'm looking forward to it. (U)

President Putin: It seems to be a more optimistic time than when we met in Shanghai. We had a chance to talk with your Defense Minister Rumsfeld. And if I heard him correctly, it sounds like things will be finalized with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Igor Ivanov. Now, the main thing is not to have anything added. It seems to me that we have options on all issues we have talked about till now, including the ABM Treaty. I hope that you and I will discuss these things when we meet personally. We have information from your experts about your plans for missile defense testing. I think the existing ABM Treaty should take into account needed flexibility. In a year or two, taking that

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flexibility into account, I think we can finish. It would be good if we could say something specific at the completion of our meeting on weapons, and on our cooperation on counter-terrorism.

(S)

I see there are new people coming from you and the special services for intelligence sharing. Weapons for the Northern Alliance are decided. The timing of some of this is of some concern for the Tajiks. Also, it has been confirmed by the Northern Alliance that your latest air raids have been very successful. We are pushing the Northern Alliance to increase their cooperation in operational planning and to begin actual operations. I would be very happy to have some discussions with you when we meet. (S)

The President: Yes, Vladimir. The First Lady and I are looking forward to seeing you in Texas. I hope it's Okay if I can take you to a small high school in my hometown in Texas. I want people to see that you are a modern thinker and I want you to see Americans. (S)

President Putin: Okay. (U)

The President: Okay, good. Secondly, I have one concern. First, before I express that, I'm confident we can make progress on economic issues. I know I am making great progress on Jackson-Vanik in Congress. We will talk about offensive weapons. I am prepared to discuss numbers with you when you come. I think one important subject that I want the world to know about, is the new relationship between Russian and NATO. The one area of concern I have is our talks on strategic defenses. Regardless of whether we agree or not on the ability to test freely, I will never do anything to put you in an awkward position here in America. (S)

We have two options. On the one hand, you and I can agree that America can test freely and without any restrictions, and we will share information with you. And, in return for the freedom to test, we will agree to stay within the ABM Treaty with you for a period of time. If, on the other hand, it's impossible for you, for whatever reason, to allow us to test freely, my only option will be to withdraw from the ABM Treaty at a later date, so we can begin testing after a six-month period, and we will continue to work to see if we can't reach an agreement. But I promise you that I will not embarrass you. I will not put you in an awkward position should we not be able to reach an accord on testing. We can say in Washington and Crawford we are continuing to work to make sure that each party's concerns are represented. (S)

I hope you will think through these two options. I will tell Colin Powell to talk this through with Igor and we will continue to talk through this. I think this is a great opportunity for us. It gives us a chance to continue to test and extend the treaty. I think we can discuss this if you like when you come. Nevertheless, I think we will have a great visit. I can't wait to see you. (S)

President Putin: George, we shall see; I'll think about it. I thought I would like to repeat that I have optimism with regard to all issues, including ABM. And maybe it may seem, at first glance, that nothing is changing in our position, but there are nuances that I would like to discuss with you personally when I come to Washington. We have several options. All of them are good. I wish all the best to you and I look forward to seeing you in Washington and Texas. (S)

The President: Vladimir, when you come to Texas, make sure you bring casual clothes. It will be very informal. And also, bring walking shoes, exercise shoes, so we can go for long walks on the ranch. (U)

President Putin: Okay, thank you. (U)

The President: Thank you. Good-bye. (U)

President Putin: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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9453

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin
Notetakers: Clark Lystra, Jill Sandler,
Andy Green

DATE, TIME: December 19, 2001, 07:38 - 07:46 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Good morning Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: George, hello. It's very good to hear your voice. (U)

The President: Thank you. I wanted to call to talk about a couple of things, one thing in particular. First, I want to wish you and your family a great holiday and Merry Christmas. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much. I wish a Merry Christmas to you and your wife and your daughters. Please give my regards to them all. (U)

The President: Thank you. We're going back to the ranch the day after Christmas. It will be the first time I've been there since you visited. (U)

President Putin: It's a good place to rest. (U)

The President: Secondly, thank you, Vladimir, for how you handled our recent discussions, our international discussion, on the ABM treaty. You kept your word. (S)

President Putin: As we had agreed, we followed. I can tell you frankly, I still don't understand the reasons you wanted to do that, but if you feel it is in the interests of the United States, we have to work out a line acceptable to both of us. (S)

The President: That's what I wanted to assure you of. Not every leader keeps his word like you did. In this line of work, you

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Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 12/21/11

hear one thing when people intend to do another. I appreciate that. I assure you that I intend to keep my word and codify a new agreement. I want our people to work hard with your people to come up with a new agreement on offensive weapons, as well as defensive weapons, if possible. And I think it is very important, Vladimir, that after New Year's, as time goes on, you and I need to discuss this issue as well as others to make sure progress is made. I feel like Colin Powell, Igor Ivanov, Don Rumsfeld, Sergei Ivanov, and Condi Rice, have all got great relations with each other, and I think that it is very important for us to continue to have an honest and open relationship. I think we have the ingredients to reach a new agreement. And finally, one thing I want to confirm is that we will work hard immediately after the New Year to get rid of Jackson-Vanik, and then we can work on other economic projects as well. So Merry Christmas friend, and thank you. (S)

President Putin: George, thank you for this call. I am now having lunch with all the leaders of the regions of Russia and they also wish you a Merry Christmas. (U)

The President: Thank you, sir. (U)

President Putin: I will give them your congratulations, on your behalf. (U)

The President: Please, thank you. (U)

President Putin: And, indeed, we have good personal relations not only between us, but between members of our team and I am very glad to hear that. I think we should start preparations for your visit to Moscow. (S)

The President: Yes. (U)

President Putin: And I believe that if we can reach an agreement, then a visit to Moscow will help with practical issues. (S)

The President: Yes. (U)

President Putin: And once again, I wish you a Happy New Year and Merry Christmas and all the best. We will maintain contact. (U)

The President: Yes sir. Thank you, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Thank you so much. Goodbye. (U)

The President: Goodbye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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9585

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Russian President Vladimir Putin
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Nick Sorokin
Notetakers: David Mathews, Don Gentile, and
Marcy Caler

DATE, TIME: December 26, 2001, 1:38 - 1:40 p.m. EST
AND PLACE: Crawford, Texas

The President: Good afternoon Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: George, hello. (U)

The President: How are you today? (U)

President Putin: Thank you, very good, Mr. President. (U)

The President: Thank you so much Vladimir. I loved your letter
and thank you for your phone call. (U)

President Putin: George, I have no other matters to deal with.
On behalf of my family, and myself, I simply want to send my
wishes to you, your wife, and children for the coming new year.
(U)

The President: Well, thank you very much, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: My regards to the American people. (U)

The President: Thank you so much. Listen, we are going to have
a great year next year. I look forward to working with you and
talking with you. It is going to be a great year. (U)

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 12/27/11

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President Putin: We shall make arrangements for your visit, and I wish you all the best. (U)

The President: All right, thank you Vladimir. Good-bye. (U)

President Putin: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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0936

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: Brad Mynatt, Bob Schubert,
Tom Hall, Thomas Robertson

DATE, TIME: February 5, 2002, 7:37 - 7:57 a.m., EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, good morning. (U)

President Putin: Good afternoon, George. (U)

The President: How are you doing, sir? I just wanted to call and check in. Thank you for sending your Prime Minister here. We had a very good visit. (U)

President Putin: Thank you. Thank you for receiving him. (U)

The President: I wanted to tell you what I told him. One, I am really looking forward to going to Moscow. It is going to be a highlight of my Presidency. Secondly, I do want to have some constructive papers to sign starting with our mutual desire to come up with a paper to codify our offensive agreement. I also want to tell you that we are working hard to get rid of Jackson-Vanik. That would be a very positive thing to declare while I am on your soil. And I hope, by the time we get there, that it is very clear to the world that our desires for a NATO-at-20 have been achieved. It is clear that what you and I discussed, and what you and Tony Blair have discussed has become a reality for NATO. And finally, I hope that we are able to make some very positive statements about our economic relationship. I want to congratulate you on your continued progress on your economy. I hope that we can continue to push hard for continued cooperation

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on the economic front. I think that would be a very important message for both our countries. And then, I am also looking forward to having the Afghanistan working group. Your guys are coming here to work with Armistage. It's important to move forward there. I told Mr. Karzai, when I saw him, that I would mention to you that I am confident Russia and Afghanistan can set up a good relationship. He wants to have relations with Russia. I told Karzai that he needs to get to know you, as I found you to be a good man. He is a good man. Anyway, that is why I am calling, friend, and also to hear your voice. (C)

President Putin: George, thank you very much for calling, and to be frank myself, I missed talking to you and I wanted to call you. I followed very intensively on the television your statements to Congress, your State of the Nation Address. I also read it carefully and I would like to congratulate you on this statement. It was, of course, a major event in the life of your country, and I would like to say the speech made a great impression both in terms of content and emotion. (C)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: Although, some things that were mentioned raise doubts among diplomats. We have discussed a lot with you, and we have talked a lot about Iraq. And, we have discussed various financial arrangements and mechanisms that have to do with Iraq. You know, perhaps, that I discussed these problems at length with Chancellor Schroeder. The Germans appear to have a number of ideas concerning the establishment of a financial pool to assist Russia in eliminating chemical and nuclear weapons, to strengthen security in arms control, and environmental protection. And if you maintain your position, that you have not changed it, I would ask that you give instructions to your Ministry of Finance people to get in touch with our Ministry of Finance people. (C)

The President: I would be glad to do that, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, George. And I think that we need to give a boost to our experts to push hard and prepare the documents that you suggested on offensive arms agreements. This will get our experts, our specialists, military and civilian, to maintain contacts and work hard on this. There is one problem here that I would like to draw your attention to. I am under the impression that this important issue you referred to, Russia-NATO relations, is marking time, so to speak. And I have a feeling that without further impetus, further impulse from the President of the United States, we will not be able to move in that area. Of course the Blair initiative, I think, will not be enough without you expressing firmly your position as the leading nation of the Western Bloc. There are some problems with the smaller

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nations, but we have to work hard to eliminate those concerns. I think that we could succeed in that; however, without your firm position I do not think that we will be able to move any further on this issue before your trip. (S)

The President: Yes, Vladimir. Let me say that I hope, prior to my arrival, we have got something very positive with NATO-at-20. I think, first of all, you need to know Russia's role with NATO is a very important part for our foreign policy mix, it's important for our bilateral relations, but also for NATO and how it works with Russia. This is an important initiative, and I will again turn up the heat, not only on our people at NATO, but with Secretary Powell, who I will talk to in about an hour. I will push to get this thing done. It is a priority of mine, and I know it is a priority of yours. (S)

President Putin: Everybody is now watching, looking at the United States' position on this issue. There is something I did not want to say at this point, particularly over the phone, but some partners believe that we should not do this, or go this way, because entering into this agreement on NATO-at-20 we will help breathe new life into NATO. And, of course, there are some other people, on the other hand, that say by establishing these arrangements, there will be a threat of NATO destabilizing from inside. Of course, this is not true, but we have to find some golden means. Anyway, without a clear and firm position by the United States, it will be impossible to resolve the issue. We would like to see it resolved as soon as possible. A couple of words on another issue, and I am referring to the economic issue. I think our relations on this are going fairly well. I have read with great interest the energy strategy, as prepared by Vice President Cheney, and we will actively consider this initiative. It is very promising. And, of course, we do hope very much that the Jackson-Vanik can be revoked before your arrival, as well as the market economy question. As regards to Mr. Karzai, we are prepared to support him actively. I gave proper instructions to my Foreign Minister Ivanov, to invite Mr. Karzai to Moscow. We are ready to develop relations with Afghanistan, and we will extend all the necessary political support to Karzai and his government, and we will also try to encourage our companies, the business community, to cooperate on Afghanistan, so we can provide some sort of economic support, although not of a large scale to Mr. Karzai's government. So, that is what I would like to tell you. (S)

The President: Okay, Vladimir, I hear you loud and clear, and I understand completely. We will have further conversations before my arrival. I am confident we will have a great visit, but we want to have concrete results of our relationship that will show

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(the world we have a platform for strengthening peace. So thank you for your phone call, and give your family my best. (S)

President Putin: Thank you, George. Thank you for calling. We saw Laura during your statement in Congress and I must tell you she looked great, so please give her greetings from me and Lyudmila. We are looking forward to seeing you in Moscow and St. Petersburg. We think that it will be a great international event, of strategic character, and we will do everything we can to project this historic visit. (S)

The President: Thank you. God bless. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, George. Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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2499

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: Tina Yarmchuk, Dave Mathews,
Leslie Radcliff, and Ed Padinske

DATE, TIME: March 27, 2002, 7:10 - 7:37 a.m., EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, good morning. (U)

President Putin: Good morning. (U)

The President: Listen, first of all, I wish you a great Easter holiday. Right after my conversation, I leave for the ranch, which will bring back many fond memories of our time there. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much. First of all, I'm very glad to hear from you. We have nice recollections of our stay at the ranch. (S)

The President: Yes. (U)

President Putin: However, this time I'm not going to be too jealous because I'm at Lake Baikal in the mountains in Siberia,

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The President: Fantastic. Listen, I want to talk quickly about two things. First, I want you to know I believe we're making good progress on the issue of the offensive weapons. We listened closely to what Sergey Ivanov had to say. We talked internally about your concerns about the response force issue. Igor Ivanov and Colin will be meeting next week, and I believe we have made substantial progress, and we will continue to work hard to meet

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Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 3/27/12

both of our needs, and I believe that we will end up with an agreement that will please both of us. I understand the difference between a virtual treaty and a real treaty. We will work hard to make sure it's real, not virtual. Secondly, we do have a problem on chickens. I hope you know about it. I urge you, friend, to find a way out on this issue. There is a memorandum of understanding that is being negotiated, and we've got to push hard to get that memorandum of understanding on chickens completed quickly so that we can pursue other items. This is not a quid pro quo, but I've got problems with my Congress, like you have in relations with your Duma. They're looking for an excuse for this not to go forward, and we've got to get this solved. This is a serious problem. It affects 38 states. We've got to get it resolved, to work hard to get it off the agenda. I know we can get it resolved if you work on your agricultural people to get this resolved quickly. I'll do what I have to on my side to get rid of this issue quickly. Our Congress comes back in nine days, and we have to work on a lot of other things for the Summit in Russia. And that's what I was calling about. (S)

President Putin: Regardless of the reason for this conversation, I am glad to hear your voice. (U)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: I am glad the situation in the United States is developing well, and your position has been strengthened. And I am in absolute agreement with your assessment of our work in the area of offensive arms. (S)

The President: Good. (U)

President Putin: We have meetings of experts on the way. Minister Ivanov will meet with Secretary Powell. Mr. Mamedov is meeting with experts, too. There is another meeting in Moscow. We hope that by your visit, we will have finalized the necessary documents. (S)

The President: Good. (U)

President Putin: Also, our cooperation in fighting terrorism is developing not badly at all. Our experts from special services and the procuracy have been to Guantanamo Bay in Cuba where the captives are being held. It turns out that good American professionals are working there. And they have good professional contacts with each other. I want you to know about this. (S)

The President: I'm very pleased as well. (U)

President Putin: As far as the Russian relationship with NATO, there is development in your position, and this is a good message. (X)

The President: Good. (U)

President Putin: Now about the second question you asked. I have to tell you that we are both miserable people. We have to deal with nuclear security, with terrorism, and poultry. Frankly, I haven't looked into this issue deeply yet myself because the government has been involved in this. I will divulge a great secret to you. The opinions in the government split right away. And our Minister of the Economy was very critical of the decision from the beginning, and they established contact. So far, U.S. and Russian experts met in Moscow. The last thing we want to do is to add political dimension to this issue. I'm generally aware of the situation. Our Minister of Agriculture is lobbying for the domestic producers of these products. However, a full ban on poultry imported from the United States will bring about a rise in market consumer prices, which is very bad for us. It is not in our interests to ban the imports of poultry. And in terms of the Ministry of Agriculture lobbying for, Russian agricultural producers, I am critical of the reasons they suggest. (X)

United States and Russian experts have drafted a protocol which included twelve items which the suppliers have to meet. And we have accepted most of them except two or three items. The first item has to do with fake certificates. United States experts claim there were no such fake documents, and at the same time, they reported that three criminal cases are being investigated in the United States itself about fake documents. Also, some certificates were issued for beef; however, the company was exporting poultry. And our veterinary doctors demand that the enterprises that have been reported as violating the regulations should be excluded from the supply list. The third condition is to install total veterinary control. In St. Petersburg, there are 298 containers that have been discovered to contain salmonella. And even experts from the Russian Government who were critical from the beginning, some of them came to me and told me this is inadmissible. They are critical of the situation now. However, this should not be used to add political damage to our trade relationship. Of course, attempts to do so have been made in error. Decisions that have been taken so far have been under the control of the Russian Prime Minister. And I am ready to request our experts to go to the United States to finalize and agree upon the issues that have not been agreed upon. (X)

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The President: That's very important. These details you and I can spend hours talking about. I wanted you to know this is a serious matter. It's causing me political problems, which means it's causing you political problems. Need to press our experts to solve it, if you don't mind, if you push hard, and I'll push hard and maybe we can do it. (S)

President Putin: Yes, however, I would like to ask you on your part to push your poultry producers. (S)

The President: We will. There is a Memorandum of Understanding that solves these problems. This is a political problem. The reason I'm calling is that I had to bring this to your level. I want to assure you this is a problem because it's Congress that has to vote on Jackson-Vanik. I know it's hard to understand. If you can get this Memorandum of Understanding complete, it will make my task easier so that I can have deliverables for you in Moscow. (S)

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President Putin: George, I would like you to understand me. It's a problem for me, too. Look, I don't know whether this poultry is contaminated or not, and our veterinarians say it is. It's been disseminated in the media, and if we send it to the markets tomorrow, the people will say we're trying to poison the population. (S)

The President: The question is how we get beyond this immediate problem of the current poultry (shipment); we can deal with future shipments, it seems to me. (S)

President Putin: For this reason, we should be accepted into the WTO. And Jackson-Vanik should be lifted. (S)

The President: We are with you on that. Listen, I've got to go. I've got to catch my plane. Have a great Easter, have fun skiing, and I will talk to you. (S)

President Putin: George, just one moment before you run away.
(U)

The President: Okay. (U)

President Putin: The Jackson-Vanik Amendment has to do with Jews, not poultry. (S)

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The President: The problem is that I'm relying on Senators who vote that have chickens in their state. It's hard to understand, but it's pure American politics. (S)

President Putin: I have one question: not a question; some information. I didn't want to link these two problems, and I don't want our governments to link these problems. The United States has decided to limit the steel imports in violation of the 1990 agreement. In real terms, this will bring about the closing of several steel mills in Russia. Our Ministers of Economy are talking about this, and the U.S. Department of Trade has already made some concessions to us. (S)

The President: As I understand, roughly 80 percent of the steel is exempt from the measures, and I did that on purpose, Vladimir, to make sure we didn't affect your steel industry significantly. (S)

President Putin: The hot-rolled steel is very important for us. Another question has to do with your upcoming visit. We are preparing for your stay, and I want you to enjoy it. (S)

The President: I can't wait to go. (S)

President Putin: I really want you to enjoy the trip, and I want you to have a friendly, warm time. (S)

The President: Good, thanks. (U)

President Putin: You have already mentioned security. I would like you to stay overnight with us. We would be very happy about it. (S)

The President: Love to, we would be honored. (U)

President Putin: We are looking forward to it. We are really glad to receive you, and I would like to reciprocate your very human gesture when you invited me to the ranch. (S)

The President: Thank you very much. (U)

President Putin: We have two houses that are located close to each other. They are separated by a winter garden. One of the houses is a guest house with two bedrooms, and it is fully equipped. (S)

The President: That sounds fantastic. (S)

President Putin: We would be happy to see you and your spouse. (U)

The President: We look forward to that a lot. I think we'll have a good Summit. We'll get this chicken issue solved, and in the meantime, [REDACTED] (S)

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(President Putin: Thank you, George. (U)

The President: Thank you. Good-bye. (U)

President Putin: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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2685

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Don Gentile, Jill Sandler,
Jeff Houle

DATE, TIME April 2, 2002, 10:15-10:31 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Good morning, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: (In English) Good morning, George. (U)

The President: How are you sir? (U)

President Putin: (In English) Very good, how are you? (U)

The President: I'm great. I'm a little worried about the Middle East but pleased and thankful for your hard work on the chickens. Thank you, sir (C)

President Putin: Are you in Crawford or in Washington? (U)

The President: I'm in Washington. (U)

President Putin: Actually, I hope you have had good rest. (U)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: I have two issues to discuss. The first relates to what we discussed in the conversation of March 27, and the official message of March 29, and all things about U.S. poultry. And, as we agreed, the urgent steps were taken to resolve the issue as soon as possible. Actually, your experts did a very good job. And as a result, this joint protocol was signed to remove any problems. And now, it's very important that the U.S. would act as soon as possible to implement the steps. The protocol creates a good basis to resolve the problem in the near future. And, I paid special attention to your proposal, your idea to establish a permanent joint commission on the issues

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 4/3/12

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for foodstuff safety. I do believe it's a very good proposal, and we are considering it, and I will inform you of our decision very soon. And actually, I do believe that our agreement will reduce the tension of this situation and contribute to resolving problems in the economic sphere, including abolition of the Jackson-Vanik amendment. (S)

And also, very active work is being done and progress is being made on further reductions of offensive weapons and the declaration on the new strategic relations. We have already submitted our additional proposals in this regard and are waiting for these to be discussed at the meetings with Ivanov and Powell on April 10 and 11. (S)

Now, the main thing, actually, this is exactly what I wanted to talk to you about. Maybe you know that Prime Minister Berlusconi is now my guest and just one minute ago I said, "Good-bye" to him, and he told me to give his best regards to you. (S)

The President: Thanks. (U)

President Putin: And actually, we have a proposal. It is about the preparation and signature and launch of Russia-NATO at-20. And if everything is okay, if God favors us, you will be here in Moscow 23-25 May. And, as far as I know you have plans to visit European countries, to visit Chirac, Germany perhaps. But, you know anyway, if you could stay one more day in Europe, we could meet in Rome in order to organize the Russian-NATO summit and launch these mechanisms. And actually, it would be good for me if we resolved it before the NATO summit in Prague. This would reduce the tension and pressure in my country so it would be very good to do before the Prague summit. And, actually, my impression is that this would be good for Mr. Berlusconi because he is in a difficult political situation, under great pressure from his left, good to shift the internal political tension to other affairs and show the importance of Italy in the International arena. I don't know, actually, it's up to you. I would think this would be acceptable to you. In any way, you know better but such a step of launching of this 20 mechanism would be very good, a logical result and a nice finish to your European tour, and this would be a very good stop for your European tour. Actually, what do you think of this? (S)

The President: Let me give it some thought, Vladimir. I'm very much in favor of at-20 to satisfy some of your concerns. And I'm glad we're making progress in this. So I'll take a good look at it and get back with you. Secondly, I want to thank you again for your work on the poultry issue. We made excellent progress where your leadership made a difference. This is a good model on how we can solve economic issues, and we will move quickly on the implementation of the protocol. Finally, I am very pleased we are making progress on strategic relations. According to what

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Colin Powell has told me, we have a document that is bracketed, and we just have to work out the language, and that is very positive. I think we're going to have an historic meeting, and I look forward to it. I was talking to Condi about the details. It is going to be an exciting trip for Laura and me, and I can't wait to see you there. (S)

President Putin: George, you know that I will be waiting for you, and we'll go on with preparing your visit. And, please think it over and I don't need any immediate response from you. (S)

The President: Okay. (U)

President Putin: And, as far as I know, that regarding these basic documents for Russia-NATO, they are nearly ready. The basic points are agreed and the next step is the political consent, but anyway, we want to make your visit historic and do it as well as possible. And of course, we are also worried about what is going on in the Middle East and pay lots of attention to it. Unfortunately, this situation isn't developing favorably for Sharon. A lot of negative things are happening. For example, one of the European priests became a victim. It's very sad. They seized an Orthodox church in Jerusalem. And, I am familiar with your statement on the issue of Arafat. We share your approach, and I believe you feel that we will continue working within the framework of the four: Russia, U.S., UN, and EU. And, maybe we should give instructions to the Russian Foreign Office and Department of State to make a Russian-U.S. statement to Arafat and Israel and if you think it advisable, we could charge our foreign offices with it. Actually, that's all I wanted to tell you. Thank you. (S)

The President: Thanks. I, too, am worried about the Middle East. But, I am getting criticized by people here who think I somehow haven't solved the problem. And, I'll pass your ideas to Colin Powell about a joint statement or joint demarche. I want to thank you for your interest and concern on this issue and your support for finding a peaceful solution. Please give my best to your family. (S)

President Putin: (In English) Thank you. All the best for you and your family. (U)

The President: Okay, talk to you soon. (U)

President Putin: (In English) Bye, bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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3309

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: David Mathews, Andrew Green, and
Jeff Houle

DATE, TIME April 12, 2002, 07:25 - 07:43 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Good morning, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Good afternoon, George. How are you? (U)

The President: I'm fine, sir. Thank you for taking my call. I have three things to talk to you about this morning. First, I thought about your suggestion of going to Italy and I accept. Obviously the discussions would be about NATO. After our phone call I will inform Berlusconi that if you still want to go forward, I would be honored to attend. (S)

President Putin: Thank you, I agree. (S)

The President: Good. Secondly, the chicken issue, poultry, has risen again and we must solve this. I must be honest with you. I know you are frustrated. I'm frustrated. I think your Ministry of Agriculture has got some bureaucracy that doesn't want an agreement. We must work closely on this, friend. I assure you, we have adhered to the protocol, and we want to get this solved. I know you have designated your Prime Minister. I urge you, Vladimir, to tell him, if you don't mind, that this must work, as opposed to allowing low-level people preventing it from working. I know we can get this done. Believe me, our inspectors are good. If not, we would be shutting down plants

all over America. We don't want our people to eat lousy chickens, and we don't want your people to eat lousy chickens. That's all I have on the chickens. (S)

President Putin: What's the third question? (S)

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 4/12/12

(The President: The third issue is this; we are making great progress in the strategic arms discussions, but we are stuck on one point. That is, how to count the warheads. I'm no expert in arms control speak, but it seems to me that it ought to be pretty easy to count warheads. A warhead is a warhead. When I told you that we would reduce our warheads to 1,700 to 2200, I meant that. We weren't talking about launchers. We were talking about warheads. I think you understood. We are willing to have full transparency. People can come and see what we have. Obviously, there is full trust between us, but if there is distrust between our bureaucracies, then please come and count. We can't get caught in a bureaucratic struggle about how to count. I propose getting it out of the experts hands and into high level channels. I can designate me and you can designate yourself, or somebody at a high level. I am confident we can have a good agreement. Other than the Middle East, that's all I have on my mind. (X)

President Putin: Thank you George. Thank you for this call. You have disarmed me with your agreement to go to the meeting in Rome. This problem with poultry, I want to resolve it as soon as possible. There was a protocol that was agreed upon and more than half of the issues in the protocol have been complied with on the U.S. side. I believe that both of us have to press our bureaucracies and I am sure we can solve this problem. (X)

(The President: Thank you. (X)

President Putin: There is one systemic problem I would like to relay to you. I have been told that the veterinarian decisions in the United States have transferred from the government to the producers. That's why there are a lot of mistakes. These bureaucrats (chinovniki). This is the systemic problem I am talking about. This is the problem. So as I said the right to deal with the documentation has been transferred from the government to the producers of poultry and this has been the source of the problem. I repeat that very soon we will get this resolved. (X)

The President: Great, Vladimir, I'm sorry for interrupting, but I want to assure you that our inspectors are federal inspectors. We don't allow somebody to inspect themselves. There is a federal inspection. I need to clear that up, because it is important for you to understand that our standards are federally enforced. (X)

President Putin: Alright, fine George. Let's work on them. (X)

(The President: Good. (X)

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President Putin: We will demand that they fulfill their obligations. On my side, I will push my people and I ask that you push your people, too, so we get this resolved. ~~(S)~~

The President: Okay. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: As far as the meeting on NATO, I believe this is very important and I thank you once again for that. On about the 28, we are scheduled to meet with the EU leadership for the EU-Russian Summit. I think I will talk to Aznar and we will give this meeting priority. Because the Russia-NATO relationship is very important and I think, for Europe, this is global in nature. ~~(S)~~

The President: Yes. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: I would also like to thank you for your support during the hearings on repealing the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. I have been told that your administration representatives took a very correct and tough position which is helpful. ~~(S)~~

The President: Yes. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: About the third issue, I am aware of the START problems. I believe we will be able to overcome all this. We are also scheduling consultations for the 23rd or 24th with our experts, and also Minister Ivanov and Secretary Powell will be meeting in Washington at the beginning of May to discuss this, as well. I am convinced, in any event that we will find formulas that will be acceptable to both sides. I will also like to make a final note about the positive work that we have done in terms of our cooperation on the Middle East. I think Ivanov and Powell have done a great job on that, and I am looking forward to our meeting in Moscow. ~~(S)~~

The President: Good. You and I will need to continue our discussions so that if our experts, who don't want an agreement, bog this down we can get this unstuck. That's what leaders are supposed to do. Secondly, as to NATO, I look forward to a good meeting. You need to know the reason I decided to come was because of your influence. I thank you for your suggestion and your friendship. I hope you have a great weekend and if necessary we can continue to discuss matters up to the meeting. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Well thank you very much, George. I am also very glad to hear from you and I would like to reserve the right to call you if the need arises. ~~(S)~~

The President: Yes, please. Have a great weekend. (U)

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President Putin: Alright. And all the best, George, to your family. (U)

The President: Thank you. Same to you sir. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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3871

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Janeen Chupa, Andrew Green,
Jeff Houle

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME May 7, 2002, 7:25 - 7:43 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Good morning, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Good morning, George. (U)

The President: Good morning. First, I want to wish you a great Russian Easter and a glorious Victory Day. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much. Well, the Victory Day is our common day, so I congratulate you and the American people from the bottom of my heart on this day. (U)

The President: I want to talk about three things. First, I think we are making good progress on the strategic relationship document for the summit. I am pleased with the progress being made as long as the document does not fall into the hands of bureaucratic forces. (President Putin laughs.) I think we will have a great document that is good for you and for us. (C)

Secondly, I'm real pleased with what took place in Georgia. We are confident that the authorities are cleaning out the Pankisi Gorge. There were three mujahiddin arrested. It was a good strike against terrorism. And Khattab died. It looks like you

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 5/7/12

are making good progress, and I'm pleased. I know that Georgia is doing its part in Pankisi Gorge. I hope this will make it possible to reach a political settlement in Chechnya. Anyway, I hope you feel the same way. (S)

And, finally, we are still working on chickens. The damn things won't go away. One day it looks like we have got it solved, and the next day, another issue pops up. I don't understand. The inability to move chickens into the market, as we agreed, is creating problems for me at home. I know Condi talked to your man there, Vladimir, so did the Ambassador. We need to show some progress. I'm going to talk to my minister, and I hope you will talk to yours so we progress to get this thing moving before my visit. Vladimir, we need to remove these problems on a market-based economy and on Jackson-Vanik. That is all I've got to discuss today. I'm really looking forward to the trip. Condi is making me read all sorts of books and watch historical videos so I will be one of the most well-read visitors to Russia this year. (President Putin laughs.) (S)

President Putin: George, let me tell you a few words by way of a reply. On the chickens, I probably don't know all the details. But you should know, that after our last talk, our agriculture minister lifted all restrictions and, beginning since April 17 or mid-April, our importers signed contracts for the delivery to Russia of 73,000 tons of chicken meat. I know American suppliers believe this is not good enough. Well, for one thing, the market is over saturated because late last year, too much chicken meat entered the market. And secondly, as I'm told, there is a question of Avian influenza. The chickens have this virus and Japan has closed down its market to U.S. chickens completely. Probably some may use this as a pretext to lobby this in their interest. I don't know, but I'll look into that. (S)

President Bush: Thanks. (U)

President Putin: Well, I can also say that our economy is under pressure from all quarters. Not to speak of the U.S. decision on metal, the EU suggested taking a decision to place prohibitive duties on grain, and they introduced subsidies for their livestock breeding. So, because of these prohibitive duties, we have to sell our grain inside the country for our livestock breeding, for our husbandry. At the same time, the EU is subsidizing their husbandry. That is why our livestock is out of the market. This is tough competition, but we would not like to see the situation for our U.S. partners worsen. I will look at what I can do to fix this and look at the differences. You are right; a meeting between our agriculture ministers would be a good thing to do. (S)

Now, about Georgia, I would like to thank you for your principled position. I know this is your principle and your positive signal toward Shevardnadze. I don't think things have changed for the better in a radical way though, but your actions influence things in a positive way. Thank you for your positive signs. I believe they played a good role. I myself tried to be as tactful as possible, vis-à-vis Shevardnadze, to see what I can do to support him specifically. I shall have a look at that and will maybe meet with him. As for Khattab, this is a Saudi terrorist that has links to al-Qaida and bin Laden. His elimination was not in Georgia. He was destroyed in Chechnya, by our own efforts. (S)

The President: Yes, I know. (S)

President Putin: And we are now moving over to the next stage in Chechnya. We are establishing a ministry of the interior and a police force. So we shall transfer the function of maintaining order so we might be able to move gradually toward a political settlement in Chechnya. As for the strategic nuclear arms, indeed there was progress made and we have a positive assessment of this progress. I think we will be able to sign the document. I believe that we can do so. Another important development in relations is that I believe good progress on NATO-Russia was made. We are looking forward to your visit. This will be your first trip to Russian, and we would like you to remember this trip for a very long time. And that the U.S. people will remember the visit as a productive one which will make a serious contribution to international stability. And we want you and your wife to enjoy your stay. (S)

The President: Thank you, Vladimir. I'm looking forward to it and we'll talk. (U)

President Putin: Well, I'm at your disposal. If there is a need to discuss something or if something happens, I will take the liberty to call you again. All the best for your family. (U)

The President: Thank you. That will be great. Bye-bye. (U)

President Putin: Bye-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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4801

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of the Russian Federation (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Vladimir Putin

Notetakers: Janeen Chupa, Tom Hall,
Al Guarnieri

Interpreter: Nikolai Sorokin

DATE, TIME June 6, 2002, 7:40 - 7:57 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Good morning, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Good morning, George. (U)

The President: A couple of points. I know you're off to a meeting. Secretary Evans will be calling Gref to inform him, like I'm informing you, that our country will be granting market-based economy status to your great nation. And, anyway, I wanted to give you a heads up that this was coming. I told you when we were in Moscow I thought this was going to happen, but we needed it to happen in a way that was in conformance with the regulations on our books. I think it's very good news for our relationship. (U)

President Putin: That's great news, George. Thank you. (U)

The President: You deserve it. You have great vision and leadership. I appreciate your leadership. I've got one other point, and then a question. I sent you a letter on "10 + 10 over 10." I hope we can get this idea worked out so that, by the time we go to Canada for the G-8, we can go forth with a positive program that enables you to do what you need to do at home and gives us the ability to help with the security of weapons left over from the Soviet era. And my question has to

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do with your meeting with the Indians and Pakistani leadership. Thank you for taking on that task. If you have a minute, can you tell me the frame of mind of President Musharraf and Prime Minister Vajpayee? (S)

President Putin: That is a very precisely formulated question. I would like to start by thanking you for this call, and to stress that I was very satisfied with the spirit of negotiations in St. Petersburg and Moscow. This was not just an ordinary visit of the President of the United States to Europe. This was a historic event. We wanted this to be a historic event, and I believe we succeeded. Now, concerning market economy status, I know, to a great extent, this is the result of your efforts and your strong position on this issue. This is to your personal credit. And most importantly, it is the right decision in terms of intensifying our economic contacts. This decision will benefit not only Russia, but also help us work better with American business in Russia. We can see your will and drive regarding "10 + 10 over 10." It seems to me that the Europeans feel kind of at a loss, because we were able to come up with such an open and clear position. And, of course, in addressing these problems, we should think about transparency and the facility of using these means. The only danger I can spot here is as follows. The danger I see here is the desire of bureaucrats at all levels to include in these rules all of the problems that have accumulated over the years, and that they have been unwilling to resolve over the years, and this will result in the package being stuffed with past problems, and it will not be possible to resolve all of them. Our sherpas are working in Canada on this problem, and I hope they will find mutual solutions that will address all the issues properly. Now concerning Pakistan and India. Those leaders did come to Almaty, Kazakhstan. They were present at two general discussions at one table, and they signed two documents that, while general in nature, state over their signatures that all existing problems should be resolved through peaceful means. I had separate meetings with each of the leaders, and during the general meetings and the bilateral meetings I stated once again our common concerns voiced in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and then in Rome, regarding developments between the two countries. And to add an emotional note, I even recalled the Caribbean crisis of 1961 that concerned the United States and the Soviet Union. My general impressions are as follows. Of course, they do not want war, either of them, and the last thing they want is a nuclear conflict. They are striving and working to prevent the

conflict from becoming an uncontrollable one. They are working to prevent that, and I believe they will do their best to prevent this kind of development. I should say I pushed in my conversations with both. President Musharraf even said he would agree to extraditing international terrorists who committed crimes in India, if they are not citizens of Pakistan. I invited President Musharraf to Moscow on an official visit, and this offer encountered some kind of offended reaction on the part of the Indian leadership, who believe Musharraf is actually lying and encouraging terrorism. When I told Mr. Musharraf that terrorists are active in his country, that there were training camps in his country, he did not deny it. He conceded he does not have full control over them. In any case, in September, elections are scheduled in Kashmir, and the results will demonstrate what the people actually think of that situation. It was surprising to me how harshly and forcefully the President of China talked to President Musharraf. This was unexpected for him, and I believe it was useful. On the whole, I believe if we continue our pressure -- I know Armitage and then Rumsfeld are going -- I believe eventually our coordinated efforts will be successful. I think Mr. Ivanov, our Minister of Defense, is meeting Rumsfeld in Brussels. This is what I want to say regarding India and Pakistan. We will be able to discuss all of this in greater detail in Canada. And the last thing in this regard is at the level of experts and the Foreign Ministry. We are going to carefully put forward the idea that Russia should work as a full-fledged partner with the G-8, including the Minister of Finance. We think we have fulfilled every requirement, and if this problem reaches you and you hear about it, I would ask that you support this desire of mine. (S)

The President: Thank you very much, Vladimir. I appreciate that thought, and thank you for doing what you did over there with Musharraf and Vajpayee. I think it helped a lot. In the meantime, if we have any issues before we meet in Canada, we can talk, but I look forward to seeing you in Canada. (S)

President Putin: George, thanks very much for this call, and please send my warmest regards to your spouse and children. (U)

The President: I will, and the same to yours. (U)

President Putin: Good-bye. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko
Notetakers: Tina Yarmchuk, Jeff Houle,
Danielle Phillips, and Al Guarnieri

DATE, TIME September 6, 2002, 7:37-7:55 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, how are you? (U)

President Putin: Fine. How are you, George? (U)

The President: Your English is much better, I can tell. (U)

President Putin: I am trying to talk to you in the same
language. (U)

The President: I'm doing very well, thank you, and I hope you are, too. I want to just briefly tell you, one, that I'm giving a speech to the United Nations on Thursday, and after the speech, I want to have a long, secure discussion with you about our mutual concern. I'm going to make the case that Saddam Hussein is still a serious threat to peace and stability and a threat to not only the region, but to countries like myself; and implicit in my speech is that he's a threat to countries like yourself, Vladimir. Secondly, I'm going to remind the UN that Saddam has totally ignored every resolution from the Security Council, and therefore has diminished their capacity to bring peace. And finally, Vladimir, you need to know no decision has been made, and I look forward to talking to you on a personal basis on this issue because you're an important part of the international scene and an important part of what might or might not go on at the UN. I value your friendship, and I know your country has financial interests involved, and I will gladly talk to you about that on a more secure line about my view, although I think you know my view. But I would like to discuss it with you personally. This

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Reason: 1.5(d)

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is the beginning of a series of talks and consultations with a close friend. (S)

President Putin: Thank you, George. I'm very glad to hear you and talk to you person-to-person. It is an important issue indeed. Initially I wanted to call you on September 11th to commemorate the tragedy, but now we are speaking specifically about Iraq. I just finished a long talk with Tony Blair. Judging by what I can hear about your Secretary of State's speeches and our Foreign Ministry, their positions are very similar. Both Russia and the U.S. are in favor of getting the UN inspectors allowed back into Iraq, and both countries are for the non-resumption of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction programs. We have worked with the Iraqis for a long time and have been pushing for them to make these decisions. And recently, the Iraqi foreign minister visited and had a meeting with our Foreign Minister Ivanov, and he said that Iraq is ready to substantively discuss the issue of inspections. And also in Johannesburg, the Iraqis made similar statements. In principle, I cannot rule out that it is just a trick by the Iraqi leadership, an attempt to drag this out. I believe we should respond with two main points. First, we should demonstrate the unity of our views and approaches. (S)

The President: Yes. (U)

President Putin: And second, we should continue to pressure them to minimize their possibilities to maneuver and minimize their room for making decisions. (S)

The President: Yes. Excellent. (U)

President Putin: And third, we should not give them the right to dictate to us and impose their conditions on us. (S)

The President: Excellent. (U)

President Putin: I would like to draw your attention to that point, which is extremely important. We should not let Iraq dictate to us their conditions. Such conditions should be elaborated and prepared by us jointly. And it is important not only for the case of Iraq, but also for the future of the world and the world of our children. It is important and possible to develop our common position in the UN Security Council and P5. (S)

The President: Yes, that is what we are trying to do. (S)

President Putin: We shouldn't believe that we have already exhausted all political and diplomatic methods to resolve this

problem. I would like to take this opportunity to emphasize that we also have other concerns, not only Baghdad. That is not the only source of evil. In Georgia, things there are no better for us in Pankisi Gorge. For instance, we have noticed there are Arab mercenaries there, and we even recently caught a Japanese fighter there; so there are people there from other countries. I will not hide from you that I have just recently read a report by one of our security services, and this report says that your Third Secretary at the U.S. Embassy in Baku, Katerina Pannos, has been helping Chechens infiltrate from Azerbaijan to Georgia, providing all possible assistance and is actually providing training and instructions for the Chechen militants. (S)

The President: Tell me her name again. Let me write it down. (S)

President Putin: Katerina Pannos. (S)

The President: I will write that down. I can't believe that's true, but that troubles me. We will look into that. (S)

President Putin: Please check it out because these are small people who get small results, but they can interfere with big matters. Because you know they provoke our special services to help the enemies of the U.S., and who needs this? We don't need any of this. We should stop this. Our interests coincide. Though you have your own interests in the region, the security of the world is much more important. And I think we, as presidents, should stop such things on both sides and work through this issue. Going back to the main point, our views are quite similar, and we have economic interests, but we also have security interests for the entire world. We are ready to work jointly with you on this issue. Your interests are big, and we've discussed this many times, and I have reason to believe we'll always be able to agree upon this. Foreign Minister Ivanov and Defense Minister Ivanov are going to come to New York or Washington to discuss all these issues with the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense. It will be the first meeting of the new Consultative Group for Strategy Stability. I'm grateful to you, George. I'm at your disposal, and I am ready to hear your speech and exchange views. (S)

The President: Well, friend, thank you very much. You know I value your advice, and I want to consult. I will send people to talk to our specific counterparts, and we will stay in touch. I repeat, our relationship is a very important relationship, and we can work together to make the world more peaceful. We will continue to discuss our common interests. I look forward to seeing you sometime. Thank you for the call, and give my best to Ludmila and the girls. (S)

(President Putin: Please give my best regards and wishes to your wife and your children. Thank you so much for this call. (U)

The President: Thank you.. (U)

President Putin: Thank you. Goodbye. (U)

The President: Goodbye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Tina Yarmchuk, Marko Bröz, and
Danielle Phillips

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME: September 10, 2002, 4:04 - 4:08 p.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Yes. (U)

The President: It's good to hear your voice. (U)

President Putin: I'm glad to hear your voice. How are you? (U)

The President: I'm doing fine. I'm a busy boy these days. (U)

President Putin: I know you have a busy day today, but I wanted to speak to you today. In Russia, we say that time heals everything, but there are things we cannot forget and should not forget. Recently, we remembered those who perished in Moscow three years ago when their houses exploded and burned up. And today, together with you, we remember those who died in Washington and New York a year ago. I would like to tell you not only the words of sympathy and condolences, but also to express support on behalf of the Russian people. Please give my best regards to your family, your wife and daughters. I will not torture you anymore today. We'll have a chance to speak soon. (U)

The President: Your voice never tortures me, but this phone call means an awful lot, Vladimir. You were thoughtful to call last year right after the attacks, and now you're calling one year later to express your sympathies. I want to thank you very much, sir. (U)

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President Putin: If you're not against it, I will communicate first of all the text of our conversation to the mass media. We want them to know and people to know about our conversations and the levels of our relations. (U)

The President: Thank you very much, friend, and I will talk to you soon. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, and all the best. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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7970

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afansenko
Notetakers: Tina Yarmchuk, Jill Sandler,
Jay Bonds, and Clarence Johnson

DATE, TIME: September 20, 2002, 7:49 - 8:16 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, how are you today? (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much. I'm very well, and I'm very happy to hear you George. (U)

The President: Thank you very much, and I'm very looking forward to seeing the Ivanov boys today. (U)

President Putin: Thanks. And say hello to them for me. (U)

The President: I'll make sure they come to work. (U)

President Putin: Absolutely right! I've been following your activities lately, and I saw your presentation at the U.N. I believe it was strong, solid, and worthy of the leader of the United States. (U)

The President: Well, thank you very much, Vladimir. It was my honor to give the speech. Let me just give you a quick update. First of all, Sergey and Condi had a good meeting last night. She briefed me fully, and I thank you very much for having this meeting. I fully understand your position. Second, I remember very well what you said in our first conversation. We must have resolutions out of the U.N. that are firm and that accomplish the goal, that do not allow the Iraqis to deceive, move around, and avoid responsibility. I want to stress again to you, Vladimir,

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Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 9/20/12

that I want to work with you, and so does Tony Blair, to come up with a way to hold this regime to account. You are one of our friends and one of the world leaders, and therefore, we must continue to work together. Second, to this end, it is very important for me and you to stay in touch, and for our closest aides to stay in touch, because sometimes foreign ministries do not represent our true opinion. Bureaucracies tend to take our desires and dilute them and distort our views. It's not just our countries, but sometimes that is the case. It's very important for us to keep the dialogue at the senior level. There are some in my administration who wanted to launch military strikes yesterday. I'm not going to do that, but on the other hand, you should know that the military option is available, and if need be, it will be used. And finally, I just want to tell you how pleased I am to have a person I can talk to and trust as opposed to what's going on in Germany. Yesterday, a German minister referred to me in the same tone as Hitler, and I've got to tell you Vladimir, I'm pretty angry about it, and I attribute this irresponsible behavior to Gerhard Schroeder trying to win an election and using me personally and the United States to rile up public opinion. They say I am acting unilaterally, but this is the most unilateral move we've seen from Germany in 50 years, and I just want to share my opinions with you. You don't have to comment, if you don't want to, but as a close friend, I feel better sharing this information. So, thanks for taking my call, and thanks for letting me blow off some steam. (S)

President Putin: Well, George, thank you. First of all, I'd like to restate that I'm very, very happy to hear you, and this is from the bottom of my heart. What is happening in Germany we understand very well, and we also understand that a lot of it is due to the election campaign, but I also agree with you completely that this should not be allowed to be used in order to achieve such important goals as those that we are working on. Allusions to Fascism are totally inappropriate wherever they come from, especially when they come from Germany, and I would like to tell you, George, that we are proceeding on the basis of our interests, of the United States, and Russia, and I can only once again emphasize that our policy is totally consistent with our national interests, and from our side, you will see only positions of principle without other considerations. (S)

The President: Well, thank you. (U)

President Putin: Now, let me turn to the subject at hand: first, as far as Iraq, after I spoke with you, I sent a message to Saddam Hussein. It was not just a message, but more an ultimatum. What we told him, in so many words, is that unless he accepts our requests without any conditions, we will not be able to help him in the U.N. And I can tell you that not only our

pressure, but the pressure of other countries, the U.K., and others has had an effect. And suddenly at this time after our ultimatum, he assumed his current position. Now, let's see what he does in the future. We must also follow up; otherwise, we will look silly, or people might say that what we agreed to, we got, and we don't need to do any more. I told you on many occasions that we cannot allow Iraq to dictate his position to us. I said, and I repeat again, that we must not allow Iraq to dictate our actions. He has agreed to inspections without any conditions. Yesterday, I talked for a long time with Tony Blair, and I can repeat and agree with what he said, and you're saying, that we, the U.K., the U.S., and Russia must continue pressure on Iraq. It is our view that we have to continue our consultations and prepare to take additional steps if he does not follow through. Our people must be ready to act, and the public should be made aware of this. I was pleased to hear that you do not rule out the possibility of a political solution in the Iraq matter. In the meantime, let the diplomats do their job, and we should prepare steps that we might take in the future. Meanwhile, the inspectors go to work. George, I have one thing to ask of you in relation to Iraq. This is a very important issue for us, and I'll be talking with you hopefully as a friend. I want to tell you that our budget revenues depend very much on the sale of energy resources to the external market. Our budget for the next year has been calculated with the assumption that oil prices will be \$21 per barrel. Naturally, if the price falls lower than that, we will have budget problems, and this will be very serious. I would like you to instruct your minister of the economy to meet our minister of economics without any hoopla about it and talk quietly about things that concern us and calculate the economic consequences of developments vis-à-vis Iraq. (S)

The President: Absolutely! I will put my best friend, Don Evans, on the chore. He will do it well. And I fully understand what you're saying, Vladimir. I am very sensitive to it, and we will deal with it. I promise you. (S)

President Putin: I also believe, George, that our coordination on the Middle East is going quite well, but I am looking at the latest aggravations of the situation. (S)

The President: Yes. (U)

President Putin: And second, I was aghast at yesterday's terror attack in Israel in which many people died. It was tragic. And today, I believe your Deputy Secretary of Defense Wolfowitz made a very strong and responsible statement on counter-terrorism and the Middle East. This testifies to the fact that our joint work on combating terrorism is going very well, especially on Georgia,

and it is very good to see that we have more and more friends like this in the United States. You mentioned the meeting that is surely going to take place between our defense and foreign ministers. (S)

The President: Yes. (U)

President Putin: We also have prepared a joint statement on our cooperation on the matter of anti-missile defense, and I hope that we can agree upon it as soon as possible, at our APEC meeting in Mexico. The last thing is that I know that on November 21-22, you'll be in the immediate proximity to our borders for the run-up to the Prague NATO summit. As far as I know, you'll be visiting the Baltic states. I thought I could link up with you on short notice somewhere there, and we could talk. I understand your schedule is going to be very tough, but we could even meet in Kaliningrad, which was formerly Eastern Prussia. We talked about Germany just a while ago, and I recall this. (S)

The President: Well, my instincts on this, Vladimir, are very positive. I think this is a subject for Scheduling, but this would be a very important signal. Again, our relationship is very vital in leading to world peace. I will leave this to Scheduling to make sure it works. Secondly, Vladimir, let me just say before we hang up that I am hopeful we can achieve peace, that we can achieve something other than military action in Iraq. It will require a new resolution to hold Saddam Hussein to account and for him to disarm his weapons of mass destruction. In order for me to think positively, there must be a new resolution. In order to reach a political, or however you want to call it, conclusion, there must be a new resolution from the Security Council. I hope we can work on it, and we need to be tough. Vladimir, I'm sorry, I hate to cut off this conversation, it's been very productive. We will stay in touch, and we'll work hard to make that happen. (S)

President Putin: Well, George, thank you very much for this conversation. I'll give you a bear hug, and all the best to your wife and family. (U)

The President: Alright, my friend. Thank you very much. We'll stay in touch. (U)

President Putin: Bye. (U)

The President: Thank you. Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko
Notetakers: Jay Bonds, Jeff Houle, and
Marco Broz

DATE, TIME: October 7, 2002, 12:50-12:59 p.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, How are you today? (U)

President Putin: Very well, thank you so much for the call. (U)

The President: Well, I am calling to wish you a happy 50th birthday. I remember when 50 sounded like it was old. Now it seems very young. (U)

President Putin: Thank you George, it is a pleasure to hear your voice. I am tremendously grateful for your call. Thank you, it is a pleasant sign for me of our personal relationship. I must tell you it is a pleasure to have among my close friends a person like you. (U)

The President: Thank you very much. We are looking forward to having Lyudmila here this weekend. (U)

President Putin: Yes, she remembered the invitation by Laura and she asked me to help arrange this trip. She is trying to develop provincial libraries and was hoping Laura would like to work with the Russians. How is Laura doing? (U)

The President: She is doing great. She is in New York and is coming back tonight. I just very briefly wanted you to know I am giving a speech on Iraq tonight. It is not a war speech, but says that I want to work with the world to disarm Saddam. I am also very pleased that the energy summit went well and that

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Donny Evans and Minister Gref are having good conversations. I hope that these conversations are getting to you. (S)

President Putin: Yes, I am aware of this and I have been informed that the American side organized the meetings very well. As far as I know, the dialogue is continuing. (S)

The President: Yes. (U)

President Putin: As far as Iraq is concerned, I know that you are inclined to look for peaceful means. I do hope to meet you in Europe in the near future. (S)

The President: Yes, but I will first see you in Mexico, Vladimir. (S)

President Putin: Yes, you are quite right. (U)

The President: Then I want to come to Russia after I go to Prague. I told my team that it is very important that I go. (S)

President Putin: Excellent, George. (U)

The President: Finally, the world is watching very closely your good gesture to talk to Shevardnadze in Georgia. I know it is difficult. I know that you are doing the right thing and hopefully you are making some progress. (S)

President Putin: I can tell you I had two conversations with him, last night and today. I am planning to work together with him to remove the threats you are aware of. I think, George, you better than anyone else will understand me. I am going to tell you exactly what we are going to talk about. We know specifically where the people are who blew up the houses and Shevardnadze knows that too. If he cooperates with us, we will be able to resolve our intergovernmental relations completely and cooperate with you. If he doesn't do that, and continues to provide shelter for them, we will try our best to eliminate those terrorists and this will be done against the background of the worsening of our relations. He said he is prepared for joint work and this work can be done with minimal damage for Georgia. But, if he does everything we have agreed about, everything will be alright. (S)

The President: Sounds like you are making progress. We stand by to help and share intelligence. We want to bring these al-Qaida terrorists to justice and I think the idea of you working together with Georgia is very smart Vladimir. (S)

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President Putin: Thank you, George. I would like to embrace you, please give my best regards to Laura and the girls. (U)

The President: Thank you and happy birthday, friend. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, George. (U)

The President: See you soon. (U)

President Putin: Good bye. (U)

The President: Good bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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9083

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Dimitry Zarechnak
Notetakers: Clarence Johnson, Marco Broz,
and Chris LeGrand

DATE, TIME: October 24, 2002, 7:32 - 7:41 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Situation Room

The President: Vladimir? (U)

President Putin: Yes sir. (U)

The President: Yes. I'm calling to express my deep concern for the people of your country and just to let you know that if you need any help we would like to offer it in any way possible. I know this is a terrible situation, and I know you can handle it. I also wanted to let you know that I lend my support, friend-to-friend, and that is why I'm calling. (S)

President Putin: Yes. This is a very important call for me, George, and I thank you for it. I am thankful to you and grateful to your people for the understanding and concern. About 700 people have been taken hostage and the terrorists number between 35 and 45. That is an approximate figure, and they are armed and they have high explosives on them, mines. It's a very grave and very complicated situation. There are over 60 foreigners there among the hostages. There may be a few American citizens there among them. We are taking this into account. We have this in mind and we are doing our best in order to ensure the safety of the people. We shall take no action, however, to promote another turn of terrorism either in Russia, or throughout the world. I'm viewing this as an another link in the chain of terrorism throughout the world. And, we are also observing that the telephone traffic between the terrorists in the theater and Chechnya, Turkey, the Gulf States, and Arab countries is going up and down. The initial information of what is supposed to

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happen and is happening has in fact come from their accomplices in those Arab countries. So, this is absolute proof that these terrorist acts are hatched in the same centers against you and us. And, I would like to confirm our position that we are prepared to cooperate in any way to combat the terrorist acts. George, I would like to beg your pardon that we are not going to meet because I have to delay my departure to Mexico. (S)

The President: I completely understand, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, George. Thank you. (U)

The President: We can talk on the phone any time, and I will see you on my next trip to Europe. At any rate, I will see you. (S)

President Putin: I was told by my people that your people and my people have agreed that we will be meeting in St. Petersburg. If you could look at your schedule the 24th would be good. If not, if it doesn't suit you, I wonder if we can find some other time, but the 24th would be good. (S)

The President: The 24th? I will look at that. I know we are planning on coming to St. Petersburg. (S)

President Putin: There is a very nice place near St. Petersburg, in the suburb, not actually in St. Petersburg. A place where they have a palace complex. It is a very nice place to meet. Last, but not least, I would like to cooperate on this particular terrorist attack. I will instruct my special services to take up your offer and contact the U.S. side. Perhaps, I believe that U.S. experts could be a help in this situation and provide additional information. Thanks a lot for receiving my wife and for the welcome you extended to her. (S)

The President: Oh, she was great. Okay Vladimir, thank you. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, George. (U)

The President: We'll get back on the dates. I know we are planning on coming to St. Petersburg. Our people are working on the dates, and your wife was fantastic. (S)

President Putin: Thank you, George. (U)

The President: Okay Vladimir, good luck. I know you can handle it. (S)

President Putin: Thank you, George. All the best. (U)

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(The President: Alright sir. (U)

President Putin: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President PutinNote takers: Leslie Radcliff, Jeff Houle,
Alex Joves

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME November 7, 2002, 7:34 - 7:52 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval OfficeThe President: Good morning, Vladimir, How are you? (U)President Putin: Hello. Everything is alright, but I know that you are feeling better. (U)The President: Yes, thank you. We had a nice election. (U)President Putin: I would like to congratulate you on your success, the great success, which was the result of your talent, leadership, and courage, your very courageous position. (S)The President: Thank you, Vladimir, I appreciate that very much. We had a good night, but now it's time to move on. (U)President Putin: I'm absolutely sure that this is not the result of actions of your party, but is a result of your personal success, and I would like to congratulate you. (S)The President: Thank you very much. I value your friendship and your congratulations mean a lot. Listen, I want to thank you for taking my call. I don't want to keep you long, but I have a couple of issues starting with Iraq. In the U.N., Vladimir, we worked very hard to work with you and the French, and everybody else to come up with common ground to achieve that objective you and I talked about, which is to obtain a peaceful resolution and to ensure Saddam does not have weapons of mass destruction. We are now at a point where we are literally discussing commas and periods. Here is where I think we are. First, that the inspection regime is realistic and tough, which is what you~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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initially said it should be. Secondly, it is clear in the resolution that the territory of Iraq remains intact. Thirdly, that there is an agreement by me to come and consult at the U.N. should there be a material breach, although, my friend, I continue to reserve the right to handle the situation, but the idea of the United States discussing this issue is something we conceded. In other words, there is not any automaticity in the resolution. Finally, two quick other things, and that is Don Evans came into my office the other day. I had him in the Oval Office alone. I wanted to make sure that he continued to send the right message to Gref about the economics involved. I know your position, and we will work closely with you to accommodate that position if we can. And finally, we've had enough discussion in the U.N. and it's time to move, and I want your vote on this resolution. I think it is in your interest for you to say you've done all you can. The United States has worked together effectively with you, and now it's time to move forward in the interest of peace. (C)

President Putin: I would like to tell you that the job we've done, and the efforts we've undertaken, are really serious and responsible efforts, but before we talk about Iraq, I would like to express once again my deepest appreciation for your support during the tragic days in Moscow when the terrorist attack happened here. Regrettably, we failed to avoid human casualties, but the objective of eliminating terrorists was achieved. We are very happy that the State Department agreed to include Chechen groups in the list of terrorist organizations. You will agree, George, it has not been done until now, and it's precisely those people together with the Taliban and al-Qaida who have killed Americans and Russians all over the world. Now, let's move to Iraq. Really, we've done a really great and serious job. We really appreciate this partnership approach. I agree with you that now we really are talking about commas and periods, and now, there is a tangible possibility we can achieve agreement. I would like to tell you that our experts have certain concerns with paragraphs 7, 13, and others, but the major problem is still with paragraph 4. You are aware of our position. Our position is an honest and frank position, and we don't want automaticity in the resolution which would trigger military action. (C)

The President: Vladimir, you will find that there is no automaticity. (C)

President Putin: I would like to say that we have come close to an agreement, and I would like to tell you that we are not going to play around. We would like to end in an honorable manner. Yesterday, I talked with Chirac, the President of France, and I told him that we would not abstain. We would either vote for or against the resolution. But if we get all the commas in place,

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in the right place, then I can tell you Russia will not only support the resolution, but actively contribute to its implementation. (S)

The President: Thank you, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Then, we will have to talk about Saudi Arabia, and you are aware out of 19 people who attacked the United States, 16 were Saudi nationals. (S)

The President: Yes. (U)

President Putin: And money to the Chechen terrorists is also coming from Saudi Arabia. And you know just fifteen minutes before commencement of the terrorist attack in Moscow, the information about this attack was publicly announced in Qatar. I would like to tell you that I was really upset that I failed to meet you in Mexico, but I hope that we will meet in St. Petersburg in the near future. Finally, I would like to congratulate Laura on her birthday. I believe it was on the 4th of November. I wish you and your family all possible success, and I hope to shake your hand when we meet. (S)

The President: Thank you, Vladimir. I will see you in St. Petersburg, and we will talk about the Middle East and terrorism. Congratulations should go to Laura for the fact that she has put up with me for 25 years. Thirdly, the diplomats can foul up anything, but now it's time for the leaders to step forward. I heard your call on automaticity, that is one concession we made. I want to remind you that each of us can handle things the way we see fit. Finally, happy holidays in Russia, friend. (S)

President Putin: Okay, I agree with you, George. I will push my diplomatic bureaucrats to agreement, and I ask you to push your diplomatic bureaucrats to agree. (S)

The President: Okay. (U)

President Putin: On issues that are sensitive to Russia. (S)

The President: Yes. Perfect, friend. Thanks for taking my call, and I look forward to seeing you in St. Petersburg. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much for your telephone call. I'm always happy to talk to you. When I do not talk to you, I feel I am missing something. So, I expect I will see you in St. Petersburg. It will be a location close to St. Petersburg, and I am sure you will love it. (S)

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The President: Bye-bye, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: All the best. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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10518

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President.
President Putin

Note takers: Leslie Radcliff, Colin Crosby,
Nikki Williams, and Ed Padinske

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME: December 6, 2002, 7:37 - 7:54 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, good morning, or good evening. (U)

President Putin: George, very glad to hear you. (U)

The President: Thanks. In our meeting in St. Petersburg, which I thought went very well, we said that we would talk about your visit to China and I'm curious to know what you think in regards to North Korea. (S)

President Putin: This is exactly why I am calling you. Indeed I assure you that we did a very good job in St. Petersburg when we last met; that was a very good meeting. I do understand that you were a little tired after all you did in Europe and NATO. I thank you for coming to St. Petersburg. I would like to brief you on China. As we agreed, I discussed North Korea in detail with the Chinese leaders, particularly the issue of weapons of mass destruction. I spoke with all the Chinese leaders, Jiang Zhemin, Hu Jintao and the head of their parliament. Basically, all of them confirmed their position in favor of nonproliferation and the nuclear weapons-free status of the Korean peninsula. And on the whole China and Hu Jintao are against the development and production of WMD on the Korean peninsula. And they are in favor of creating a nuclear weapons free-zone. And on the whole, I'm under the impression that we and the Chinese share the same approach to this problem. I made a proposal to them and the proposal is that we should think about the next proposal that the North Koreans make. And that is why we should try to ensure that they agree to put all their nuclear programs under the IAEA safeguards regime in exchange for a clear-cut guarantee of their

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security from the U.S., China and Russia. This is something that I would like to ask you to give instructions to Powell to think about. I think this is not a bad idea. We will continue to work with Pyongyang along two lines. First and foremost is to clarify the status of their nuclear programs; we still have no clear-cut evidence of nuclear WMD. Secondly, we try to encourage them to have contacts with all countries, including the United States. And the Chinese and I share the view that it would be counterproductive to paint North Korea into a corner, especially given the peculiarities of North Korea and its leadership. (S)

The President: Can you repeat that last part? (U)

President Putin: Both the Chinese and we believe it would be counterproductive to paint North Korea into a corner, taking into account the peculiarities of their leadership. It is difficult to predict how they think. (S)

The President: Good. (U)

President Putin: I also discussed Iraq with them. By and large, there is nothing new with the Chinese and you are aware of their position. On the whole, there is something I would like to share with you, something that I observed. It is something personally for you. The new leaders of China. First of all they are not exactly new. I got a good impression of Hu Jintao. The impression is that he keeps in the shadows; nevertheless, in recent years he has been playing a leading role in formulating Chinese foreign and domestic policy. In other words, he is profoundly privy to the nuances in all domestic and international policies. In other words, he is no novice. He is a professional and at the same time, this is a guy with mettle. There is only one question. He should feel right away that he is number one. Taking into account his character and his nature, it will happen fairly soon. Now, one other issue quickly. On my trip, I also visited India and Kyrgyzstan. We discussed the problems of India-Pakistan relations. We will continue to persuade them to continue the policy line to pull back forces from their borders. We signed a bilateral statement with them on international terrorism. We also discussed peaceful uses of nuclear power and I have a request to make. I would like to suggest that you instruct your Energy Secretary to talk to our Energy Minister about the Indian energy problem. I would like to ask you to so that we can step it up. And in Kyrgyzstan, we had a number of very good meetings. On the whole, the central Asian countries are combating terrorists. I will have some meetings with them here in Moscow and we will continue to encourage their willingness to work jointly. In Kyrgyzstan, we will soon deploy a small aviation wing to support our ground operations against terrorists. This is all that I have to tell you. (S)

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(The President: Thank you, Vladimir, very much. I appreciate your good work on North Korea. I think that the fact that you speak clearly of a nuclear-free peninsula with the Chinese without cornering Kim Jong-Il sends a good message. I'm confident that if we keep up the dialogue with North Korea we will avoid conflict and meet our goals peacefully. I also appreciate your briefing on India and I will talk to my Energy Secretary. So I thank you for the call. If I don't speak to you before Christmas, I wish you a Merry Christmas. Tell your family all the best. (S)

President Putin: Thank you. I want to also congratulate you and wish you a Merry Christmas. You looked great in that cowboy hat. We saw you. We saw that you were snowed under and we were worried. Please give your family our best regards. May God keep you well and in good health. (U)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: All the best. (U)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Alex Joves, Jeff Houle,
Danielle Phillips, and Mark Robinson

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME: January 23, 2003, 7:34 - 8:07 a.m., EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Yes, sir, Vladimir, how are you? (U)

President Putin: Good morning. Very well, thank you very much.
I am very glad to hear from you George. (U)

The President: I am upbeat and I hope you are. (U)

President Putin: Thank you. (U)

The President: I have a couple of issues I think we need to
deal with, and I want to talk to you about two issues. (U)

President Putin: Please. (U)

The President: The first issue is North Korea. First, I wanted
to thank you, Vladimir, for your active diplomacy on this issue.
The idea of Kim Jong Il having a nuclear weapon is dangerous for
the world. You have recognized that, and I want to thank you
for that. By your active participation, it shows the world that
this is not a North Korea-U.S. issue, but an issue that must be
solved with friends working together on a multi-national basis.
I believe by working multi-nationally, that Kim Jong Il will
understand that if he expects help and respect, then he must
abide by certain rules. To this end, moreover, we will study

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(any proposal that you think is wise and necessary that will bring logic and sensibility to this man. My suggestion is that we get this to the United Nations Security Council, without the threat of sanctions, and then establish a multi-national committee of which you will be a key participant along with China, Japan, and our European friends to deal with this issue. But, my final point on this issue is that the sooner we get the issue to an international forum, the sooner we will be able to achieve our common objectives. That is really all I have to say on North Korea. I would be glad to hear your response on that or I can give you my thoughts on Iraq if you like. (S)

President Putin: George, I would like to hear your thoughts on Iraq and then I can react to both issues. (S)

(The President: Okay sir, I will. First, let me say I am very disappointed with the progress being made in Iraq. Saddam Hussein has no intention of disarming. The inspectors are not there to find a needle in a haystack, they are there to confirm whether or not he is disarming. We have many examples of deception, which I have yet to explain to the American people or the world. We have a clear case that I will make at some point in time and everyone will see the logic and reasoning of the case. As you know, we are sending troops to the region. It is important for Saddam to know we are serious. The only way for Saddam to disarm is for him to know the intent of the world. I have made no decision militarily, but I am very serious about him disarming. We are continuing to work with our friends, such as you. I will continue to consult with you, my friend. Of course I watch with interest, the diplomatic, let me see if I can think of a polite word, games, being played with the French, Germans, and the British, all of which sends mixed signals to Saddam Hussein. Let me be clear, the British are with us, but it seems there is a rivalry between the three, that is my point. My only point, Vladimir, is that time is running out, and the idea of extending the inspections does nothing more than embolden Saddam, and give him more time to try to fool the world and delay the inevitable. I still hold out hope that Saddam will disarm peacefully, but if not, I am prepared my friend, to lead a coalition to disarm him. I will stay in touch with you as issues develop and I am beginning to pack my bags for the 300th anniversary of St. Petersburg. I am saving my best tie. (S)

(President Putin: You ended your conversation on a very positive note. If you are finished, I will allow myself to respond to what you have just said. (U)

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(The President: Yes, please. (U)

President Putin: So, I will begin from what you finished on Iraq. I remember where we started. You have on Iraq an order to make him accept international inspectors without any conditions. And we did it because I did what I promised. We also supported a tougher resolution, and we consider that it was not necessary, but to continue our interaction and our unity with the United Nations we proceeded with the resolution. Now, you repeated that you believe the use of force is not necessary, and of course we welcome this. Force in the Middle East brings us nothing by itself. As you do, I also believe that all the efforts should be made to resolve the problem by peaceful means. The key problem is whether he has weapons of mass destruction or not. If we can say to the effect that he has weapons of mass destruction, it should be up to the inspectors to find them. I do not have any doubt, the United States and Russia, and especially you and me, should not have any doubt that the international inspectors are prepared to do their jobs faithfully. They have said that they are not encountering any obstacles in Iraq. Moreover, in order to support the work of inspectors, I sent the Deputy Foreign Minister to Iraq in order to help inspectors work without any conditions. If good conditions are created for the inspectors, we will have good results. We received information from the inspectors to the effect that our efforts produced results in Iraq and some decisions were taken by Iraqi leadership. For example, they got access to private houses and permission for some scientists to leave the country, which is another step forward. I think this is a result of our joint efforts, which we are conducting with the Iraqi leadership and our joint efforts produced these results. On one hand, it is pressure, on the other hand, it is the work we are conducting with the Iraqi leadership. And of course, as you know, inspectors are conducting inspections whether they are satisfied about encountering obstacles or not. If I am not mistaken, they should report to the Security Council at the end of the month about their efforts. And I am not, of course, listening to all of these statements made by the Foreign Ministers, but as far as I know they are saying all of the correct things. Powell and Ivanov have good contacts between each other at the highest levels. All efforts are being made for us to work together with good understanding and close direction. We also believe this approach is being followed by our U.S. friends. George, you also know that I have never used this issue in our internal politics, and I think that those who do are mistaken. In the very near future, I will visit Berlin

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4

and Paris and will also meet Berlusconi. I expect that we will continue our joint endeavors on these Iraqi matters, which of course is very complicated and we will work very closely. I aim to work closely with you and to get our Foreign Ministries to do so, as well. (S)

Now on North Korea. When we met outside St. Petersburg, you told me at that meeting you were interested in our efforts in the area, of course taking into consideration our relationship with North Korea. And proceeding from this assumption, I recently sent Deputy Foreign Minister Losyukov to meet with Kim Jong Il. He spoke with him for 6 hours. He also spent time with the Deputy Foreign Minister. It was a good conversation. I am going to share with you, in a frank manner, the results of those conferences. Your experts will be able to assess what is accruing, but I will tell you what is going on in Pyongyang. First and foremost, they resolutely oppose the statements allegedly made to Kelly in 2002 about the nuclear program. They said statements were extorted by the American side to be used later on. They said, at the present stage, North Korea does not have any plans to create nuclear weapons. But, most importantly North Korea will be able to return to the NPT. Given, of course, there will be guarantees with its security, economic problems, and sovereignty. I think that it provides a basis for the solution to these problems. Kim Jong Il personally says he is prepared for removal of concerns with direct dialogue with the United States. Our diplomats have the impression they are prepared for flexibility or even reciprocity. And also another condition, I don't know whether you like it or not, but you should know it, they consider the one basic condition is the written guarantee for their security and sovereignty which will be provided by the United States of America. I draw attention to the statement you made about resolving the problem without the use of force. I think this is a good start of constructive dialogue. Probably you, and your experts in the State Department, understand that what is going on in Iraq only exacerbates the situation in North Korea. Allegedly, there is something in North Korea and Iraq that can not be found as of now. In one situation you have resorted to force, while you want to find some other resolution for the other. The shortest path to reducing tensions is direct dialogue. The North Koreans are afraid of internationalizing the issue. They told us they do not want that. We stand ready to help in the discussions. Our original position was that there should be multi-national guarantees, and we are cooperating with the United States. But now that we hear from the North Koreans about their position, maybe not. This might prolong the problem with North Korea.

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Let Powell and Ivanov chat about this. We proceed on the same basis as the United States in that North Korea should be a nuclear-free zone. Mr. Armitage is here in Moscow now, the Deputy Secretary of State, so I will give instructions for the Deputy Foreign Minister to give him information about the meeting that took place in North Korea. Now, about your saving your best tie for St. Petersburg, I am going to have them sew me up a new suit for the occasion. I also believe other leaders will have their spouses with them, because they should take part in the festivities, it will be beautiful. (S)

The President: Yeah, it will cost me a little money, that is the problem. (U)

President Putin: You know we formally will also have a summit with the EU. The number of participants is growing very quickly. You know in Europe, the EU is very rapidly expanding. (S)

The President: Yes, I know they are, but they are not expanding with two very important countries, me and you. (S)

President Putin: Yes, you are right. (U)

The President: Listen, Vladimir, thank you for the phone call. We will continue to consult on North Korea. I will tell Colin about our conversation. I feel very strongly that we can't make this a U.S.-North Korea issue. It is a problem for the Japanese, it is a problem for the South Koreans, it is a problem for the Chinese. It is a problem for you, it is a problem for the world and Mr. Kim Jong Il has to understand that. We will figure out a strategy to achieve our common objective. So, thank you, friend, I will stay in touch, I promise you. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much, and give my best regards to Laura. (U)

The President: Thank you, sir. Best wishes to Lyudmila. (U)

President Putin: Alright. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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0949

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Mark Robinson and David Lee

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME: February 1, 2003, 1:44 - 1:48 p.m. EST
AND PLACE: Residence

The President: Vladimir, thank you for calling. (U)

President Putin: George, it seems that it is only once a year that we get a chance to call each other and congratulate each other with a nice event like Christmas. The rest of the time it's either about other matters or a tragedy. This is a horribly tragic event that strikes one right in the heart. I can imagine that with all of the other things that you have right now, you didn't need this one. We are so sorry about the people who died. In addition, we have been cooperating in this area so closely and for so long. Our space people are clearly suffering. Our space specialists feel that they and your people are all members of the same team. We take this as our own tragedy with, literally tears in our eyes. I embrace you and please pass on our deepest condolences to the American people from all of us. (S)

The President: Thanks, Vladimir. I am honored that you called me and in tough times it seems that you are always the one to call first. I have spoken to the families of those who perished and I am going to go on TV to address the American people about our heartfelt grief. I want to thank you for sharing in that grief. No doubt we are on the same team on many things, but at the same time, the world sees most clearly how we are together when we cooperate in the exploration of space. Now our cooperation will have to be even closer because we have two Americans and one Russian who are on the space station. Our experts will have to work even closer. I will speak to the head

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2

(of our space program. So the great Russian space program and the U.S. program will have to make sure that they have all of the provisions and everything they need up there. Stay in touch, and I thank you for your support. It means a lot. (S)

President Putin: George, you have a strong nature, and I know that you will preserve and cope with this. I embrace you. (S)

The President: Thanks for your call friend. I will be talking to you soon. Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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1085

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Nikki Williams, Colin Crosby,
David Lee, and Leslie Radcliff

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME February 4, 2003, 7:35 7:47 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, how are you today? (U)

President Putin: I'm okay. How about you? (U)

The President: I'm on my way to Houston to give a speech to the families about the grief we all share, but I'm feeling fine. Laura and I were eating breakfast and I saw in the newspaper you and Silvio having dinner with the temperature outside -6 degrees Fahrenheit. That's why next time, I'm coming when the weather's going to be warm, so that when we sit outside the soup will be hot. (U)

President Putin: Yes. Actually, I promised him it was about -24 degrees Celsius. (U)

The President: Listen. Very quickly, Vladimir, I want to say a couple of things. First, tomorrow, Colin Powell will be giving a speech to the UN. In the speech will be two points I think you will find interesting. First, there will be clear evidence that Saddam has no intention of disarming. And, second, there is a clear terrorist link, a clear al-Qaida link between Saddam Hussein's government and al-Qaida; agents who are trained and manufacture poisons that can be used against us and you. I want to send over a high-level delegation to brief you on the evidence that we have. I think you will find it threatening, to you and us. We will continue to work, Vladimir, of course, with the Security Council. As I said publicly the other day, if there is an opportunity for a resolution, fine. So long as it does not delay the consequences or prohibit nations, our nations, from achieving the objective of disarming Saddam. And, finally, in Powell's speech, I want you to hear, to get your representatives

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to listen very carefully for connections with Chechnya through the Pankisi Gorge by al-Qaida in Iraq. And so, that's why I'm calling to stay in touch with you prior to Colin Powell's speech. And, we, of course, can talk afterwards and continue our discussion because I consider you a friend and important participant in this process. (S)

President Putin: George, thank you very much for this call. I should say to you that Powell's speech is of great interest. Our personal contact is very important to me and I value your personal opinion. I talked to Silvio Berlusconi and he told me about his visit to Washington. I just want to tell you that he is your most consistent supporter in Europe. Of course, you have a lot of supporters in Europe, but he is quite excited and he has a tough character. We will work towards fully disarming Hussein. I told Berlusconi this and I'm telling you this now - in the future, we need to press him until he disarms and until we get the required solution, and of course, we ought to look at the work done by the inspectors. We need now to know what they really need to succeed and what conditions we must put before Iraq. We need to know what documents they need and what access to what sites they need. We need to know if Saddam is hindering the inspectors or is cooperating with them. Blair called me yesterday and described to me the understanding he has with you and about the work on the next Security Council resolution. We will listen to Colin Powell's speech with great attention. I was a little surprised to hear about these links between al-Qaida and Iraq. Of course, we have to treat this seriously. We will listen with great attention to what is said about Chechnya. I wish you courage in your talks with the survivors' families in Houston. I, too, know how it is. I had to do the same thing with the families of the sailors lost on the submarine Kursk. I know this is a very difficult job but you're a courageous man. We could talk in St. Petersburg and make joint cooperation in space one of the issues; that is, if you and your specialists want to do this. Thank you very much. (S)

The President: Thank you, Vladimir. I'll talk to you soon. (U)

President Putin: I embrace you. All my best to you. (U)

The President: All the best. (U)

President Putin: Bye. (U)

The President: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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1770

THE WHITE HOUSE

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Jill Sandler, Danielle Phillips,
Mark Robinson, and Jenna Gaylean

Interpreters: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME: February 27, 2003, 7:35 - 7:52 a.m., EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, it's good to hear your voice today. And of course, I'd like to discuss several serious issues. (U)

President Putin: I'm very glad to hear you, too. I see you on the t.v. screen and you sound very tough. (U)

The President: I'm learning from you. (U)

President Putin: Well, I don't know who's learning from whom. (U)

The President: Well, let me first say the Iraq issue must not come between me and you and our countries, and I don't think it will, but you must understand this issue is serious because we believe Saddam is a threat to our people and your people as well. And so I'm just calling to stay in touch, friend to friend. I happen to believe it's time to bring this issue to a head in the U.N. Security Council, so in the next few days we will be working with you and others to get a second resolution up. I firmly believe Saddam isn't going to disarm and is stalling, and I strongly believe that the sooner this ends, one way or another, the better it is for everyone involved. Your Chief of Staff Voloshin came and I appreciate you sending him. He assured me you were not playing politics in Europe and I thank you for that. It is very important that that should not be the case. I say that because the French in America are taking a serious beating in the press. Even the left-wing press, which doesn't like my decisions on Iraq, are belittling the French. The relations with the French are important, but we will have serious damage control to do because the American people are very angry with the way the

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French are trying to divide the world. And so we'll stay in touch on this issue over the coming days, but I would like to see if we can come up with a common position. And also, on North Korea, very quickly, it is essential, Vladimir, that we continue to work together to figure out the best way to convince Kim Jong-Il to get rid of his nuclear ambitions. The so-called bilateral approach between the North Koreans and the United States will simply reinforce his bad behavior and willingness to create conditions for blackmail. And that's why it's very important that Russia and China and Japan and South Korea and the United States work together to convince Kim Jong-Il that if there is going to be any aid and help, he has to abandon his nuclear ambitions. Perhaps the country with the most at stake is China, and I've spoken to Jiang Zemin and to Hu Jintao, and told them that when Hu Jintao takes power that China must show good behavior; it has to be responsible for its behavior with North Korea. It's very important -- she has more to lose if he were to start putting warheads on missiles, or selling warheads. So we'll work together on issues of primary importance, but it's clear the key thing is when Russia and the United States work together, the world will be more peaceful, and it's important for you to know that that's how I think. So that's all I have to offer this morning. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much. Let me start with North Korea--here, I understand and agree with you completely. We are ready to do everything we can to be effective. If you do not want to go the bilateral route, then we will seek other options in order to find a solution, and we will not insist on a bilateral approach. And you have given the proper signal on China's role. Now moving onto Iraq. There are many personalities who hold different views on Iraq. However, we must approach this without any emotion. And remember, what they used to say back in the times of ancient Greece: "You are angry, therefore, you are not right." I totally agree with you that this Iraq business will end sooner or later. And it is an important problem. It should be solved, one way or another. We have deep and abiding interests there. After this, we will get to like each other once again. Europe will need the United States again. And I keep saying this to all of my European colleagues. I say that in private, and in public as well. When I went to Paris and met with the President, I said in live broadcasts that I can honestly call the President of the United States my friend. (S)

The President: Thank you very much. (U)

President Putin: In this situation, we must not have different signals. These are important issues, and we cannot subject ourselves to emotions. (S)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: Iraq is, however, doing a number of positive things: Iraq has handed over a list of experts who had participated in the destruction of weapons of mass destruction. They have given us authorization for reconnaissance flights. But this is not enough. We need to keep pressing him. I sent former Prime Minister Primakov to meet with Saddam a few days ago and he tried to convince him to do a variety of things to rule out the possibility of war, and he was feeling him out about the possibility of Saddam's leaving. Now you know our position on finding a peaceful solution. We feel that the inspectors should formulate their requirements. If Iraq disrupts these requirements, our position will be a lot tougher. I would like to end with your idea. The two of us cannot lose sight of our strategic relationship just because of Iraq. And it will not affect our personal relationship either. (S)

The President: Vladimir, listen, thank you. Your defense of me as a person was very honorable of you. We will stay in touch, this is coming to an end over the next few days. We have to keep track of events; we must maintain our dialogue and we must move forward together. All my best to Ludmilla and the girls, and my best to you. (S)

President Putin: And to you, also, and to your wife Laura. Ludmilla asked me that she convey the best regards to Laura. (U)

The President: Very good, sir, we'll talk soon. (U)

President Putin: We will find the right solution together. (U)

The President: Thank you. Bye-bye. (U)

President Putin: Bye-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

2116

Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

March 11, 2003

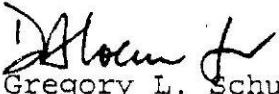
MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. LEWIS LIBBY
National Security Advisor
to the Vice President

MR. KARL HOFMANN
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with
President Vladimir Putin of the Russian
Federation (U)

The attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the
President and President Putin of the Russian Federation on
March 6, 2003, is provided **eyes only** for the information of the
Vice President and the Secretary of State. (C)


Gregory L. Schulte
Executive Secretary

Attachment

Tab 1 Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

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Classified by Gregory L. Schulte
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 03/06/13

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NW#: 78134

DocId: 34685256

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2116

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Jill Sandler, Jeff Blair,
Mark Robinson, and Diana Trevino

Interpreters: Yuri Shkeyrov

DATE, TIME March 6, 2003, 4:21 - 4:53 p.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, how are you at 0120 in the morning?
I'm amazed you're still awake. (U)

President Putin: It's actually only 12:20. I just arrived from
Siberia, I just got to Sochi. It's 10 degrees above centigrade
here, while in Siberia it was 30 degrees below. (U)

The President: I always knew you were a strong man. A couple
of quick points before you go to bed. I told you we would talk.
Colin will talk to Igor, Condi talked to Sergei, on how to get
your advice, if possible, on how to move forward on a resolution
with Iraq. I'd like it if we could go together, but one of the
caveats is this process can't drive on much longer. If you are
in a position to veto, this would be very damaging and we have
to try to avoid that. It's important to get a resolution.
Someone mentioned that we should not pass a resolution, but your
friend and mine, Tony Blair, really needs one, so we're going to
push it, so there will be a vote. And my sincere hope is we get
our respective parties to come up with a solution that is
satisfactory for both of us. Let Igor and Colin work on the
language. If they come up with something, it would be a very
important signal to the entire world. The French, I don't know
what they're doing, but it is not helpful. You assured me that
you would not get involved in European politics, and that is
good, but really, I'd just like your opinion. (U)

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 03/08/13

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685256

President Putin: George, what I meant is that I said we're not going to turn the Iraqi situation into a domestic political problem. We don't want to use this in order to fuel the anti-American feelings. We are not doing that now and we won't do that in the future either. But this does not mean we don't have an internal problem here. Our position has been stated a long time ago and it was always open and we stated it publicly. My colleagues and I spoke to Condi, to Secretary Rumsfeld, and to you and we have not changed our policy. It's hard to say that we said one thing and then put you and Blair in a difficult position. I used to say that 1441 was not needed because we could have continued with Iraq with the previous resolutions. But to support you and Tony, I gave instructions in a way to support this resolution. I know that Tony is facing a hot situation back in his country and I don't want to create any difficulties that would hurt our relationship and I don't want our relationship to get worse. But if we take a decision that doesn't address our interests, then we will find ourselves in difficulty and will be facing problems in international relations. You know that last year, the international committee of the U.N. considered the human rights situation in Chechnya and the anti-Russian resolution was not passed only because of the Islamic states. Today, we cannot spoil our relations with the Islamic states. We will not receive support from our new allies. There are other problems as well. We have always been frank and sincere and we were open in St. Petersburg with you, me, Condi, and Igor. Our relations have always been open and honest and that has been my attitude to the United States and to you personally and will always remain so. We believe that hostilities are a mistake and we should not elaborate on this over the phone. We are prepared to discuss any option that does not lead to war and Ivanov will be prepared to talk seriously about the text as long as it doesn't lead to war. With regard to the European position, they can coincide with our position, it is irrelevant. We will not take a position that will fuel anti-American sentiments. And irrespective of the developments, our strategic aim is to develop our relationship. Ratification of the treaty on strategic armaments should go the way we have agreed. Tomorrow, I'll talk to Blair. We were supposed to talk today, but maybe he was aware we would talk today and put it off until tomorrow. We have put our pressure on Iraq and Ivanov has already told that to Condi. I sent Mr. Primakov who met Saddam Hussein and proposed that Saddam leave office. I believe you were informed and made aware of his reaction. Well, we are looking for an option that would please all the sides. If we succeed, we will be very happy. If not, well there's nothing

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3

that can be done. There are certain things that we can't overcome, a redline we can't cross. We can't accept war and you may have a different view. We cannot act erroneously. Well, I don't want to discuss what we have achieved from Saddam. I know you think this is not sufficient, but I think that I will keep in touch. ~~(S)~~

The President: Thank you Vladimir for your point of view. We do have a frank relationship and that is important. We do have evidence that Saddam is a threat to the security of the American people. Therefore he must be disarmed now. It's a serious matter and I understand your position on the resolution but a veto along with the French will damage relations. I don't want that and I know you don't want that. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: George, I don't want that at all. I can repeat that only once again. Our position was fair and clear from the very beginning. To tell you frankly, I don't think Saddam is a threat to America. He is not even a threat to his neighbors, because this is a weakened state and I believe your experts understand that fully well. ~~(S)~~

The President: Vladimir, that's a difference of opinion. I don't think I'm being fooled by experts. Just as we supported you regarding the terrorists in Moscow. Look, we can argue all day long whether or not he is a threat. I believe Saddam is a threat to the American people. So we just need to understand the gravity of the situation. Colin will work with Igor on language, but a veto would be a disaster. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: I don't want to change our position especially with regard with terrorism. We've always supported you. Our support on 9/11 was very expressive, and we are not changing our position and we have been cooperating very closely. I think our cooperation was better after 9/11 than during World War II, better than any time in the history of our relations. You are in a better place to see where things are and to make decisions on the interests of the United States, but I think beginning a war is a mistake. We have invited Condi to come to Moscow to discuss this in more detail, but, given this situation, we can hardly change our position, and we will have to vote against. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's going to be a problem. So, we'll have to see if Colin and Igor can work it out. Because to me, this resolution is for Tony's sake. We've got what we've need in

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4

1441 and this obviously creates real tension and we'll have to deal with that. (C)

President Putin: I can only regret that. It is not in our interest to spoil our relations with somebody and create difficulties with anybody. To tell you frankly, we didn't succeed in establishing a dialogue on this topic. We said what we can do and what we can't. You listened, but you did not hear that. I realize that Tony is in a difficult situation in his party, and we, of course, don't want to do him harm. But we've mentioned to him that we can go up to a certain line but we won't be able to cross it. He did not hear that, and that is a great pity. (C)

The President: We listen to you very carefully, Vladimir, and you need to hear that. This has nothing to do with our relationship but with Saddam and his threat to the United States. If he doesn't disarm, we will disarm him with a lot of countries by our side. I know you don't agree with my assessment, but it is my obligation as the President of the United States. A veto won't help; it will only deepen the split. Plus, there's a post-Saddam Iraq and we won't be able to deal if there is a veto. It's important for you know my position. Saddam's fooling the world and you have to make a decision whether he's a threat or not. Look, we could talk until its 10 A.M. your time. It's very important for you to know our position. I've waited a long time, I've been patient, and we just have a difference in opinion as to whether you think he is a threat or not. (C)

President Putin: I would like for you to understand me that I don't have any liking for Saddam and I don't want to help him. I did not want to tell you, but when Primakov told Saddam to step down, he said, "You now state the United States position." Saddam got up and walked out. There's no need to laugh at that. We had other proposals to offer him. We have no liking for Saddam. You are the president of your country and you have the right to make the right decision. I agree that the problem is there but it can be tackled differently. There are other problems that we are facing and there are other problems here that I'm facing. The Security Council is a body where the positions are agreed upon and if nothing can be agreed upon, there is no reason for the Security Council. (C)

The President: First of all, thank you for trying to get him to leave. He's not going to leave without any pressure. I just wish you had been successful. The vote will be soon and I'm

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5

confident we'll be talking before then. I hope that you'll take this into serious consideration and I wish you the best. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much. Please give my regards to Laura. I wanted to call you earlier, but I only had a cell phone. I know that Condi is sitting next to you please give her my regards to her. (U)

The President: Yes, she's right here waving. Very seriously, take what I said and give my best to Lyudmila. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much, I was happy to hear from you. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

2569

Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

March 20, 2003

MEMORANDUM FOR


MR. LEWIS LIBBY
National Security Advisor
to the Vice President

COL JAMES A. WHITMORE
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

MR. KARL HOFMANN
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with
President Vladimir Putin of the Russian
Federation (U)

The attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the
President and President Putin of the Russian Federation on
March 18, 2003 is provided **eyes only** for the information of the
Vice President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of
Defense. ~~TS~~


Gregory L. Schulte
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Gregory L. Schulte
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 03/19/13

NW#: 78134

DocId: 34685315

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2569

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone conversation with President
Vladimir Putin of the Russia Federation. (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Andy Green, Marko Broz,
Jeff Blair

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME March 18, 2003, 9:29 - 9:50 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey Vladimir, how are you today? (U)

President Putin: Very well, and I am glad to hear you. (U)

The President: I told you that we would continue to discuss
matters of world issues. This is just another chance to
continue efforts to talk leader to leader. (U)

President Putin: Yes. I was looking forward to your call. (U)

The President: Thank you and a couple points that I would like
to make and then I would like to hear what you have to say. I
appreciate Igor's article in some of our papers talking about
the U.S.-Russian partnership. We should not endanger this
relationship. That is what you and I discussed, and I
appreciate your talking with the American public along these
lines. I recognized that we will never come to the same
conclusion on Saddam Hussein, but I did try very hard in the
U.N. to achieve a consensus. For right now, the U.N. process is
over as far as I am concerned. There is a role for the United
Nations after operations, if there are military operations.
There will be a role for the U.N. in the post-Saddam Iraq after
the war. I just want to assure you of that. Finally, and I say
if a war comes because perhaps the initiative that you tried
could come to fruition and Saddam could still leave. Finally, I
think it is important that we watch this anti-American
sentiment. You have been good about not enflaming anti-American

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Classified by: Gregory L. Schulte

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 3/19/13

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685315

sentiment but in some capitals they have not been as cautious. For instance, in Paris there is anti-American sentiment and because of that there is a significant anti-French backlash that has been hard for me to manage. I know that you know this, and I appreciate your understanding, but there is a difference between disagreeing on an issue and unnecessarily enflaming the passions of the people with anti-American slogans and bashing of leaders. You have been firm in your opinion but respectful of our relationship, and I want to thank you for that. That is all that is on my mind today, and I am confident that we will continue the dialogue as matters unfold. I appreciate your taking my phone call. (S)

President Putin: Thank you, George. Thank you for your call. This is important for me. It is true that your opinions on Iraq diverge from mine. I have carefully studied your address to the nation, and I cannot say that I agree with everything in the address, but I do believe that the fundamental significance of our state-to-state relationship is more important. Even more important to me are our personal relations, and as you can see, I am refraining from commenting on your address. If the military operation does start, then I will have to comment, but I will not make comments in a way that will belittle our personal relationship. As far as our disagreement on the political issue is concerned, I will just say that we have discussed this more than once, and I can see some specific things that I find wrong. I believe that if we had acted jointly and consistently without the use of military force, then we could have achieved the same result. This concerns not only Iraq but also the rest of the Middle East region. We could have pressured other countries in a way that could have benefited the region as a whole. The second point that I would like to draw your attention to, is that, and I believe this is significant. You said that the goal is a regime change; however, this is not something provided for in the U.N. charter or in international law. Also, it would be unfair to say that the Iraqis have done nothing. Your military preparations and diplomatic channels have pushed Iraq to do many things. The most important thing, and I have already mentioned this, is that we should not substitute the law of force for international law. I do agree that we should bring this process back to the channel of the U.N. and this should be regardless of how the situation in Iraq unfolds. In this vein, I have given instructions to Ivanov to go to New York tonight. His mission is not to score propaganda points with regard to the Iraq situation and it will not be to enflame anti-American sentiment in the U.N. It will be to determine the future of inspections. We have sent them there

to facilitate the process, and we should at least thank them. Some of them have even died, as you know. I talked earlier today with the new president of the People's Republic of China, and he told me that one of his best people died there. This is an important instrument of international inspection, and we should not lose this. We should jointly see how we can minimize the damage to the U.N. I would like to repeat this. I know about the sentiments of your aides, and I do think we should return the process to the U.N. ~~(S)~~

The President: Let me make sure we are clear on this. I think the United Nations should be involved afterwards if there are military operations, but my judgment is that the United Nations is through. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: This is what I meant. (U)

The President: Okay. (U)

President Putin: If the war does start, then later on we should return to the process of the United Nations. This will be in the interest of the United States. ~~(S)~~

The President: Okay. I understand what you are saying. I agree. (U)

President Putin: In spite of the differences on Iraq, the United States and Russia should cooperate in the interests of international peace and stability. I know that the United States Senate has ratified the Treaty on the reduction of strategic potentials, and we have sent the Treaty to our Duma and it is scheduled to be voted on this Friday. ~~(S)~~

The President: Oh good, Vladimir. Thank you. (U)

President Putin: If a military operation does start, then we might want to hold back on this due to unfolding events in Iraq so that there is no scandal. ~~(S)~~

The President: I understand. (U)

President Putin: This could make things worse. ~~(S)~~

The President: I am confident. Aren't you confident that you can get it passed? ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Yes. It will pass, and I would like to reiterate that our goal is to cooperate with the United States. It will pass. The only issue is the tactics in terms of the time frame. ~~(S)~~

The President: I understand. (U)

President Putin: I agree with you that right now it is important for us to demonstrate that our long-term commitment is to cooperation with the United States. ~~(S)~~

The President: It was just confirmed. That is great. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, George. (U)

The President: That is all for today. (U)

President Putin: Finally, I would like to repeat the invitation to you to come to St. Petersburg later this year. This would be an important meeting regardless of how the situation in Iraq unfolds because it would be a rather informal event. It would be even better to get together to discuss this and other important issues as well. ~~(S)~~

The President: I hope to be able to make it. I know you put a lot of planning into it. St. Petersburg is one of the greatest cities in the world. Another thing, I appreciate your instructions to Igor to come and not enflame passions. I appreciate that a lot. You know how those diplomats can behave. I have trouble with mine as well. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Yes. It should not become a sport. (U)

The President: I have trouble reining mine in as well. Vladimir, I will talk to you soon. My best to your family. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: All the best to your family too. (U)

--End of Conversation--

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

2848

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Chris Legrand, David Lee, and
Jeff Blair

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME: March 24, 2003, 10:15 - 10:42 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, good to hear from you. (U)

President Putin: I am glad to hear you, good morning. (U)

The President: Thank you for calling. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much for responding so swiftly to my request. There are a few issues that I would like to discuss with you. The first set of issues concerns Iraq and the second concerns our bilateral relationship. We have received information from the State Department regarding your concerns of alleged supplies of military and specialized equipment into Iraq. I am calling to tell you specifically that there have been no shipments of such items to Iraq. Of course, we are going to check all the information of any kind to confirm this. Any names of companies that you give us, we will check very carefully. If we do find anything at all of this kind, these people will be subject to Russia's criminal code and will be duly prosecuted. I doubt it, but I repeat that we will check everything. Several times we have discussed similar issues with regard to Iran. We received information from the U.S., including the possible procurement of aluminum tubes by Iran that could be used for enriching Uranium. Right now, according to the information from the IAEA, which has not been publicized, they found that Iran indeed does have these items. This coincides with our information. However, these items have been

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supplied to Iran by a company called Urenco ltd. and this is an English, German, and Dutch company. I want to remind you that our intelligence services gave you information on some U.S. and other companies that have been involved in supplying both Iraq and Iran. I believe that we need to continue to cooperate with respect to both of these countries, but I realize that Iraq is the priority. I would like to assure you that we are going to work objectively and actively on this account. (S)

The President: I appreciate that. (U)

President Putin: The second issue concerns the plans that we discussed to deploy a refugee camp to accommodate refugees that might be fleeing across the border into Iran. I would like to tell you about this and if there is any interest on your part, then our services can talk to each other about ways to cooperate in this area. The second question concerns the following: there are unfortunately some POWs, including U.S. soldiers. I have instructed Foreign Minister Ivanov to contact the Iraqis and to get them to implement the Geneva conventions. In this context, I have a proposal; however, it will be implemented only if you are interested. If this makes sense to you, if you find it useful, then we will have our Russian Ambassador meet with the Iraqis so that he can demand to be allowed to meet in Baghdad with the U.S. prisoners of war. I have not discussed this with Iraq and have not told anyone else about this. I have only discussed this with my Foreign Minister. If you find this useful, let us know. The next issue concerns our bilateral relations and does not concern Iraq. In spite of present differences, we should look for ways to demonstrate the positive sides of our good relations. The Minister of Agriculture, Gordeyev, received an invitation from his U.S. counterpart Veneman, and I would like to confirm that Mr. Gordeyev is willing to fly to Washington at the earliest time possible. If you find this necessary and useful, then we could report it as one of the issues discussed in today's conversation. The last thing is that the situation is now complicated and tough for you. I know you are having a hard time with those in the domestic arena and also with diplomatic relations. If you find this necessary then we could discuss all these issues, including our bilateral relationship. I would be willing to meet with you face to face, preferably in a third country, if you feel this makes sense. (S)

The President: Let me work backwards. Let me think about the meeting. It is an interesting idea. What is interesting, Vladimir, is that at home, I have never been more popular.

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3

Interestingly enough, the American people are in solid support. My approval rating is currently at 75 percent, which is remarkable. I readily concede that in certain countries around the world, I am not that popular, but I doubt I ever will be, so I am not trying. If you are from Texas, then it makes people nervous, but the good news is that you don't get nervous. Secondly, I think that it is a good idea regarding the Agricultural Minister. Thirdly, let me talk to people about the POW issue. It is interesting. Let me talk to the appropriate people, and Colin Powell will take over the issue. I view this as a very kind gesture and I appreciate it. Along the same lines, we will discuss the idea of refugee camps in Iran but, so far, there have not been many refugees. It may make sense. I appreciate your objective look into the information on arms transfers that we think is very valid. In like vein, we will do the same with information you are providing us on Iran. Many in the world are trying to strain our relations. I am saying that there is speculation in the press that many people in the Governments of France and Germany would like us to have strained relations. There is great speculation in the American press of the new French-German-Russian alliance to the detriment of the United States. I don't believe that is true until I hear that directly from you because I believe that our relations are strong. I do have one concern and that is that Igor Ivanov is thinking about putting down a resolution condemning U.S. actions in Iraq. I certainly hope that this is not true because that would cause people to think that there is a problem with U.S.-Russian relations. It seems that a better way is to show that we are working together in coming up with something that would show that we are working together to ensure the continuation of the oil-for-food program. I remember when we first began our relations, we both lamented the fact that there were people on both sides, in both our governments, who would very much like our relations to fall back on a cold war mentality. The thing that made your vision and my vision different is that going into the 21st century, we realized that the cold war mentality must stop. I am still dedicated to that principle. I really appreciate what you said earlier in the conversation that we would have disagreements and this will happen but we must dedicate ourselves to a way which is constructive. I very much so feel that way. That is all I have to say except to thank you for calling. We need to keep in touch and I appreciate your ideas. (N)

President Putin: Just a couple of words in response to what you said. It is true that our approach to the Iraq problem has diverged instead of returning it to a peaceful framework. Like

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you, I cherish the level of cooperation that we achieved, due to our special relationship. Russia will not call for a Security Council meeting and will not call for a resolution that you mentioned. In response to an alliance against America, I believe that both of us are grown up guys. We love fairy tales but we don't believe in them. (S)

The President: Very good. (U)

President Putin: I wish you all the best and take note in regard to how you are doing at home. There are problems that you are experiencing and I would like to wish you all the best. I am familiar with such problems because of my experience with the dire situation in Chechnya. By the way, we would like to tell you that there was a referendum in Chechnya regarding whether they want to be part of Russia and they have decided to stay part of the Russian Federation. That is a very positive development. (S)

The President: Thank you. I knew you were working on that. Thank you for your personal concern. The toughest decision for a President to make is the decision to send troops into combat. We will stay in touch. These conversations are important for me. (S)

President Putin: Okay, George, let's stay in touch. Thank you very much. (U)

The President: Okay, sir. Thank you. (U)

-End of Conversation--

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3337

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Colin Crosby, David Lee, and
Jenna Galyean

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME April 5, 2003, 8:04 - 8:23 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Camp David

The President: Good morning, Vladimir. How are you? (U)

President Putin: I am fine, thank you. How are you? (U)

The President: Good sir, thanks. I'm calling to say thank you for receiving Condoleezza Rice to meet with you and senior members of your administration. (C)

President Putin: I am aware of the fact that she is arriving tomorrow. Moreover, I have an additional proposal to make. Our defense minister is supposed to travel to South Korea, and then to Japan. I suggest that he then travel further to Washington to meet with Mr. Rumsfeld there. I must tell you bluntly that, in the context of hostilities in Iraq, it might not look favorable for me to keep up the high-level relationship between Russia and the U.S., but this would not be the right thing to do. We have an agenda in addition to Iraq between us. That's the prospect of ratification in Russia of the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions and the subject of non-proliferation. In response to American proposals, we also have our proposal on ABM. And on top of that, also our joint effort in combating terrorism, and regarding Afghanistan. And, I will be honest with you, this is a timely thing to do. We are concerned about the radicalization of Muslim organizations. Up until now I have managed to keep them under control and I am confident I can continue to do so. But it would be right to reiterate our mutual desire to renew U.S.-Russian relations. These

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2

are our proposals that will soon be realized, if you believe this is worthwhile. (S)

The President: Yes, I do. I look forward to seeing Sergei when he comes over here. I would like him to come by and say hello to me. (S)

President Putin: If you would find time for that it would be helpful. (S)

The President: Easy for me to do. He is a good man, and I know he is close to you. It will help us move past this difficult period. (S)

President Putin: Especially since my first language is German. His is English, he's an old hand at English. (S)

The President: He's very good at English, and your English is better than my Russian. (S)

President Putin: Unfortunately, his Spanish is worse than yours. (S)

The President: How are you feeling these days? (S)

President Putin: I'm okay. The Muslims are fighting us. I'm worried about them sending weapons and volunteers. Otherwise, I would be fine. (S)

The President: We need to talk about that. (S)

President Putin: We have responded in a very tough manner. We have summoned the leaders of those organizations and given a very strict warning. I also spoke on national television and made a public statement to that effect. I have used soft language, I have plainly said that we have no plans to get involved. (S)

The President: I appreciate that, Vladimir. (S)

President Putin: Igor Ivanov will also continue his contacts with Powell. He had discussions with Powell in Brussels. We do have proposals regarding development of a plan for our bilateral relationship which will set benchmarks. It would be nice if they could follow through. (S)

The President: Yes, they will. I look forward to seeing Sergei. At some point, we can get together. (S)

President Putin: I must tell you that so far we have been able to keep these demonstrations in line. Even if we have some, they are not on a large scale. This is different from Europe. (S)

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3

The President: I appreciate that. I have been watching carefully. It's one thing to make a point and another to harass and make personal attacks. You have refrained from personal criticism, and I appreciate that. (S)

President Putin: In this connection, I would also ask you to exert your influence as much as possible so that in the U.S. there would not be anti-Russian feelings about special Russian equipment in Iraq. (S)

The President: I will. I think the American people will appreciate the fact that you said you would get to the bottom of it. (S)

President Putin: Well, just for your knowledge, it's not that I have just said I will get to the bottom of this matter. Already, our special agents have gotten to work on these people, they have not found anything yet. In fact, we do know what kind of systems the Iraqis have; Soviet systems, and anti-tanks systems from the U.S. They do not have modern Russian systems there. Generally speaking, Russia and the U.S. have a bad bilateral dynamic. We will discuss it with Condi here. Under any circumstances, we should not remove from our agenda our personal meeting in St. Petersburg. I don't know what will happen with Iraq. But the sooner the better. Whatever happens there militarily, we should not remove from our agenda our meeting in St. Petersburg. The U.S. President should not hide from anybody. While some people might like it, others will not. In reality, it's a matter of vision, and is of great importance for our bilateral relationship. This meeting will benefit one and all. Now, in addition to all these sometimes ugly TV pictures of war, people should take a look at others things. The International Space Station needs to be looked at jointly. And then there are other questions. We should let all people see this picture of us working together. (S)

The President: Thank you, I appreciate that very good advice. I think our relationship can be repaired. We are starting this weekend with Condi's visit, and there is no question that at some point and time we will have a visit and talk face to face. Thanks for taking my call. My best to Lyudmila and the girls. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much. All the best to your family. (U)

The President: Thank you. Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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4850

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Jeff Houle, Nikki Williams,
and Joe Morosco.

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME May 16, 2003, 7:35 - 7:48 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, good day. It is good to hear your voice.
(U)

President Putin: I am also glad to hear you. (U)

The President: Yes, I am looking forward to coming to
St. Petersburg. You and I will have a good chance to talk. I look
forward to coming to that special city. (U)

President Putin: I am afraid that very soon you will become even
more popular in that city than I am. (U)

The President: That is impossible. (U)

President Putin: Actually, I am quite serious saying that.
According to my information, people in St. Petersburg are quite
positive about your paying so much attention to their city and I will
also be eager to meet you. We had quite a good conversation with
Colin Powell. I believe he will report on that meeting in detail.
And, of course, you know that on the day of his visit to Moscow, our
parliament ratified the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty.
You know that the ratification was done by the vast majority of
votes. (U)

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Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 5/19/13

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685318

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2

(The President: I wanted to call and thank you very much for your excellent reception of Colin. He already reported back, and was very pleased with the meeting. It is very clear we will take our relationship to a new level. In St. Petersburg, we will confirm that and that is very important. And, thank you for the vote in the Duma. It was a positive vote, a very positive vote, and that was noticed in our country. When we come to St. Petersburg, we have a lot to talk about. The strategic partnership, a novel strategic partnership, it is something you and I can expand on. And, of course, we can talk about Iraq and how we can go forward, and I want to thank you for talking to Colin and listening to Colin about the U.N. role. Given, however, the current environment, one of the things that will be very important is for me and you to work together to use our skills to fight terrorism. I condemn the terror attacks in Chechnya and want to express my sympathy for the tens of people killed by these murderers. I know you spoke to your country today through your State of the Federation speech. You were clear, articulate, and strong on fighting terrorism and on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It was a very strong statement. I want to thank you for that. It is clear that the enemy still exists. They struck you in Chechnya and struck us in Saudi Arabia. I want your opinion on that as well, that is why I am calling my friend. ~~(S)~~

(President Putin: Thank you very much for this call. This is always a special event when we talk to each other. I am pleased to hear your voice. ~~(S)~~

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: I am saying this quite frankly. It is important for us to maintain such contact. We will be able to do much in St. Petersburg. We will be able to show everybody the fundamentals of the Russia-U.S. relationship. In regard to Iraq, I spoke to Colin Powell, and I believe he will report to you on the matter and I think you will agree with me and actually you kept saying this. We want to be partners and to meet mutual interests of each other. To respect our interests, you know that there are many details and questions in regard to this matter. Our experts will find ways to agree upon it, and you know there are problems and issues directly related to Russian interests, they comprise billions of dollars. I completely agree with you, we ought to demonstrate our unity in fighting terrorism. And, as you are, I am deeply moved and disturbed by the terrorist acts in Chechnya and Saudi Arabia. Please accept my condolences and deepest sympathy on this occasion. You know that the signature was the same in both cases. The people acted on instructions from one and the same center. The developments in Afghanistan are quite concerning, and I agree with you also that this weapons of mass destruction proliferation is quite alarming. This is one more field where we could and are cooperating together. And,

(then there are some bilateral issues like economic issues. You know the Atomic Minister and Agriculture Minister have visited and have established good contacts. Our Minister of Defense will visit Washington soon and if you find some time for him, I would like to ask you to receive our Minister of Defense. (S)

The President: Yes, I will do that. (U)

President Putin: I want to thank you for that. Our cooperation in this field is of great importance to us. The last thing is that our experts and negotiators on economic affairs, Mr. Zoellick and Kudrin, met in Paris and discussed acceptance of Russia into the WTO. I felt the political impulse you had talked about previously, the positive attitude towards Russian acceptance into the WTO. (S)

The President: Yes, yes. (U)

President Putin: I want to thank you for that. And, I would like to assure you that you are the most awaited guest in Russia. I will be waiting for you in St. Petersburg, we will do a good job, and in the evening, we will have the possibility of some rest. (U)

The President: Absolutely, we can have some blinis. (U)

(President Putin: You can be sure there will be some blinis with caviar. (U)

The President: Perfect. Listen, Vladimir, I am confident that our relationship will move forward. You sound good and strong. (U)

President Putin: That is excellent, thank you very much. Talk to you later. (U)

The President: Talk to you later. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, George. (U)

The President: Bye. (U)

President Putin: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
18-25-2025

5622

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with President of
Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Jeff Blair, Clarence Johnson,
Jenna Galyean, and Chris Gilmore.

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME: June 9, 2003, 1:39 - 1:55 p.m. and
2:05 - 2:08 p.m. EDT

AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Good day. (U)

President Putin: Dobriy den, George. I'm very glad to hear from
you. (U)

The President: Thanks for calling. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, too, for having answered so quickly.
I remember our meeting in St. Petersburg and Evian, especially
our meeting in St. Petersburg, and I think we have sent a very
positive message to the world. (U)

The President: Yes, we did. (U)

President Putin: Now, about my possible visit to the United
States. Our foreign ministers have agreed preliminarily on 26
and 27 September. As far as I understand, you have also agreed
on these days, so we can say okay to these days. (U)

The President: Perfect. (U)

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Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 6/10/13

(President Putin: I plan to go via New York and speak at the U.N. Now, the main thing, which was the cause of my calling you. First of all, I would like to congratulate you on the quite effective work on the Middle East. I can't imagine how hard it was. And it's even more assuring to see that the progress is here and is evident. Well, in fact, you have succeeded to make the first step, which is always the hardest. So, I would like to hear from you a firsthand assessment, something new, some details. Having in mind that we are now to work together in the Quartet, and to agree upon our future movements and actions. Of course, we will provide all possible assistance to the Palestinian Prime Minister, Mr. Mahmoud Abbas, and we will stay in contact with the Israelis. Tomorrow we have here the Israeli foreign minister, and I think we should not forget about the Syrian and Lebanese tracks. Coming back to my initial question, I would like to hear details you can cite about the meetings.

(The President: Sure. Thank you, Vladimir. First of all, I had a very interesting meeting with Crown Prince Abdallah. Interestingly, in the course of the meeting, he recognized that there is money coming out of the kingdom to fund terrorist groups, and he talked eloquently about preventing money from coming out of Saudi Arabia to fund terror. He actually mentioned Chechnya. I, of course, brought it up in the context of money funding al-Qaida and Hamas and Hizballah. At any rate, I think we're making progress over there. I know you're skeptical of Saudi Arabia, but I think you would have been encouraged by his assessment. Unfortunately, not everybody in the kingdom agrees with him. We just have to keep working on this issue. Secondly, the main objectives of the meetings were, of course, to really bring Abbas into the international spotlight and to let Sharon and Abbas have further conversation, as well as their Cabinets, so they can learn to trust each other. In a private meeting with the Palestinians, we told them we expect them to develop a security force, and we told them that we, the international community, the Quartet, want to help in the development of the security force. Dahlan needs to implement it. Sharon is confident that his friends, that's me and you, will not put him in a position where he has to sacrifice the security of Israel. Our discussions with the Israelis must continue to remind them that Abbas has publicly declared that he is interested in fighting off the terror that decreases Israel's security. So I think we made progress. Of course, by not having Arafat there we strengthened Abbas. And it makes Sharon and his government much more willing to make concessions such as more money back to the Palestinians, and more travel for the Palestinians. He's going to knock down some illegal outposts, so that's positive. What's not positive is Abbas is not firmly in control, and the process,

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3

(or the picture, caused the terrorists inside the Palestinian Authority to denounce the roadmap, to denounce the Quartet, and take military action. So the message from the international community has got to be a strong condemnation of those who reject the process. The European community must put Hamas on the terrorist list. They denounced what we are trying to achieve. Overall, though, I am optimistic. And you're absolutely right about Syria and Lebanon. We must all send a clear message to Asad that he must close down and get rid of the terrorist groups that are headquartered in Damascus. Of course, the other center for trouble in the region is Iran, and I want to thank you for your strong statements at the G8 on the Iranian nuclear program. The IAEA has condemned it strongly, and we need to combine our voices to condemn this program. All in all, I think we're making progress, and I'm most grateful for your phone call. Of course, we'll stay in touch as we work together. Finally, on June 12, I will be celebrating my father's 79th birthday, and you will be celebrating your national day. I want to congratulate you on that. (S)

President Putin: So two national holidays. The birthday of your father and our national day. (U)

The President: Listen, thank you for calling, Vladimir. (U)

(President Putin: George, just two little observations. I don't know whether Mr. Sharon talked to you about this. He and some other Israeli leaders think that Abbas is not strong enough, that he is quite a weak leader, but today we don't have anybody else. We should keep in mind Arafat, and we shouldn't forget about him, but we should develop our contacts with Abbas and we should upgrade his status. (S)

The President: Absolutely, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Now, about Iran. You asked us to talk and to work with the Iranian side concerning the terrorists of al-Qaida, and we have launched this work. (S)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: We have confirmation now from Iran that in Iran there are some terrorists from al-Qaida. We will continue our work with the Iranians to expel these terrorists from Iran and return them to their native lands. Sergey Ivanov will inform Rice in more detail, and they will continue their work. Thank you once again. (S)

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The President: Vladimir, I just wanted them to get you back on the phone so I could say thank you and I'm looking forward to seeing you. (U)

President Putin: Great. We are also preparing for Camp David, and I also would like to send my best regards to Laura. (U)

The President: The same back to Ludmilla. I'll see you at Camp David and we'll have a great time. (U)

President Putin: Thank you once more, and I would like to congratulate you again on your success in the Middle East. (U)

The President: Well, we'll work together. (U)

President Putin: Good-bye. Thank you. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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6513

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with the President
of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: Clarence Johnson,
Jenna Galyean, Chris Gilmore and
Kevin Nelson

DATE, TIME July 2, 2003, 7:38 - 7:57 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, how are you today? (U)

President Putin: George, I am happy to hear you. I, like you,
am very well. (U)

The President: We were very impressed by the outfit you wore
when you saw the Queen of England. (U)

President Putin: I know that you are pulling my leg. (U)

The President: That's right, I am, because I know you well
enough to know that wasn't your first choice of clothes. (U)

President Putin: We say that you cannot get things right
without a bottle of vodka. I will have my chance to laugh at
you when you visit in November. I heard you are going there in
November, so I will be pleased to see you in that suit. (U)

The President: Maybe I can borrow the one you wore, because I
don't own one either. (U)

President Putin: I must tell you, I didn't have one either.
They made it for me special, and that was my first trial. I

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must tell you, there are some complicated things for your security services, because you have to travel for five minutes in an open carriage. (U)

The President: Thank you for the warning. (U)

President Putin: This looks beautiful, but we have to be attentive in our times. (U)

The President: Absolutely. That is right. (U)

President Putin: But, in general, I must confess to you, the visit was very successful. We had several talks with Tony. They were very informative and substantive. (U)

The President: Yes, he was very pleased. That's great. (U)

President Putin: It seems it was useful. (U)

The President: Listen, I am calling to visit on a couple of subjects. First, the strategic dialogue. From my perspective, we're making good progress. Respective cabinet officers are talking. I hope you feel the same way. (U)

President Putin: It seems to me that was a good proposal and we have to use that mechanism. (U)

The President: Do you have any issues I need to bring to my people's attention? I know that Hadley and Chernov met. (U)

President Putin: I believe what we are discussing touches on sensitive things, therefore we need confidence. With regard to Iran and North Korea, some bilateral topics, we need to focus our attention. But I would like to first congratulate you with some advances in the Middle East. It was a brave decision to make a trip there after the G8. Most of the doubters thought nothing would come out of it, and that you staked your authority on that. Now there is some positive movement, and we will do our best to facilitate it. (U)

The President: Thank you, Vladimir. I am obviously pleased. On the other hand, I am very aware of reality. All it takes is one suicide to upset the progress. We have to remain steadfast. You are very steady in the war against terrorism and we can't let terrorists disrupt the plans of peaceful men. (U)

President Putin: That's right. (U)

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The President: Listen Vladimir, two other things. On North Korea, thank you for continuing to analyze and pressure North Korea. I absolutely believe by working together we can convince Kim Jong Il to stop nuclear weapons, as well as allow the world to help him feed his people. The other issue is Iran, and I thank you as well for that. The EU has now begun to pressure Iran very seriously about its nuclear ambitions. The IAEA is becoming more involved. My only point is we speak with a common voice. It will make it less likely the Iranians will feel emboldened to develop nuclear weapons. We're making progress, and I want to thank you for your leadership on the issues. (S)

President Putin: I would like also to tell you a couple of things about Iran and North Korea. (S)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: We have just received here in Moscow Mr. Agazadeh, who is the head of the nuclear service in Iran. We just used that visit to inform them of our concern regarding what you just mentioned, and that is development of nuclear energy for military purposes. I would like to stress once again what I already told you in St. Petersburg. We should not omit or make any steps that make it possible for Iran to get a hold of nuclear materials for nuclear weapons. Our Minister of Defense and Minister of Atomic Energy made that clear to him. We stressed once again that Teheran should cooperate with the IAEA in good faith, all its nuclear programs must be fully transparent. I made the same point clearly to President Khatami on June 16. What I mean is their signature of the additional protocol with the IAEA and Iranian guarantees to put all Iranian programs under the control of the IAEA. We have the assurances of the Iranian side that they are prepared to do that, but I don't know how they will do it in practice. And more than that, we put pressure on the Iranians that they should listen more to IAEA with regard to centrifuges and environmental samples, and I spoke to you about that in St. Petersburg. I would like to remind you that those centrifuges were supplied by English, German, and Dutch companies. (S)

The President: Right. (U)

President Putin: Of course, in our dialogue, we need trust and openness and we should not use this for dishonest competition.

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4

The President: Yes, that is right. (U)

President Putin: We continue to follow closely the developments in North Korea. As we agreed, in mid-July we will have closed consultations at the level of deputy ministers of foreign affairs in Moscow and look at how the situation is developing. We just hinted to the North Koreans that we are prepared to offer our territory for whatever talks they would like to have with the Chinese, Japanese, Americans and South Koreans. We need to keep our finger on the pulse of this matter, and we will keep in touch with you regarding this problem. (S)

The President: Yes, that would be great, Vladimir. Thank you for that. I just wanted to stay on top of the issues as they evolve. By working together, we can get a lot accomplished. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much and I am pleased to hear your voice. (U)

The President: Great, we will talk soon. (U)

President Putin: I am getting ready for my trip to the U.S. and Camp David, and very shortly I will send you a reply, an extended reply, to the letter you sent me on May 8 on economic issues. I would like to thank you for your assistance on our accession to FATF, the group on money laundering. We are nearing the date of July 4th, Independence Day. I congratulate you and your family and all the American people. (S)

The President: Thank you, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: I hope you will find a minute to talk on July 6. I would like to talk to you for one minute to greet you on your birthday. In Russia, we do not congratulate people on personal events beforehand. (U)

The President: Absolutely, I will tell Condi I am available at your convenience on Sunday. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much. (U)

The President: Listen, I will talk to you Sunday. (U)

President Putin: I hug you. Thank you, thank you for your call. (U)

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The President: Good-bye. (U)

President Putin: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone conversation with President Putin
of the Russia Federation (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Nikki Williams, Joe Morosco and
David M. Zimov

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME July 6, 2003, 12:00 - 12:05pm EDT
AND PLACE: Residence

The President: Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Good afternoon, George. (U)

The President: How are you? (U)

President Putin: As agreed, I called to congratulate you on your birthday. I hope you are well, I embrace you and I wish you all the best and many happy returns. Yesterday, we had another terrorist attack in Moscow. And, I appreciate very much the very quick reaction on your part and the American side, and I am very appreciative of that. I am aware of your casualties in Iraq and we also are very full of sorrow. But, today is a festive day for you and I would not like to spoil your celebration. I wish you and your family all the best. (S)

The President: Vladimir, thank you. First of all, you're the only world leader who called and I am very thankful for that. Secondly, you understand what you and I face and that is these unbelievable killers who do not value innocent life. Our

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(prayers go to you and to the Russian people but we will stay strong. Together we will defeat these people. (U)

President Putin: I quite agree with you, George. Excuse me. (U)

The President: Go ahead. (U)

President Putin: Once again I will not torment you on this festive day of yours. I would like to congratulate and I embrace you. My best to Laura and your girls. I was told your father is visiting Russia in early September. If he comes I will try to meet with him. (S)

The President: That'd be great. He'd love to meet you. I have told him a lot about you. [REDACTED] b(6)

[REDACTED] b(6)
[REDACTED] b(6) And, you give my best to Ludmilla and your girls. (S)

President Putin: Thanks. (U)

(The President: Thanks for calling and we'll talk again soon. (U)

President Putin: All the best. (U)

The President: You're a good man. Thank you. (U)

President Putin: Bye bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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7875

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with the President of
Russia. (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Nikki Williams, Chico Negrón,
and David Lee

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME: August 16, 2003, 9:13 - 9:24 a.m. CDT
AND PLACE: Crawford, Texas

The President: Yes, Vladimir. How are you, sir? (U)

President Putin: Very well. I'm glad to hear from you.
Everything is fine. (U)

The President: Good. I'm sitting here on my ranch. It's going
to be 100 degrees today, but I'm out of Washington. (U)

President Putin: I envy you but here things are fine as well.
Just recently, Ludmilla and I were remembering you and Laura.
Suddenly, I hear that you would like to talk to me. It is kind
of a coincidence. Here we believe it is a good omen, that you
are going to be rich and live a long time. (U)

The President: That's great. Listen, the first thing is I
talked to my father this morning. I told him that I was going
to speak with you today and he told me you kindly invited him to
come down to Sochi. He said he is going to go, so thank you
very much for inviting him. (U)

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President Putin: Excellent. Please convey to him our warmest regards. We are truly looking forward to his visit. (U)

The President: It's going to be very exciting for him. (U)

President Putin: What should we prepare for him? (U)

The President: I think he said mid-September, if I'm not mistaken. I'll get him to speak to Condi and she'll let your people know. (U)

President Putin: I know he's arriving on the 14th. I was asking what should we prepare for him, what is he fond of. (U)

The President: b(6) (U)

President Putin: Okay. (U)

The President: Whatever. He just wants to visit with you and get to know you. He's heard me speak positively about you and he wants to find out more about you as a person. Vladimir, I want to thank you for the great cooperation that led to the arrest of the international arms smuggler. The press here in America was very positive and it was a very strong statement on our cooperation to fight terrorism. I want to thank you for that level of cooperation. (S)

President Putin: George, if you remember I told you about this when we were in St. Petersburg. I said it in passing, but I did mention it. (S)

The President: You did and I thank you. Now I hope we can find out if there are any Ukrainians or Russians who were willing to supply the missiles. We need to go up the chain and bring these people to justice. I think it'll be very important for both our countries as a very strong strike against terrorists. The press here was speculating that the man was trying to buy the missiles to shoot down Air Force One. (S)

President Putin: Yes, we've heard about this. These are not empty rumors. I suppose they would have been happy to implement their plan. (S)

The President: Well, you did a great job. I'm much impressed by the operation we were able to implement together. (S)

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(President Putin: We're going to continue these joint efforts. Quite recently our Deputy Foreign Minister met Armitage and they discussed the deepening of our cooperation in counterterrorism. Yesterday or the day before yesterday, our representative in Afghanistan contacted the U.S. and Canadian representatives who are in charge of the NATO mission there and conveyed to them our information on the planned terrorist attack against NATO forces in Afghanistan. (S)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: This is serious information. It was received with gratitude and I'm sure it will be quite useful. I would like to thank you on my behalf for the recognition of terrorists, of some individuals engaged in combat in Chechnya. The State Department recently reported about this. I hope this will be encouragement for the Europeans to do a similar thing. Our experts are talking about expanding this list. I believe it should be expanded. (S)

(The President: Well, we want to work with you on terrorism. It's the major threat of the 21st century and I understand what it means. You and I understand what it means for people to attack innocent lives and our biggest responsibility is to protect our people. (S)

President Putin: Absolutely, I agree with you. (U)

The President: Your English is much better. (U)

President Putin: Thank you. (U)

The President: Listen, we're really looking forward to seeing you at Camp David. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much. We're preparing for this visit. I was recalling you and Laura in connection with the power outage on the East Coast. Of course, this does not even depend on you but I'm sure it will somehow be used against you. I'm glad you were able to get out of this crisis with minimal losses and as fast as possible. (S)

The President: Thank you. (U)

(President Putin: And please convey to Laura the gratitude from Ludmilla and me for accepting the invitation to come to Russia in October. She will participate in a library festival and she

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4

(will be able to share her rich experience with her Russian women counterparts. (U)

The President: She's looking forward to going. Please thank Ludmilla and give her our best. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, George. (U)

The President: And we will see you soon. (U)

President Putin: Thank you. (U)

The President: Bye. (U)

President Putin: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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8287

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi
of Italy and President Vladimir Putin of the
Russian Federation (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Berlusconi
President Putin

Notetakers: David Zimov, Mark Robinson, and
Laura Hart

Interpreters: Elisabetta Ullmann and
Peter Afanassenko

DATE, TIME August 31, 2003, 10:17 - 10:22 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Residence

The President: Yes, Silvio, how are you, friend? (U)

Prime Minister Berlusconi: George, how are you? We are having a
holiday. I am here with Vladimir Putin. (U)

The President: Are you in Italy or in Russia? (U)

Prime Minister Berlusconi: In Italy. We are in Sardinia. (U)

The President: Fantastic. (U)

Prime Minister Berlusconi: We spoke a lot of time about you.
(U)

The President: Well, thank you, friend. (U)

Prime Minister Berlusconi: We said it would be fantastic if you
could be here with us. (U)

The President: Yes, I'd love to be there with you, with my two
good friends. (U)

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Prime Minister Berlusconi: We spoke about Iraq and Vladimir said he's interested to write a new resolution about the consent of the United Nations. (S)

The President: That was good. I read his statement.. Thank you, Silvio. (S)

Prime Minister Berlusconi: We want to help with the situation in Iraq. (S)

The President: Thank you. You did good work there. (S)

Prime Minister Berlusconi: I'll pass the phone to Vladimir. (S)

The President: Thank you, Silvio. (U)

Prime Minister Berlusconi: We spoke every moment about you and your loyalty, our friendship for the United States. We call you to wish you the best of things. (S)

The President: Gracias. Usted es como familia. (U)

Prime Minister Berlusconi: Gracias, George. Thank you so much for your hospitality at your ranch -- for me to be like family. (S)

The President: We will do it again. (U)

Prime Minister Berlusconi: You will be in New York for the European Presidents, I think, September 20 or 22, so I will have the possibility to see you? (S)

The President: Por cierto. (U)

Prime Minister Berlusconi: I'll pass you to Vladimir. Ciao, George. (U)

The President: Thank you, friend. (U)

Prime Minister Berlusconi: I embrace you, friend. (U)

President Putin: Hello, George. (U)

The President: Hello, Vladimir. How are you? (U)

President Putin: I am fine, how are you? I have two holiday days here with our friend Silvio in Italy, but I don't speak Italian now. (S)

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The President: Fantastic. (U)

President Putin: We'll see you soon in the United States. (S)

The President: Yes, at Camp David. (S)

President Putin: What about your family? Is everything all right? (S)

The President: Yes. Thank you for your statement on Iraq. It was very good. That's what a friend would say and I appreciate it. (S)

President Putin: We will have time to talk about it soon. (S)

The President: Your English is getting very good. You've been practicing. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, George. (U)

The President: All the best. (U)

President Putin: Ciao, George. (U)

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Prime Minister Berlusconi: George, ciao. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Vladimir Putin of the
Russian Federation (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Jenna Galyean, Laura Hart,
Craig Wieschhorster and Jeff Blair

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME December 1, 2003, 9:02 - 9:32 a.m.; EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, good day. How are you, sir? (U)

President Putin: Hi, George. I like to hear your voice. Thank you for this opportunity to talk to you. I don't think there are urgent things to discuss, but nevertheless, I would like to discuss some questions with you. (U)

The President: Good. (U)

President Putin: First, I would like to say that the mechanism we established between Rice and the head of my administration is still working, and this afternoon, I talked to some of the participants of this mechanism who just arrived from Washington. I think this is a good mechanism that allows us to cooperate on the working level, and I think that the discussions we had in Washington were quite useful. Now, going to sensitive issues about Iraq; first of all, I would like to express my condolences over the losses you have there presently. I closely followed your visit to London and well understand that terrorists committed the attack in Istanbul to disrupt your visit in Britain. I think that Mr. Blair and you were courageous and didn't allow those bastards to fulfill that goal. George, you

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(know that our vision on the Iraqi issue differs, but in a situation like this, you will have our full support, no doubt about it. I am not asking for your direct answer at the moment, but I would like to make one short observation, nevertheless. I heard of signals from the Russian ambassador in the United States concerning the situation in Iraq. So, we together might think of some cooperation in this view that Russia supports you and we are with you, but no one in your administration is able to tell us what you want from Russia. So, we are obviously limited in what we can do. (S)

The President: Yeah, sure. (S)

(President Putin: But, such aid from Russia is possible and we are ready to provide it, especially when it concerns the U.N. Resolution. Now, going back to the current situation, we are ready to engage in the economic field in Iraq. We do not need only major oil projects there. We don't want our companies to just get some profit there. We want to help the Iraqi economy grow back and are interested in developing small- and medium-sized enterprises, already with some success. We would like Mr. Bremer to more actively respond in this field because we see enormous potential there. We know that Bremer and the head of the Iraqi administration have a plan of political settlement in Iraq. I don't know whether they did it on purpose or not, but this document does not mention the U.N. at all. In my opinion, from a political point of view, this is a mistake. This document says that the election of a new Iraqi government will take place by the end of 2004. As I told you at Camp David, we cannot allow a vacuum of power in Iraq. A real period of calm is needed, but there is the danger that we increase the possibility for terrorist attacks from people who arrive in Iraq from all over the world. What drives them there is that they see the United States as an occupation force there. There is a need to Iraqize the process of transition of powers there, as it will help the situation immensely. Frankly speaking, I don't have a solution there in Iraq. We could think it over once again. (S)

(And now, just a couple of words on the situation in Georgia. As far as you know, George, we did our best not to allow blood to be shed. You know my attitude toward Shevardnadze. We spoke about him with you many times. The state of Georgia is a viable state that has existed already for ten years, but we cannot say that the transition of power under such a push from the opposition was truly democratic. If such a scenario would happen in other countries of the former USSR, for example what

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happened in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s, that would not bring anything good. It is quite clear that Georgia needs international aid. We want the OSCE to step in immediately to help Georgia to prepare for the elections. I hope the new Georgian leadership will try to alleviate the tensions that exist now between Georgia and Russia. (S)

So, there is another hot spot in the former USSR and this is Moldova. Starting this summer, we made some active steps to alleviate the situation in that country. We went to the Moldovans and in the long run we will reach an agreement acceptable by the two parties. We also agreed to withdraw from the Russian military base, leaving only peacemaking troops, one thousand to a thousand and a half men, with light weapons only. We also agreed on sending an international peacekeeping force there. Unfortunately, this agreement failed. Javier Solana expressed his negative comments to the U.S. Ambassador in Moldova who then pressed the Moldovan leadership to dissuade this agreement. As a result, the agreement was not fulfilled. The former republics of the USSR have a unique opportunity and experience. Nevertheless, we hope to continue our consultations on this issue and we want it to settle down. We don't want to see trouble on our borders, as it is very close to our home. We don't want to see conflicts on our borders and want to see territorial integrity preserved. (S)

And now to our bilateral relationship. I think that the Camp David Checklist is moving forward quite nicely and I hope we shall continue our cooperation. Lastly, we also discussed the Iranian issue during our talks. Today, we have had close talks with our European colleagues. I just met with our Minister of Atomic Energy and he told me when he visited the United States he also actively participated in the discussion of this issue. I would like to thank you for such attention to the minister and this problem. I would like to remind you of my proposal. We need to develop a unified approach toward Iran that will unite the United States, Russia, and Europe. Only such an approach will make the Iranians fail to find a loophole in it. Next year, the G-8 summit will be held in the United States. During this Summit, we could discuss this unified approach that shall not allow Iran to develop any military nuclear program while leaving the nuclear market free for competition. That's all I wanted to tell you. (S)

The President: Thank you, Vladimir, for that comprehensive list. Thank you. On Iran, the message ought to be unified. They should not be allowed to develop a nuclear weapon. I think

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(it's a good idea to discuss it at the G-8. Secondly, in Georgia, thank you very much for your and Ivanov's work in ensuring there would be no bloodshed. We need to have non-corrupt free elections which would be helpful to you and the people of Georgia. That's a good idea on the OSCE. I'll talk to our people about that. Thank you for your offer to help in Iraq. Step one is to kill the bastards. Oh, I mean bring them to justice. That's what I mean. We are doing a pretty good job. (S)

President Putin: It's so good that you are going by yourself to Baghdad. (S)

The President: That sent a signal, which is the kind of thing you would do. (S)

President Putin: Especially for those military men who are risking their lives in Iraq. They now know that their Commander in Chief is truly with them. It shows strong character. (S)

The President: Thanks, Vladimir. It's the kind of thing you would do. (S)

(President Putin: Yes, I would probably act the same way. (S)

The President: Finally, in Iraq, the U.N. will be involved. The policy of my government is that we want them to be involved, but Kofi needs to assign a special emissary, a special representative. It's very important that we work on the checklist. Thanks for sending Chernov over here. Those are very important meetings. One thing that is a sensitive subject is the arrest of the businessman Khodorkovsky. That sent an interesting signal. People here in America know that we have good relations and that we are friends, so they ask me, "What is Vladimir up to?" I think it's very important that you send a signal that you respect the rule of law and the rules of the state. I very much would like to sit down and hear your strategy on this issue. It was a very interesting decision that you made. Now is not the time to discuss over the phone. We'll discuss it another time, but thank you for the call. It's been a good call and we should keep talking like this. I'm off to give a speech in Michigan today. It's always good to hear from you. You have interesting views of the world and you think things through in a clear way. (S)

(President Putin: Well, George, thank you for your comments. You shall not have any doubts that the rule of law will be

(respected in Russia. I spoke about this with Prime Minister Sharon when he visited Russia. He warned that I might have trouble with international Jewish organizations because Khodorkovsky is a Jew and they didn't like that he was arrested. But no one will be able to label me as an anti-Semite, as I grew up living next to neighbors that were Jews and we got along quite good. The President of Russia will respect the rule of law, and all else, regardless of their relations or background. I will respect the rule of law and they will do that. I also told Sharon, "You are a tough man mister Prime Minister. I may agree or disagree with your ways, but one thing is for sure, you will not allow anyone to blackmail you and I will not allow anyone to blackmail me either." So George, you shall not doubt that democracy and the rule of law will become stronger in Russia. But this also means that everyone shall observe the rule of law, and if he was a U.S. citizen, then he would have been in prison long ago. Once again, the rule of law and democracy will be protected in Russia. (S)

The President: Thanks again for the call. My best to Ludmilla and the girls. (U)

(President Putin: Thank you very much, George. My best wishes to your family as well, and have a good trip to Michigan. (U)

The President: Thank you very much, my friend. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, George. Good-bye. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Vladimir Putin of the
Russian Federation (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin
James A. Baker III

Notetakers: David M. Zimov, Jenna Galyean,
Jeff Blair, Craig Wieschhorster

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME December 10, 2003, 12:38 - 12:50 p.m., EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, good day. How are you, sir? (U)

President Putin: Good, George. How are you? (U)

The President: First, congratulations. I noticed that you had
a mighty victory in the Duma. You are a lot better politician
then you let on. (S)

President Putin: I am trying, George. (S)

The President: You are doing more than trying, you are
succeeding. Anyway, it was a great victory. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much, George. (S)

The President: Listen, very briefly, I am calling to ask you to
meet a very close friend of mine for a tete-a-tete, to have a
one-on-one meeting to discuss Iraq, to discuss the debt,
contracting and other issues, and that would be Mr. James Baker.
I would ask if you would be so kind as to meet him. As you
know, I am very close to James Baker, and I would ask that you
make time and that you see him alone. (S)

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Reason: 1.5(d)
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(President Putin: Thank you very much, George. Thank you for your call and for your congratulations on the election results from the Duma. Indeed, our position there has been strengthened. As a matter of fact, the pro-presidential circle has been preserved and even a bit strengthened. I am somewhat concerned about the so-called democratic forces in the Duma. They have not been able to be elected and they have pursued a so-called pro-West line. This gives me pause and some room for concern. As a matter of fact, the result with respect to the right-wing is that they have been victims of their own mistakes. In past elections, they narrowly managed to overcome the 5 percent barrier, and they crawled there with small resources. (C)

The President: Yes, yes. (U)

(President Putin: And further, they have a lot of personal ambitions, so they could not get united. I will tell you that one reason, the main reason, is they took a very opened, or very overt opportunity for cooperation with the West. In particular, I can say they tried to do their utmost in that direction. This undercut their position, and my position, too, in a way. On the other hand, this is a situation in which we will be able to structure a real multi-party system not only with competition between the parties, but as a real system to assess. (C)

The President: Yes. I see. (C)

President Putin: That would be composed of the left-center. You would call them the democratic center. Then there is the center-top providing a reorganization and reform, and the right-wing center, what you would call a radical-right, perhaps. I am very happy that Mr. Medvedev, our new head of Presidential Administration, and Condoleezza, have established relations already and will be meeting very soon. This is an encouraging fact. We want to hear more of what you have to say on the U.S. experience, and we want to establish a multi-party system. (C)

The President: Thank you, Vladimir. That's good news. (C)

(President Putin: As far as your request for James Baker, I will be pleased to see him and to have a one-on-one meeting with him. I have known him for some time, from when I was still in St. Petersburg. I met him there on a short trip. (C)

(The President: Listen, that's very kind. He is standing right here, and I would like for him to have a quick word with you. Before I hand over the phone to him, I wanted to wish you and Ludmila and the girls a Merry Christmas. I think you will find this conversation worthwhile. It will be an important one. (C)

President Putin: Thank you. You know, George, this is something that gives me great pleasure. You see, when I hear your voice it gladdens my heart to hear the vigor and force and persistence that I feel in what you say and how you say it. I am happy to see that you are in good shape. Have a Merry Christmas. (C)

The President: Thank you, Vladimir, and here is Jim Baker for a short word. (U)

Secretary Baker: Hello, Mr. President. How are you, sir? (U)

President Putin: I am happy to hear your voice, Mr. Secretary. Secretary of State, I believe this is the proper way to address you, given all of your great contributions to international affairs. I look forward to seeing you in Moscow. (C)

(Secretary Baker: Thank you very much, and I will look forward to that myself, hopefully next week. (C)

President Putin: Very good, agreed. (U)

Secretary Baker: Thank you, sir. Good-bye. (U)

President Putin: Thank you. Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NWW#78134 Date:
08-25-2025

0868

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Chris MacPherson, Laura Hart, and
Marko Broz

Interpreter: Thomas Graham

DATE, TIME February 6, 2004, 7:47 - 7:50 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Good day, George. (U)

The President: I am calling... I know you are busy and I know you are once again consoling your nation. I am calling to say, my friend, stay strong, and please extend our sympathies. We will continue to fight terror together. Please send the condolences of the American people to your people. On a personal note, I know this is a difficult time, but I know that you have the courage and strength to handle this situation. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much, George. Of course this is a very great tragedy. We will bury those who died today, but we will do all in our power to bury those who accomplished this. And I do thank you for your call. It is very important to me personally, but also very important to the Russian people. We will let the mass media know about this. (S)

The President: Thank you, sir. I know you need to get back to work. I wanted to let you hear the concern in my voice. We will talk in the near future on matters of mutual concern. Thank you for taking my call. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much, George. Next Monday, my Chief of Administration, Dmitri Medvedev, will come to Washington and meet with Condi Rice, and I think they will have a lot of things to discuss together. (S)

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Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 2/6/14

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The President: Yes, sir. Thank you. (U)

President Putin: All the best to your family. (U)

The President: Yes, sir. God bless you. (U)

President Putin: Thank you for your call and all of your support. (U)

The President: Yes, sir. (U)

President Putin: Good-bye. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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2554

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Vladimir Putin of
Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Jenna Galyean, Chris MacPherson,
Chico Negrón

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME: March 15, 2004, 7:30 - 7:38 a.m., EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Yes, the day after a great victory. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much. (U)

The President: I know you are glad to get the election over with, but obviously the people of Russia appreciate your leadership. Now that the elections are over, it gives us a great chance to continue to work together on our bilateral relationship. I know you've arranged your cabinet in a different way, but I've told my people to work with their counterparts. You will continue leading your country, strengthening your institutions of democracy, and I'm calling to congratulate you. The world watched this election very carefully; people are interested in what goes on. This is an opportunity to gain the confidence of the world and to display confidence in your institutions. I know you well, and this is a quick congratulatory call and to wish your family all the best. (U)

President Putin: First of all, George, thank you for the call. It was very important for me to talk to you today. This reaffirms the level of relations established between our countries and ourselves. I would like to stress as President of the Russian Federation, I will give special attention to the relations between our two countries. This is naturally one of my

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Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 4/14/14

priorities for the second term of my presidency and our advance towards the civilized and western countries is a strategic choice for my country. The Government of Russia takes the same position. On the cabinet, all people are experienced and mature and they all understand the great importance of our relationship and are prepared for cooperation. We also follow closely the Presidential campaign in the United States. You know that I am fully aware of the nuances in this campaign. My elections are over, and we are not going to interfere, but you must be aware that at any time, in any form, or if you need us to send any signals, we are ready to help. (S)

The President: Thank you, Vlad, thank you. (U)

President Putin: And I am telling you all that not only because of our good personal relations but also from a pragmatic approach to have good relations with someone you know rather than someone new. I am happy to hear from you and am aware that you will visit Normandy on the 60th anniversary of landing on the 6th of June. If I do not see you there, I hope to see you at the G-8 meeting in Georgia. (S)

The President: I definitely hope to see you at maybe both places. (U)

President Putin: But you know the attitude people have in St. Petersburg. They are very happy to meet you. (U)

The President: That would be great. Plus, I need some hints and advice on how to win an election. (S)

President Putin: I believe, knowing your nature and character, you don't need advice, but when you come here we can talk that over. (S)

The President: Listen, the people of Russia care for you and that is a great testimony for your leadership. (S)

President Putin: Thank you George, thank you for the kind words and thank you and your family. (U)

The President: All the best. Congratulations again. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NWW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

2459

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Vladimir Putin, Russia
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Vladimir Putin

Notetakers: Jenna Galyean, Chris Fatheree,
David Lee and Jeff Blair

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME: April 8, 2004, 7:40 - 7:59 a.m., CDT
AND PLACE: Crawford, Texas

The President: Hi, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Hi, George. (U)

The President: How are you, sir? (U)

President Putin: Great. I'm very glad to hear your voice. (U)

The President: Thank you for calling and for the contacts with Sergei and other members of your administration. Do you want me to start? (U)

President Putin: Please go ahead. I'm all ears. (U)

The President: I read what Sergei wrote in the Wall Street Journal about NATO expansion and NATO-Russian and U.S.-Russian relations. They were good points and I agreed with most of them. It was well thought out, well constructed, and I appreciated it. Obviously, a place where relations can be improved, aside from the economic front is the war on terror. Secondly, the other thing is Iraq. I really appreciate the messages we have been getting that there is a chance you could help. We are now facing a Shi'a hothead cleric, remnants of Saddam's regime, plus a couple of

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Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 4/9/14

al-Qaida in there, and it's tough fighting. We will take them down one by one. What I appreciated was other countries fear tough action, but you have sent a positive message. That is really what I had on my mind. (C)

President Putin: Thank you, George, for the call. This is exactly the time where we should not lose sight of each other, especially at a time in the world when uneasy things are emerging. I have just had a meeting with the new Secretary General of NATO in Moscow. We had a good conversation and from my perspective it was very productive. I am aware of the fact that at the moment you are involved in Iraqi developments. We are following this closely too. It is a very uneasy day for you as Ms. Rice is speaking before Congress. (C)

The President: She will do a great job. (U)

President Putin: I would think so. I am aware of the way the previous Administration dealt with fighting terror versus what your administration is doing along those lines. I do have my own view of these things, but I will not dwell on them. I'm confident Ms. Rice is going to do fine. As regards the situation in Iraq, you know on several occasions I reminded you of the possibility of an exacerbation of the situation in Iraq in relation to the Shiites. About a year ago, I mentioned this to Tony Blair. I recall him saying that Iranian Shiites and Iraqi Shiites are two different things. I responded that you are right and have a long-term record of colonial experience, but I have deep concerns. I mentioned the same thing to your Secretary of State recently. Now from what we have witnessed and seen on the ground, I understand it full well. Incidentally, I met with Schroeder and Chirac, and even if they don't have a common position with you on Iraq, they seek to work jointly with all parties involved to resolve the problems. Yesterday, I had a phone call with Aznar. I mentioned to him, and on TV publicly explained, that what happened in Spain set a bad political precedent. Even if we had a different view of Iraq 18 months ago, the fact that terrorists have attained a political goal by resorting to terror, that is horrendous. I think it's important to shore up Aznar. I have invited him to come Russia, and he will likely come to St. Petersburg in June. I would also like to bring your attention to the state of affairs in Kosovo. On this point I will not expand, but we should pay close attention to this matter. Thank you for your message on Afghanistan as the central Asian region is adjacent to this area and serious acts of terrorism have been perpetuated in Uzbekistan. I think in this regard it is important to support the leaders of that area. At the same time, I would like to inform you

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confidentially about a conversation I had with the President of Kazakhstan. He asserted to me that allegedly in the U.S. there are investigations of criminal cases and some are linking his name to those cases. That could shake his position, and he is concerned. Also, I expect Ms. Rice to visit us in Moscow this month. There is agreement for a meeting with my chief of administration, Mr. Medvedev. My new Minister of Foreign Affairs Lavrov will be in Washington on May 14. The Foreign Ministers will help us prepare for the upcoming G-8 meeting at Sea Island. I have observed how pressure has been applied to you, and has been increased, so I'm glad to hear your voice is strong and confident.

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The President: Thank you, Vladimir. One reason why I appreciate my friends. Even though we have differences of opinion sometimes, I am strengthened by good, honest friends who are sympathetic. I view you as a friend and I thank you very much. To the extent that we can work together in Iraq or fighting terrorism, it's important that we do so. In my judgment, our relationship is very good. There are more relationships between U.S. companies and Russia than ever before. Obviously, the way you have handled U.S. relations hasn't hurt you. At home they respect you and support you. Some are suspicious of U.S. motives and we have to help work through those so that people understand our desire for new relationships in such a way that strengthens both societies, not just one or the other. The other thing is the tougher the situation gets, I am the kind of guy who rises to the challenge. A lot of what you are reading here in America is pure politics. I'm looking forward to the battle. I appreciate it very much. (S)

President Putin: Thank you, George. I am very happy to have this contact and to be in touch. Things are becoming more difficult, but I'm sure you will succeed. (S)

The President: Yes, sir. (U)

President Putin: I'm looking forward to seeing you soon. All the best to Laura and your family. (U)

The President: Same to you. (U)

President Putin: Good-bye. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

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-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Vladimir Putin of
Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: David M. Zimov, Laura Hart, and
Ed Chabot

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME May 28, 2004, 7:41 - 7:59 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hi, Vladimir. Good day. How are you doing?
(U)

President Putin: Everything is fine, and I am glad to hear you.
(U)

The President: Thank you for taking my call. A couple of
points I want to make. First, I know Condi came to see you and
I want to thank you for your grand hospitality. You made her
feel like a queen. (S)

President Putin: Well, this is the way she looks and this is
what she is. (S)

The President: Very good. Very good English, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Thank you. (U)

The President: The second thing is Deputy National Security
Advisor Hadley reported back to me that he had very good
meetings with Ivanov and others in Moscow. It sounds to me like
we have a chance to work closely together to get a good United
Nations Security Council resolution on Iraq; one that receives

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(full sovereignty, allows the Iraqis to run their own affairs and one that says the international community is willing to support the aspirations of the Iraqi people, so long as they want that support. I think this is an important moment, Vladimir, to show that you and I and the Russian and American people can put our past differences behind us and show that we can work together for the common good. And along those lines, we heard your people's worries and concerns, or suggestions, on the resolution and we have taken them into account. My concern is that like any bureaucracy, I give a message to a world leader such as yourself and my people translate it improperly. That is why it is important for you and I to have this dialogue and to communicate to our people, so that the world understands we are working together and not apart. (S)

(Finally, I do believe that when we transfer full sovereignty, and I do mean full sovereignty, that it is the Iraqi people and the Iraqi leaders and Mr. Brahimi of the United Nations, who is deciding shortly on who will assume full responsibility. But they also realize they will need the help of Russia and the United States and the United Nations and other powers to help them get to elections. We are prepared to give that help and I know you are as well. I also want to tell you how sorry I am that some of your contractors were hurt and killed. We have lost people too, but when all is said and done Iraq will be an example and symbol and a model of a prosperous country in a region where terrorism has to be fought. This will serve as a signal to fight off the terrorism that emanates from that part of world. So I want to thank you for your help, and I look forward to seeing you in Europe as well as in Sea Island, Georgia. We will have a wonderful time there, and I think you will find the location to be relaxing. (S)

(President Putin: Thank you, George, I was glad to hear you. And I am looking very much forward to our meeting in Normandy and then in Sea Island, and I believe we will be able to talk in detail on all these matters at hand. We always speak of the Iraq resolution. You must recollect that I put this question to you in the winter when I called you from Siberia, and I told you it was probably worth thinking about a new resolution. But, you should know that it is not just a matter of the bureaucracies we have, and I was talking about it with Condi when she was visiting with us. The thing is, different American agencies are whirling amongst themselves and leaving no room for dialogue. That is why our diplomats and our bureaucrats, when they see no opportunity to discuss a document or a draft and are only given an opportunity to accept a final document that has been prepared

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(previously, feel grumpy and disappointed. But, I assure you we will manage to overcome it. Bureaucratic ambitions are not the most important thing, and they can be overcome. (S)

But, we need to look at the essence, since we understand that this is a joint resolution between the United States and the United Kingdom. Thus, we need to understand the differences in the American and the British approaches. The thing is, for instance, our mutual friend Tony Blair, during his press conference in London, said that after June 30, Iraq will receive full sovereignty, and he said that this was a coordinated position between the United Kingdom and the United States. In his words, he said that the opinion of the Iraqi government will be taken into consideration, but that for security matters or military operations the approval of the Iraqi government will be needed. This needs to be understood properly and we need to see where this is written down. The security matter is definitely of significant importance, but I believe the question of control over the natural resources will be raised. The principal matter is the mandate of multinational forces during the transition period. But, let the diplomats resolve this amongst themselves. (S)

(I would like to tell you the following on my own behalf. I would like to say that I would like your Administration in this complex period to have America to come with decency out of this situation. We will not be blocking anything, and I have already told this to our European partners. We will vote for the resolution if we are satisfied that it will improve the situation. I want this to happen. I believe that we have to show to the Iraqis and everyone involved that we managed to take their interests into account; then we will manage to resolve the situation. But in any case, we will not be putting any obstacles in your way. President Mubarak of Egypt is now visiting me, and he asked me to convey his best wishes to you. During the press conference that just has taken place, I said that you and I planned to talk about Iraq, and that we would work together on this. (S)

(The President: Thank you very much. Listen, Vladimir, I appreciate your friendship, and I just want you to know that my mission is to have the United States and Russia together on this. Thank you for your statements on this. I will tell our bureaucrats, as you will tell your bureaucrats. The important thing to say is that we put our differences behind us on this and work together for the common good. I appreciate your friendship and I know we can work together very well. (S)

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President Putin: Thank you, George. Thank you. I believe exactly that in this spirit we will continue to work on this very important and very significant task. Thank you for this call and please convey my best wishes to your family and to your loved ones. I believe we will do everything necessary to resolve this situation. (S)

The President: Thank you, friend, and I'll see you soon. (U)

President Putin: See you soon, George. (U)

The President: Bye. (U)

President Putin: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko
Notetakers: Chris MacPherson, Tim Cronin,
and Noelle Neimer

DATE, TIME: August 23, 2004, 8:46 - 9:02 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Crawford, TX

The President: Hello? (U)

President Putin: Hello, President Bush. (U)

The President: Is Vladimir on? (U)

President Putin: Hello. (U)

The President: Hey, Vladimir. How are you? (U)

President Putin: Thank you, George. How are you? I am fine.
(U)

The President: Well, your English is very good. (U)

President Putin: You are very kind to me. (U)

The President: Listen I am calling because I haven't heard your
voice in a while. I am out here at the ranch, and I thought I
would call and see how you are doing? (U)

President Putin: Yes. I am very happy to hear your voice and
agree we have not talked in a while. (U)

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Reason: 1.4(d)

Declassify on: 8/23/14

NW#:78134 DocId:34685332

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The President: Well, I appreciate you taking my call. On a personal note, all is going well on the campaign, and I hope you and I will work together for another 4 years. (U)

President Putin: Me, too. (U)

The President: Good. Secondly, I have a couple points on my mind. On the Iranians, I want to thank you very much for keeping the pressure on them. It is important that we continue to work together on a plan that will not allow them to produce a nuclear weapon. (S)

President Putin: We will proceed that way, yes. (S)

The President: I appreciate that a lot. If we can speak with the same voice it sends a clear message to the Mullahs. (S)

President Putin: Mr. Chirac and Mr. Schroeder will be visiting with me very shortly and I will be sure to raise this issue with them. (S)

The President: Oh, good. Give them my best. (S)

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President Putin: I will. (S)

The President: Thanks. And Iraq is tough, but we are making progress. Slowly but surely things are changing. We're losing troops, but they are losing more. And this guy Allawi is a good, strong leader, just like you. You would like him. A government evolving that would be an ally in the war on terror would be helpful. (S)

President Putin: All right. Hello? (U)

The President: Yeah, Vladimir? Anyway, we were just calling and appreciate your work in Afghanistan. We need to make sure the Karzai government gets the support they need. I am concerned about the opium crop and the heroin crop. I know our aides are talking and you are concerned about it and so am I. (S)

President Putin: Hello? George, if you are finished I would like to say a couple words, too. (S)

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The President: Please, of course. Thank you. (U)

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President Putin: First I have no doubt about your future success at the election. Therefore, taking this opportunity, I would like to invite you to visit us for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the victory in World War II on May 9th. (S)

The President: Thank you, I like an optimist. (S)

President Putin: As I understand it, you accept the invitation. Right? (S)

The President: Right. (U)

President Putin: I certainly am aware that the pre-election situation is not easy. In fact, you are in for quite a struggle including the television debates with Kerry. But given your vision of the world and your understanding, you will be successful, and I wish you all the best. (S)

The President: Well, thank you. (U)

President Putin: We certainly are following very carefully the developments in Iraq and are very sympathetic to the people over there. And despite existing problems and the initial differences in our positions, I believe at this time that many people have come to understand what is really happening, in particular what is happening in Chechnya, and understand the danger and the overall threat of terrorists. And they also understand what kind of people they have to deal with, kind of blood thirsty and anguished people, that is understandable. (S)

The President: Yeah. (U)

President Putin: So we will be trying to exert every kind of assistance to the people, also in light of the forthcoming elections. I believe that the meeting last week between Secretary Rumsfeld and Minister Ivanov in Petersburg went very well. Rumsfeld informed Ivanov about the proposal to relocate a variety of U.S. bases in Europe. We appreciate this information, and we believe that it is important to avoid misunderstanding about the situation. Another problem that has been of some concern to us are the activities by the new authorities in Georgia in the zone of conflict in South Ossetia. But I think that situation has become better. The Georgians have started to retreat out of the conflict zone. You know, Condi talked to Medvedev and Mr. Evans talked to our Economic Minister (Gref) recently. I believe that a working group composed of our energy ministers is a good idea and would

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(provide a positive impetus and give the right direction to the world in the economic area. At that meeting I think we could announce an increase in our oil production. And we have recently been increasing the oil production and exports. And, since the market is psychological in nature, such messages in the world would be good. I agree with your assessment of the situation in Afghanistan, and we would like to see to it that the elections proceed as we want, normally. I hope your home situation is quite good, and I would like you to give my best to your wife and daughters. Thanks again for your call, and if you hadn't called, I would have called because the pause in our conversation has been long, and I wanted to talk to you. Here in Sochi, I am spending what I would call a quasi vacation. Your Dad and Mom were here last year, and I hope we have a chance to meet here again. If you want to compare notes, call me or I'll call you. (S)

The President: Great. I love to talk to you. And you are right, there is no such thing as a vacation for people like us. It is always a quasi vacation. Give my best to your girls and your wife. Thank you for taking my call. (U)

(President Putin: Thank you very, very much, George. Well, I am sending you a bear hug at this point, and I certainly understand what you are going through at a difficult period with Iraq. But I am sure you will deal with that. I still think you will prevail. (S)

The President: Thank you, my friend. (U)

President Putin: All the best. (U)

The President: All the best to you, Sir. (U)

President Putin: Bye, bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

6539

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Yuri Shkeyrov
Notetakers: Chris MacPherson, Tim Cronin
and Jeff Blair

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: September 01, 2004, 2:51 - 2:55 p.m., EDT
The Residence

The President: Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Hello George. (U)

The President: I am calling to offer deepest condolences for the loss of life in your country. These are trying times and I wanted to let you know that I am thinking about you. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much, George, for this phone call. It is true that Russia is passing through difficult times. We are under attack on many sides by these terrorists and the responsibility for the 2 attacks on the aircraft was by the terrorist organization which was put on the list by your State Department. And what is currently happening in North Ossetia where terrorists have seized a school where children are at stake goes beyond my understanding and not even a beast would do that. This goes beyond any religion and reminds me of religious fascists, but we are fully determined to bring the matter to the end and we will fight them. Thank you very much for this sign of sympathy and solidarity. And, in spite of the fact that we are passing through trying times, I want to wish you success at your convention. Laura made a great presentation along with your daughters. (S)

The President: Thank you very much. This is not the first time we have done this kind of phone call and it probably won't be.

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Reason: 1.4(d)
Declassify on: 9/9/14

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(the last. We stand shoulder to shoulder with you in this fight. We sympathize with you, and we will strategize with you. I assure you we will defeat these terrorists. You and I share the same goal. I will see Laura in one hour and I will tell her that the first world leader to congratulate her on a good speech was you and that will make her feel great. (S)

President Putin: That was really a good presentation and she behaved very well and presented herself very well. (S)

The President: Thank you very much. Unfortunately, she probably presented herself better than I will present myself. (U)

President Putin: We shall see. We will be on your side. (S)

The President: Thank you, sir. Thank you for taking my call. Be strong like I know you will be. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, George. And thank you for calling. (U)

(The President: All the best. (U)

President Putin: All the best. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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7033

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with
President Vladimir Putin of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Yuri Shkeyrov
Notetaker: Jared Thomas, Renata Serafin,
Noelle Neimer, and Jeff Blair

DATE, TIME September 23, 2004, 2:49 - 3:07 p.m., EDT
AND PLACE:

The President: Vladimir, how are you? (U)

President Putin: Hello, George. (U)

The President: How are you doing, Vladimir? (U)

President Putin: My welcome to you George. I'm glad you
responded to my call. (U)

The President: Anytime, anytime. (U)

President Putin: I would like to express my gratitude to you
for making your unusual step for American diplomacy: Your visit
to our Embassy in Washington. We here, not only the leadership
but the entire country, paid attention to that visit. Thank you
very much for that. The last time I spoke to you was on the eve
of the Republican convention and I'm glad that the convention
supported your ideas. We analyzed your address to the U.N. and
we agree with the dominant aspects of your report. You said all
civilized countries should make war against terrorism and that
is important. It will increase our interaction and strengthen
our forces. As to Russian democracy, the rumors of its death
have been greatly exaggerated by your advisors. We will not
only act within the letter of our constitution, but also in its
spirit. We are facing a serious challenge, and we will

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strengthen the state and society. I also have a practical matter, it concerns our interactions on the framework of nonproliferation. As far as I know in Washington these days, you've signed a joint memorandum regarding the strategic cooperation with India. This memorandum states directly about the possibility of delivering nuclear material to India. India is a great country and our partner in many respects and we support that measure. We support the development and the relationship with that country. I think that the tools of nonproliferation should not be used in competition and I think that I would like our experts to meet each other and discuss these problems. It is more important that we should reach a common understanding regarding Iran, and, as I understand the developments, the situation in that country is not moving in a better direction. I would not like to take more of your time, I simply wanted to thank you for visiting our Embassy in Washington and congratulate you on your victory at the Republican convention, that's all. (S)

The President: Thank you very much, Vladimir. It is nice to hear your voice. Just a couple of points. One, we will work in a peaceful way with India. We don't want to upset the balance of power between India and Pakistan. They are both our friends. All will be done in the framework of the international treaties that we signed with India on proliferation. Secondly, I do very much appreciate your sober and realistic view of Iran. I think it is very important that you and I continue to work together on this very important issue. Thirdly, I very much appreciate your statement that democracy is living in Russia. It is very important for me and the world to hear that you and I have had long discussions on this matter and as you embrace democracy, you will find it easier to gain the confidence of countries to your West. Two other points: Allawi, Prime Minister Allawi, was in my office today and he said he was going to meet you very soon and that he was very excited to meet you. I told him he was going to meet a good man in Vladimir Putin. I am not sure if he would meet you personally or talk to you, but I would be interested in knowing what you think of the man. Finally, it was my honor to go to the Embassy. I am glad that the people of Russia got to hear my deep concerns and condolences. These terrorists are cold-blooded killers and what they did to those children was terrible. I thank you for your friendship and give my best to your family. Hello? (S)

(Line dropped at 3:01 p.m. EDT. Re-established at 3:03 p.m. EDT.)

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The President: Vladimir. Good, thank you very much. Just a couple of quick points. One, I heard you on India. Two, Iran, thank you for working on Iran. Three, thank you for your statement on democracy. Four, I understand you are going to talk to Allawi. I saw him today and he is a good man, a strong man. Finally, thank you for your leadership on Beslan, it was my honor to go to your Embassy. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much, George. I would like to express my condolences on the killing of the two American hostages in Iraq. (S)

The President: Thank you very much. (U)

President Putin: I understand this is bad not just for the families but also for you on the eve of your elections. I wish you to be strong and courageous. (S)

The President: I really was happy to talk to you and we have just five weeks until the election is over. After the election is over I will be able to relax and talk to you more. In the meantime, give all my best to your family. (S)

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President Putin: Give my best to your family and Laura. (U)

The President: Okay, goodbye. Thank you, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Goodbye, George. Thank you, all the best.
(U)

-- End of Conversation --

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7794

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Virginia Pierson, Jeff Blair,
Duncan Walker, and Noelle Neimer

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME: November 4, 2004, 8:33 - 8:40 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Hi, George. I am very happy to hear your voice. (U)

The President: Thank you for your very strong post election comments. Laura and I noticed you were one of the first world leaders to speak and I wanted to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your comments. (S)

President Putin: George, I will be honest with you. I wanted very much to congratulate you through this telephone call and I am thankful to you for giving me this ring. This is a very gracious gesture on behalf of the winner. You know, we have a saying you will agree with: defeat is always a lonely orphan, but victory has many fathers. (S)

The President: Yes, sir. (U)

President Putin: But first and foremost, this is your victory, your personal success. And above all this is about your character, your ability to take responsibility on your shoulders. Silvio Berlusconi visited with me yesterday, and he did not have a wink of sleep the whole night. He was following

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closely the elections.

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Indeed, I am very happy to hear about your victory. And over these past days the emergence on television of that bastard, bin-Laden, was something special. We all must understand clearly those people who would waste other people, have no mercy for them, and under the guise of democracy eliminate this very democracy. I am confident your victory is about victory and stability not only for America but for the entire world with regard to preserving security. So I congratulate you both on the whole electoral campaign you have been running successfully but especially over the last few weeks when I saw you. You looked perfect, had real drive, and you are a real fighter. I would like to send my best regards to Laura and to your daughters and I will meet you shortly at the Chile summit. (S)

The President: Yes, sir. I will see you there. Thanks for your friendship and your strong comments. I will see you in Santiago. (S)

President Putin: My embraces to you. All the best to you. (U)

The President: Thank you, my friend. We will see you soon.
(U)

President Putin: See you soon. Bye bye. (U)

The President: Bye bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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4301

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Vladimir Putin of
Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Notetakers: Jane Lee, Jared Thomas, and Tess
Moore

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

DATE, TIME June 15, 2005, 7:49 - 8:04 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, how are you today? (U)

President Putin: Fine. How are you, George? (U)

The President: Your English is very good and getting better.
(U)

President Putin: Thank you for the opportunity to talk.
Once again, I want to recall your visit to Moscow on the 60th
anniversary of our victory and thank you for the visit to Moscow.
Our contacts have continued at all levels, including the top
levels. Ivanov is in Washington conducting his talks with
Mr. Hadley. A couple of your Secretaries have visited Moscow.
And Mr. Rumsfeld has recently met his counterpart in Brussels.
So what I would like to discuss with you is an item pertaining to
the draft resolution which might be put to a vote in the General
Assembly with regard to the future of the organization.
Yesterday I had a talk with the Japanese Prime Minister.
He visited me yesterday in St. Petersburg and told me the
Japanese are quite concerned about this vote. Today, I will be
called by President Chirac. A couple of days ago Schroeder
called me on the same issue, and the day before yesterday I had a
talk with Mr. Blair. Though I should tell you Russia will accept
any scenario for enlargement in case maximum support is provided

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by the organization, what we want to underscore is that the Security Council should be compact and secure and viable. I would like to hear your views on that. Though I believe that, when discussing such an important problem, we should talk about the viability and ability to work of the Security Council and the organization in general, I would like to hear your views on this matter. (S)

The President: First of all, thank you for calling. It is important to talk about issues like this where we have a common interest. Before I give you my opinion, probably within the next 3 weeks, a little special gift from me will be arriving in Moscow. I'll make sure the White House notifies the Kremlin when we put it in the mail because I want to make sure you get it. I'm not going to tell you what it is, but it came from Texas. On the United Nations Security Council reform, like you, we are getting a lot of pressure. There are a lot of cross currents. Each country has an opinion, and there is no consensus. And that troubles me because the UN Security Council reform should not be a major international political battle. And like you, I would very much appreciate the principles you enunciated about a viable UN Security Council. And it seems like to me the best course of action is to adhere to important principles about what the UN Security Council should look like and how it should act before we take a specific position on the composition of the Security Council. In other words, rather than rush to a vote that will fail, we should set up the principles first before picking individual countries. My predecessor and I have both said Japan, paying the bills, should have a seat, but other than that I have been very guarded about the U.S. position. Our position right now is that the UN should focus on broader reform, articulate principles on UN Security Council reform, but not force a vote now or in September because there is no easy, simple, or logical way forward yet without creating a major political battle. Between you and me, the way we stand right now, let's debate the principle in September and give more time for the world to digest the complications of UN Security Council reform. (S)

President Putin: I believe that is a balanced and truly professional way to approach the problem. Even today, when we only have five members with a veto right, we don't agree on each and every issue, because later when they turn into 11 and further into 25, I'm afraid everything might cease to exist. And why, for instance, should we be forgetting about Italy or Pakistan? I can understand their position as well. In our view, Japan, India, and Germany in their future influence could be permanent members. But I truly share your approach that we have to understand the principles and only then continue. Based on this approach, I will formulate my instructions to the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs, and I believe the ministers should keep in touch with their channels as well. (U)

The President: I want to thank you for the call. It's the right approach to deal with these issues. I wish I would have thought of it. (U)

President Putin: Hugs to you and best regards to your spouse and your children. Your father recently visited Moscow, and we enjoyed some tea together, and I wanted to convey something on the Olympics to you. (U)

The President: Please. (U)

President Putin: I said that if New York fails as a candidate, we ask you to extend your support to Moscow. And we would be prepared to extend our support to New York if Moscow fails to pass through the procedure. (U)

The President: I'll pass that on to my friend on the Olympic Committee. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much, and very best to you. (U)

The President: Listen, two things. Thank you for receiving my dad. I know you changed your schedule to receive him, and that was most gracious of you. And finally, before we hang up, there was a fantastic picture of you and Tony walking at your beautiful house, and behind you was your dog, and Barney was somewhat jealous. Thank you, my friend. Good talking to you. (U)

President Putin: Hugs once again, and all the best to you. (U)

The President: All right, thank you. (U)

President Putin: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

8851

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia (C)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko
Notetaker: Dave Waldman, Carmen DeGeorge,
and Cristina Fekkes

DATE, TIME December 23, 2005, 7:40 - 7:51 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Camp David

The President: Hey, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Hi, George. Nice to hear from you. (U)

The President: I was just calling to wish you and your family a Merry Christmas. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much. (U)

The President: I hope you are doing well. (U)

President Putin: Yes, thank you. Everything is okay here. We know you are having Christmas tomorrow. I wish you, Laura, and the girls a Merry Christmas. (U)

The President: We are here at Camp David; Laura and the girls and my father. I will tell him you and I talked and had a good conversation. (U)

President Putin: Best wishes to him as well, as well as to your mother. I remember his visit and meeting with him, and am grateful for the time he spent with me. (U)

The President: He remembers them as well. He is grateful for the time you gave him. (U)

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President Putin: Yes, everything is okay here. I am watching the U.S. Congress closely and seeing you are having a hard time. I hope that all goes well for you in the years to come. (S)

The President: Yes, everything is okay. We had a better day in Congress yesterday, and we have one thing to continue to work on. You know Congress -- they think they can be President, and I won't let them be President. (S)

President Putin: Right, it looks like we have the same situation here. (S)

The President:

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He also mentioned your concerns over WTO. We're not playing politics with this, and I told that to Rob Portman. We want the WTO to go forward. I know you are tired of me saying this, but I hope to cut a deal to get this done. My commitment is to continue working with you to get this done. We need to give Portman and Gref enough leeway to get this done. Don said you were frustrated with this, but we are interested in getting this thing done. (S)

President Putin: I am very glad to hear that.

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b(6) As far as WTO is concerned, we do have concerns. We have come very close to the lines that are difficult to cross. Domestically, it turns out to be difficult to explain to the public that we have an agreement with meat, yet it does not bring us any closer to the WTO. We have supported everything Boeing has asked us to do. We cut tariffs by 40 percent on short- and medium-haul planes, and we have agreed to reduce by three times the tariffs on long-haul planes. We are looking at eliminating the VAT on leasing. So I think this issue is closed. On the WTO, you're asking us to do something we cannot do. Technical negotiations are no longer necessary. Unless there is goodwill, we will not be able to enter the WTO. On the banking issue, we have the U.S. banking community on our side. They do understand us. As far as the other countries that have agreed to open up to branching, Saudi Arabia and China, they won't actually do it. Why should we deceive each other? We are talking pre-Christmas, I don't want to overload you with many issues. We have to step away from these problems; we will have

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more time to talk about this later. I am very grateful you have called. (S)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: I am going to St. Petersburg to celebrate the New Year. We'll enjoy the holidays. (U)

The President: Especially the blinis and caviar. (U)

President Putin: Another issue is Iran. Sergey Ivanov called Condoleezza Rice, and we have decided to toughen our position on fuel supplies until they give us a response to enriching fuel in our country. We will maintain contact with you on this. (S)

The President: That's very important. All right, buddy, give Lyudmila and the girls our best. (U)

President Putin: And to you and your family from me and my family. (U)

President Putin: All the best. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia (S)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko
Notetakers: Ed Chabot, Carmen DeGeorge, and
Michael Chapman

DATE, TIME February 1, 2006, 7:28 - 7:45 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Hi, George. Nice to hear from you. (U)

The President: Vladimir. Listen, I'm calling because I'm upset. You set a terrible precedent for the rest of us world leaders by answering questions for 3 hours. I don't think I can stand on my feet that long. (S)

President Putin: Luckily, I wasn't standing. You yourself have made another record high which is much more important. We were watching the speech you made. I'm not talking about the contents. Each and every minute of your speech was interrupted by applause. (S)

The President: Thanks, I took a lesson from you. (U)

President Putin: I'm very pleased to hear your voice. (U)

The President: Listen, I'm calling you about Iran. I want to thank you for your leadership on this issue. Lavrov has consulted with Condi. This is an issue where Russia will play a pivotal role in solving this problem. One, your proposal on providing Iranians with enriched uranium instead of giving them the know-how to do it themselves was very important. Two,

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I strongly support it, and the world will see how strategic that decision was. I think, as the world begins to realize your leadership on this, it will be very important. So, I'm calling to thank you. As we come to decision-making points, feel free to call or visit. This is an issue that we must work closely on. Finally, just to let you know, J.D. Crouch is coming to continue our strategic dialogue. J.D. Crouch, not Hadley. That is important as well. (S)

President Putin: Well, I understood that. I will provide him with all the necessary contacts. Speaking about our proposal with Iran, the Iranians understand the essence of the proposal and tried to avoid it. I recently visited Kazakhstan for the celebrations surrounding the reelection of President Nazarbayev. The Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs was present, and he requested to meet with me. We refused. He managed to grab my hand as we were leaving the building. When I said they brushed our proposal off, he said they were studying the proposal. But, at the same time, our contacts showed that this is another trick to evade our measure. Nevertheless, we will continue these efforts. In the near future, Lavrov will meet with Condoleezza Rice. He will be ready to exchange new information regarding Iran. On January 24th, the Secretary of Iran's National Security Council Larijani visited Moscow. He also requested a meeting with me. I declined because it's not appropriate. Also, I would like to extend my gratitude for the flexibility of your American colleagues regarding the Iranian matter. I hope, and I am convinced, that we will continue to work together on this issue.

Today, Boris Yeltsin is celebrating his 75th birthday. If you don't mind, I will offer your congratulations. (S)

The President: Please do it. (S)

President Putin: He invited his colleagues with whom he worked with from Germany, and President Clinton from the United States. I would like to tell you that I will definitely see President Clinton. We will also talk with Berlusconi today. We will pass on your regards. I had a meeting yesterday with an Italian priest. I asked him to deliver to Berlusconi an ancient Russian icon.

I have a question about the WTO accession. Yesterday, I had to say the United States is the last block to Russia's joining the WTO, and that the only person who wants that is my good friend, President Bush. (S)

The President: Let me check on that and find out where we are. Portman and Gref have seen each other. I don't know the status, so I'll check on it. (S)

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President Putin: Well, when they met here, they insisted that you were pressing them. (S)

The President: Let me check. Thank you for that. (S)

President Putin: The Secretary of the Treasury from the United States is coming. (S)

The President: Don't worry about President Clinton, he's my father's new best friend. (U)

President Putin: I can see that on television.

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The President:

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President Putin: Hugs and all the best. (U)

The President: All right Vladimir, talk to you later. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (S)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: Tim Cronin, Belinda Jackson,
Susan Brockhaus, and
Jon Rohmiller

DATE, TIME March 4, 2006, 1:23 - 1:40 p.m. EST
AND PLACE: Air Force One

The President: Hey Vladimir (U)

President Putin: Good to hear you. Hello. I followed very closely your movements around the globe from Afghanistan to Pakistan. I am trying to follow closely your movements. You made a roar in Afghanistan. Sir, as I reckon you are making war with the Taliban in Afghanistan. (S)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: I would like to inform you about our meeting with the Iranians. Now, as far as Hamas is concerned, as you know Mr. President, we met them here in Moscow. At the meeting, we had representatives in the foreign arm and the Palestinian territories represented. As a foundation for negotiations we insisted on the Quartet rules. I must say that we did not note any tough, immovable position on the part of the Hamas representatives. Now it's also understandable that they are just getting comfortable on accepting new power. What would I say as far as some of the principal positions? They are ready to accept Abbas as the leader of the autonomy there, and give him the right to determine foreign policy. And they fully feel that it's possible to expect that Israel will perform in an analogously similar fashion. What I noticed very interestingly is that they do not resist using the Roadmap in future progress in their region. And they also note that Israel should follow the Roadmap very scrupulously and not insist on the addition of

10, 15, and 20 additional changes which would make this Roadmap useless. I consider this substantially important, because this in fact can be interpreted to signal a first sign of recognition of Israel. Of course, immediate direct recognition of Israel would be impossible and problematic at this stage of the game because they are just starting out. (X)

Now as far as international donor assistance is concerned, I notice that they are fully ready to exercise transparency, openness, anything necessary to garner assistance, including the establishment of regional or international control mechanisms to oversee this assessment. In general, overall I think these contacts were useful. And I think that if we use the Quartet framework we might expect some successes in getting some progress in certain areas in one way or another. I would like to call Olmert in Israel tomorrow and inform him about this as well. You know I really think that as far as the Palestinian Authority is concerned, we ought not block assistance for them, because they are going to get assistance from other sources that you and I might not find appropriate or acceptable. (X)

Now as far as Iran is concerned, we held a series of consultations with the Iranians before they flew off to Vienna. We proceeded from several important premises and here they are as follows. First of all, they must return to the positions contained in the additional protocol. Second, they must not hold back for 2 or 3 years and they must immediately take this protocol to their parliament and have it ratified. Third, we talked about the establishment of a joint enterprise on the territory of Russia for the pursuit of enriching uranium. The most difficult thing would be how to deal with their intention to talk themselves into a position where they would have the right to carry out nuclear research on their own territory, just the research part. To this we responded to them as follows. We told them that they have to hold meetings and consultations with the IAEA and only to ask whether or not its feasible to do research on their own territory. We are not going to discuss this issue with them. After they went to Vienna and held a series of useless talks that never led to anything, especially with the trio in Vienna, they surprisingly and without informing us flew back to Moscow instead of flying home to Iran. So Igor Ivanov is now holding consultations with them. And as far as we can see they do not have a unified position because various teams of negotiators on our side got different kinds of answers and different positions, so they don't have a unified position. But those negotiators that came to Moscow appear to be looking for a way out of the situation. If there is anything new or

(interesting, we will inform you right away. And our deputy foreign minister is now in Vienna and talking to negotiators in Vienna to see what he can find out. And Minister Lavrov will be coming to Washington soon and he will brief me. (S)

The President: First, thank you very much for the briefing. Secondly, I'm going to see Lavrov on Tuesday. The Roadmap says that the Palestinians, whoever they are, must recognize Israel, renounce terror, and disband militias. The Quartet statements say that. Hopefully that's what Hamas will do. My only other point is that on Iran, it's very dangerous if they do research. I'm very worried about that because research means they could develop a clandestine nuclear operation. We'll talk to Lavrov about it but it makes me very nervous. One thing is for certain, you are in the middle of a lot of action. (S)

President Putin: Yes, you should stop by. You are flying by anyway, we could have a Coca-Cola, or a cup of tea. (U)

The President: I'll be over there soon. I have to go home and see Barney. (U)

President Putin: My best regards. Say hi to everybody and have a nice, safe trip. (U)

(The President: Alright Vladimir, thank you very much for calling. You're very kind to think of me. (U)

President Putin: Bye Mr. President. All the best. (U)

The President: Goodbye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

3341

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President. Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko
Notetakers: Jennifer Lyon, Deanna Kim, and
Diana Schmidt

DATE, TIME: May 30, 2006, 7:22 - 7:49 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

President Putin: Hello. How is the weather in Washington? (U)

The President: The weather in Washington is hot. So is the politics. (U)

President Putin: It is better here. In Sochi, we only have plus 70 degrees Fahrenheit, or plus 30 degrees Celsius. (U)

The President: It's going to be nice and cool when we get to St. Petersburg. (U)

President Putin: I am looking forward to that meeting, and I would like to see you as soon as possible there. Igor Ivanov just returned from Tehran. He is in my office now, and I asked him to brief me on the results of the trip. I will listen first to what you have to say, and then I will tell you what I think of what he told me. (U)

The President: Igor has been in touch with Steve Hadley. We have been listening very carefully to what Igor has suggested about how to move the process forward. Like I told you, I have told Igor that we would like to solve this thing through diplomacy. My judgment is in order to do this, Russia and the U.S., as well as the EU, must be on the same page. I do not think diplomacy can work with the EU-3 without the U.S. and the Russians committed so the Iranians can see a united front. Therefore, I would like to explore this idea. The five of us saying in a clear voice, "If you honor this suspension agreement, the U.S. will come to the table, as well as the EU-3, to discuss

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with you the package of incentives in return for getting rid of your nuclear weapons program." If they say they will not suspend, I think it is important that we have an agreement before I come to the table that their refusal to suspend results in sanctions by the UN Security Council. That is why I am calling to get your reactions to these ideas. (S)

President Putin: The Chinese have a proverb: When two tigers are fighting in the valley, a smart and wise monkey is better off sitting and watching the fight. (U)

The President: Who is the monkey? You are not suggesting I am a monkey, are you? (U)

President Putin: I would rather be a monkey, and you are trying to lure me into the valley where the two tigers fight. It is rather difficult for me to present counter-arguments because your position seems to be so logical. Every one of us should take responsibility for the resolution of the situation. I believe your approach to be well conceived and well-thought out. Igor Ivanov said in his opinion there was careful optimism that they could agree to suspension of their nuclear activities provided negotiations continue and there is something of interest to them in the package. At a meeting of foreign ministers in Vienna on Thursday, it is important that the Chinese take part. They should not be discounted. They should participate in the process. This meeting will be quite important because I think it is supposed to develop a final package of incentives for Tehran should it step off its nuclear program and another package should it not discontinue enrichment. In Shanghai on 15 June, there will be a meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Iran, India, Pakistan, and Mongolia are observers in this organization. But even now, we have information that President Ahmadinejad wants to attend and he wants to meet there. We, in principle, tried to avoid any meeting on a presidential level between the two countries. If in Vienna we manage to develop a common position, in principle we could use that meeting to lay down our position face-to-face directly, and that would be a good opportunity to involve the Chinese and to hear it from them saying they would like to participate in the process and support our group. Overall, I believe our involvement would bring a new substantive, positive element into the process. Russia would certainly support this proposal, and we consider it quite balanced and thorough. (S)

The President: I appreciate that. First of all, you have got to be involved. You have been involved in the beginning with discussions in 2001. Second of all, it was you who proposed the civilian nuclear program, which I supported and continue to support. We also have been involved. The question is can we be

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involved in a more formal way with the EU-3 to end the problem. They may not want to end it. I do not know. But we ought to give them the opportunity to end it. (S)

President Putin: Agreed, George. Let's do it the way you framed it in your proposal. (S)

The President: Okay, I appreciate that. It is very important for the world to see the U.S. and Russia working with the Europeans. I want to solve this thing. We are working together. Thank you very much for your generosity and your spirit of cooperation. (S)

President Putin: Thank you, George. If you have five more minutes, if you do not have any pressing meetings, I would like to say a couple words on the Middle East. (S)

The President: Please. (U)

President Putin: First of all, I would like to inform you of my meeting with Abbas in Sochi on 15 May. He was very much concerned over developments, and that if the crisis is not resolved, it will degenerate into a serious catastrophe. We provided \$10 million to them. These monies were given under the word of Abbas himself and under his control to be spent on humanitarian issues of medical supplies and equipment. We understand the American side objects in principle to paying civil servants. At the same time, Hamas is being paid because they are being financed by countries close by and by cash changing hands - tens of millions of dollars every month - which resulted in a fact I learned after Abbas left me. Part of the security services ran from Abbas to Hamas. It weakened Abbas. I draw your attention to this circumstance. I do not think anyone has an interest in further weakening Abbas because you are supporting him. He said - I do not know what he really thinks - but he said it so much, that he would continue to insist on the formation of a coalition government of professionals or technicians. We consider it appropriate to help him in this. We are trying to work with the Iranians, with the Syrians, with Hamas, trying to convince them to meet Abbas halfway. I would like to know what your reading is of the situation, taking into account Olmert's visit and Abbas's request to form such a government. (S)

The President: Thank you very much, Vladimir. Thank you for your interest and meeting with Abbas, who I like. I like that you think that it is very important for Abbas to be strong. I talked to Olmert, who is a very good man and a person you will like, about reaching out to Abbas to try and help marginalize Hamas and get an agreement on a two-state solution. We have got people there trying to help Abbas organize security forces. We

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are trying to get aid directly to the Palestinian people. Therefore, we are not going to violate our pledge not to give money to the government run by Hamas. But, we do care about the people. I agree with you that it would be very helpful if we could get a two-state solution up and running. I hope you get to meet Olmert. You will like him as a person. He is a strong leader. I was impressed by his vision and his understanding that a partner in peace would be helpful. (S)

President Putin: I have not met with him yet. We only talked over the phone. We agreed to meet, and I am looking forward to meeting him in Moscow. If I meet Ahmadinejad, I will certainly call him, and if you could spare a few minutes, I will share the information with you - what he thinks, what his attitude is. (S)

The President: That would be great. I do not understand the man and what he really wants. (S)

President Putin: I wish he could understand himself. Then maybe we could understand him. (S)

The President: Just do not give him a big kiss publicly. (S)

President Putin: No, big kisses only for you when you come. (S)

The President: We will visit you the night before the G8, as I understand it. (U)

President Putin: That is right. We will have an opportunity to have a calm talk and to take it easy for a couple hours. Best regards to your family and to your parents. (U)

The President: Thanks, Vladimir. Very good talking to you. Very good conversation. I look forward to seeing you. (U)

President Putin: Thanks for calling. I hug you. Bye. (U)

The President: Bye, buddy. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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3450

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanassenko

Notetakers: Susan Brockhaus, Julie
Brotherton, Maureen Shannon

DATE, TIME: June 5, 2006, 7:39 - 7:58 a.m. EDT

AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey Vladimir, how are you? (U)

President Putin: I am fine George, just fine. How are you? (U)

The President: I am doing fine, thank you. Thanks for taking my call. I am better for talking to you. (U)

President Putin: That is great. Thank you. (U)

The President: Listen, a couple of things. First of all, I want to let you know how concerned I am about the kidnapping that took place. I express my heartfelt sympathy for the loss of life and our folks will cooperate as much as possible to bring the other four back. (U)

President Putin: Thank you. (U)

The President: Yes. Anything we can do to help, we will. Secondly, this is about the upcoming G-8. One of the things I think we need to do is make sure we focus on success, and there are four areas where we can work together. One is the pandemic, the potential bird flu, and I want to thank you very much. We have an international initiative to work together so it looks like there is international consensus on the bird flu. Secondly, on Iran, thank you very much for close cooperation on Iran. I do believe we need a solid statement coming out of the G-8 on Iran, one that is rational and reasonable, that will help make the G-8 a success. Third, I think we can get a statement on Darfur which

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Americans and Russians both will want to see. Finally, the Global Initiative on nuclear terrorism, a bilateral agreement we can convert to an international agreement. The reason I called is to continue to strategize with you going into the G-8 on what to concentrate on and say to the world that these are things we can agree on. (S)

President Putin: First of all, thank you for your call. I am glad to hear your voice. For the G-8 Summit, in general, I totally agree, especially taking into account that on a number of issues, our experts are working together very closely. We are almost exactly parallel on the safe nuclear energy development. Prior to the G-8, for example, if you do not mind, during our preliminary meeting at the Summit we can issue a joint statement at the Summit. Regarding Iran, we have begun our work in this new format and this has produced results. This new format is developing very nicely, and thus it might be a success, particularly since we have at least managed to find common positions and common approaches and I suppose that the negotiations with Iran will be a success. I suppose we have to wait for the end of Solana's trip, which I think is tomorrow, and then we will look forward to the outcome of his work. We are generally satisfied with the package of actions in place on the agreed non-use of force. George, I would like to use this opportunity to thank you very much for pushing ahead on Russia's entry into the WTO. We only have a few more moves that we have to make and we then will be finished with the negotiations. When we do that in a package as a comprehensive approach there are just two or three issues that need to be agreed on. On separate issues, we can continue the discussion in a bilateral format. Mr. Lavrov just returned from his business trip to London, and when he came to meet with me, he had problems with his cheeks and lips being swollen. (S)

The President: Wait a minute. (U)

President Putin: We might need to take a closer look at what Condi did to him. (U)

The President: Condi is not blind. (U)

President Putin: And she is a very attractive lady. (U)

The President: She is a wonderful lady. (U)

President Putin: So George, being serious, I would like to go back to what you began with. I would like to thank you for your condolences, for our citizen, our national, who was killed in Baghdad. We hope to get your help and cooperation in order to free the remaining four. (S)

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The President: Absolutely. Listen Vladimir, I would like to get this WTO stuff done in the next couple of weeks before we get to St. Petersburg. (S)

President Putin: Yes, that would be good. (U)

The President: I think the only area is on agriculture and that is always the most difficult. (S)

President Putin: Without getting into details, what your specialists are doing is coordinating with internal American legislation and not WTO legislation. And regarding the most important issue, which is meat, according to Russian legislation, if meat does not undergo special processing, special checks apply not only to foreign meat but also to domestic meat. Since it concerns the security of the population, it would be impossible taking into account the volume of trade, but I hope that we will be able to conclude the process before we get to the G-8 in St. Petersburg. (S)

The President: That is what we need to do. I will keep pushing on my end. (U)

President Putin: Thank you. And concerning my meeting with Ahmadi-Nejad in Shanghai, China, if such a meeting takes place I will give you a call and inform you on the outcome of the meeting. It will be most interesting because by that time they will have time to analyze the proposals they have received from London. (S)

The President: I know. I look forward to hearing from you. (U)

President Putin: And have no doubt we will stick to the position we have elaborated jointly. (S)

The President: That would be great. I think once they figure out we are serious with the United States and Russia working together with the EU-3, they will want to figure out a way to resolve the issue. I have always thought your proposal was something they should have accepted early on. Now that they are seeing there is a united effort, they will probably come back to the proposal and say fine, we will get our nuclear supply from Russia and have the fuel collected. (S)

President Putin: You can be sure that we will not give them any outs or any chance to make maneuvers or skip in the negotiation process. You can be sure of that. (S)

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(The President: Well that is great. Thank you for taking my phone call. (U)

President Putin: Soon I will give you a call. (U)

The President: My best, thank you. (U)

President Putin: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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3725

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Putin of Russia (S)

PARTICIPANTS: President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: David Waldman, Susan Brockhaus,
and Jon Rohmiller

DATE, TIME June 19, 2006, 1:14 - 1:32 p.m. EDT

AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey Vladimir. How are you? (U)

President Putin: I am fine, George. How are you? (U)

The President: I am doing well. Thanks for calling. (U)

President Putin: So, as I promised, I am calling after my meeting with the president of Iran. I believe that Lavrov and Ivanov informed your people through their channels, but I would like to do it in person. (S)

The President: Good. (U)

President Putin: So, first I would like to say that they formally accept as positive the proposal by the six parties. Second, they are prepared to start negotiating. Third, they are prepared to start negotiations within one month. The last point is about the date of one month. President Ahmadi-Nejad asked me not to tell the press about it. He said that Iran would like to do this independently. That is, in the Security Council at the U.N. or by their Secretary of Security. Of course, as they did before with talks with other countries, they are trying to oppose the positions of one of the six countries against one of the other five countries. But, I told him right away that this was coordinated, an agreed position of the six countries and Russia would not go alone. This was said clearly, it was said crystal clear and out loud and the assistant of the President took note. We left no stone unturned, and we told them directly that there

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was no chance to get the United States against Russia or Russia against the EU, and that was said clearly. He told me they set up a special commission to review our proposal. I am not sure whether it was a technical step or really a desire to work out a solution. Time will show. I again reaffirmed our position that Iran has the right to nuclear technology, but we proposed to do it in such a way that the international community would not be concerned. We are prepared to set up the network of focal points and coordinating centers, so that Iran would have access to nuclear technologies. But only in exchange for the reciprocal step and that is for Iran to freeze enrichment. Now I would like to tell you my personal impressions of our meeting. I have the feeling that he has grown more mature, that he has turned from tribune into politician. I believe that he has become more quiet, so he was not that intensive in communication, and he was prepared to listen to us. After my first meeting with him in New York, I did not have that impression. So, that is what I wanted to tell you about Iran, and shortly we would have some follow-up. (S)

The President: Thank you very much. I cannot thank you enough for being very clear. I think it is important he see the United States and Russia working very closely together on a common sense plan. This will cause him to find a common sense solution. I just gave a speech to one of our service academies, and I said the Iranian regime deserves to have nuclear power under safeguards. So we are on the same wavelength, and your meeting was very important. I thank you for the update. The only other thing that is somewhat troubling is North Korea firing a missile somewhere. I know that we have been in touch with your government, so we are fully aware of what he may or may not do. The Japanese are of course very nervous, and in my opinion, the Chinese need to step up and explain to Kim Jong Il that if you fire a missile without warning, without explanation, there will be consequences, and it will hurt our relations. I appreciate you working with us on this issue, too. (S)

President Putin: Yes, with all that, they are planning something over there, and Rumsfeld called Ivanov over this issue. We have real doubts that they have a ballistic missile that could reach the United States. But I agree with you, whatever they are trying to launch over there, we should be notified and get informed about it. And of course, we should talk to our Chinese friends on this. (S)

The President: Yes, I have done that and hope you do this as well. (S)

President Putin: Okay then, we will do our part and hold consultations as well. By the way, about Iran, I have talked

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(with Hu Jintao, and I have the impression he is really prepared to work with us on this, and they don't have a different position. I saw a report on your very efficient visit to Iraq. I would like to express my appreciation to your Secret Service and intelligence services who are involved in trying to locate our diplomats kidnapped in Iraq, and I hope these efforts will continue, and I will get your support on this. (S)

The President: Absolutely. Believe me, we want to help free them. I talked about this issue with the top levels of our military. (S)

President Putin: It seems to me if we can resolve this problem together it will be very productive. By the way, the Iranians told me that "you don't want the Americans by your side," and I told him that we would like to see the Americans by our side as it will only solidify the relationship. (S)

The President: Thanks, you are taking a very important leadership role with this. (S)

President Putin: I am expecting you in St. Petersburg, so I am looking forward to seeing you. (U)

(The President: I am coming and hoping for a good bilateral meeting the night before. (S)

President Putin: Then we could elaborate on our bilateral statement and our colleagues are engaged in this effort based on your proposal. (U)

The President: We'll let them work, and you and I will eat blini. Do you remember the fish you told me about where they cut it open? (U)

President Putin: We will tie the fish to the boat, and it will be waiting for you. I wish you all the best and all the best to Laura. (U)

The President: Yes, give my best to your wife, and thanks for taking the lead on this issue. It is really helpful. (U)

President Putin: Thanks George for the kind words. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

President Putin: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with the President of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: President Putin

Notetakers: Jared Thomas, Susan Brockhaus,
and Jon Rohmiller

DATE, TIME: July 6, 2006, 7:31-7:41 a.m. EDT

AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey Vladimir. How are you doing? (U)

President Putin: Good morning George. I am very happy to hear your voice. I will only take one second of your time. I have just met with leaders of the world's labor unions in the anticipation of the G-8 Summit and they reminded me that you have a birthday today. On a serious note, I would like to wish you a happy birthday. The truth is, that it was I who reminded them about your birthday and they asked me to forward to you their warmest congratulations. Although the U.S. labor union leader complained that the U.S. had very low wages. They all were complaining about the same thing. I had a very good and substantial discussion with Secretary Rice when she was here. Soon you and I will have an opportunity to have a substantial discussion in St. Petersburg. We are preparing for the meeting with you and in addition to all of the other items on the agenda, one more will be added, that is the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula. And one last thing of a personal nature, tonight one of our national television channels is broadcasting a film about you and Laura. I've heard that it was a very good one. (U)

The President: I hope it wasn't done by Michael Moore. (U)

President Putin: Here we have films in the tradition of Russian Stanislavskiy. (U)

The President: Listen a couple of points. Condi briefed me on her meeting with you. I heard your messages loud and clear, and I think we will have a good G-8. I look forward to my private meeting with you. It will be a good change of course to renew

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our friendship and have a conversation about the world. Today, I'm told Susan Schwab is talking with Gref about the WTO. Progress is slow, but it's important that we're moving forward. We will see if we can't get it done before the G-8. (S)

President Putin: I hope so. (U)

The President: We hope so too. Look the North Korean wants people to pay attention to him. He basically gave an obscene gesture to the Chinese, America, and the other countries that asked him not to fire his rockets. (S)

President Putin: Yes, the Chinese are quite mad with him. (S)

The President: Here's my worry. My worry is that the world will come rushing to his side and say we don't want to irritate you so we will give you concessions. I think the message should be the opposite. We are tired of his bad behavior and want him to change. I thank you for your statements after the man fired not only one missile but seven. I think it is very important that the sentiment be extended by our governments, particularly at the U.N. It is important that the world see a good, sound resolution come out of the U.N. I hope the Chinese are angry, because I felt his actions were insulting to the Chinese. I hope they send him the a very tough message privately. The truth of the matter is that if we want to have a weapons-free Korean Peninsula, the Chinese will have to deal with North Korea in a firm way. I am worried that if nothing is done the Japanese may want to arm. (S)

President Putin: Yes. (U)

President Bush: So, it is very much in China's strategic interest to be involved, not as a messenger, but as a partner. I have sent that message to the Chinese, and to the extent you could have your people get involved, that would be very helpful as well. I still believe the Iran issue will dominate the G-8. It's important to continue to coordinate messages, not only between Russia and the U.S., but also between Russia, Europe, and Japan. We are focused on getting him to behave responsibly, but we should maintain close coordination so that Iran doesn't think our focus has turned to North Korea. Anyway thanks for your phone call, I'll see you in a week or so in St. Petersburg. I am looking forward to it. (S)

President Putin: I embrace you. All the best. I am very happy to hear you once again. Bye. (U)

The President: It was great hearing you. Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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5757

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with the President of Russia (S)

PARTICIPANTS: President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: Michael Eaton, Laura Wittig,
James Cooney

DATE, TIME: October 2, 2006, 7:39 - 7:56 a.m. EDT

AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey Vladimir. How are you? (U)

President Putin: George, I am glad to hear you. I am welcoming you from the Ural Mountains, a place we have here in Russia. (U)

The President: Fantastic. I am sorry I didn't talk to you sooner. I have been busy with campaigns, but I thought it important to stay in touch with you. (U)

President Putin: I am listening. (U)

The President: Good. I guess the first subject I am interested in is the World Trade Organization. I have been monitoring the discussions and it looks like we are making very good progress, and evidently we are waiting on the veterinarian's reports. I don't know if you see it that way or not. (S)

President Putin: I have not received any reports lately, and therefore, I cannot say exactly what is going on. The most recent information I have received is that the progress has not been significant. Progress has been minor, but as soon as I get back to Moscow, I will see what is going on. (S)

The President: That would be good. I am following this and want to get something done. (S)

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President Putin: Maybe I have missed out on one or two items. In the past two weeks, I have not gotten into this affair. (S)

The President: Secondly, Iran. My concern is that the Iranians are stalling for time so they can enrich. I appreciate our cooperation on this issue, and cooperation with Russia on this will be important as we go forward. We need to send a strong message that Iran should not have the capacity or wherewithal to build a nuclear weapon. Condi is going to meet with Lavrov and her other counterparts later this week, and hopefully we can reach a consensus on how to send a clear message to the Iranians. (S)

President Putin: Okay. (U)

The President: The other thing is that I talked with Nazarbayev. It is very important that Kazakhstan can be friends with Russia and the United States at the same time, and not have to choose between the two of us. (S)

President Putin: I fully agree. (U)

The President: Finally, this phone call was set up before the recent crisis in Georgia, and I want to communicate my concerns about that situation and ask for your advice, and to ask you to calm the situation down. One of the main reasons I called was to hear your voice and chat with you. In Vietnam, I hope I can see you on the edges of APEC. My intention was not to inconvenience you, and I hope I didn't disturb your vacation in the Urals. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much for this call. I am very glad to hear you. First of all, about Iran, we are also concerned with the situation around Iran's nuclear program. It is true that our positions are close and need to remain close. I met with Chirac and Merkel on the 23rd in Paris, and we discussed this issue with them. On the whole, we reached a common understanding about how we should advance on this issue. We believe any measures should be taken stage by stage and in proportion to the actions of Iran itself. The measures should be commensurate with the measures the U.N. Security Council would find appropriate to push Iran towards this or that action. Of course, the main criterion for us is moving towards non-proliferation. Of course, we should take into account our own interests. It would be difficult for us to accept any decision that would be unilateral and against our interests. I would like to point out other circumstances. For example, recently the State Department adopted a position with regard to sanctions against two of our companies and said these two companies have been working with Iran. Condi is aware of these issues. I want to tell you that those two companies have nothing to do with Iran

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on non-proliferation issues. Recently, Solana had a meeting with Larijani and my colleagues have spoken to both of them. Both Larijani and Solana have announced that they have a certain optimism. I am not sure if it's true, or the reasons for the optimism, but this is what Solana said. The Iranians have asked Igor Ivanov to come to Tehran. It would be a good idea to find out what is going on there. Today, or tomorrow he will be there, and we will brief you in detail on the results of that visit.

(S)

The President: That would be good. (U)

President Putin: Now, about Georgia, we do not understand why Mr. Saakashvili is inflaming the situation and creating hysteria. He is violating all arrangements that have been agreed upon that would have opened ways for him towards a peaceful settlement. We noticed that this is all happening right after his return from the United States. It is quite regretful that the perception here is that over there, he received a *carte blanche* to pursue his aggressive policies. This is especially the case since support of Georgia continues to take place, certainly in the framework of NATO and this is certainly stimulating inappropriate behavior. You have asked what can be done? It is obvious that gestures of support should be ruled out, and we have been quite disappointed with the position of the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Security Council, who has declined to agree with the presidential statement on Georgia. We expect your administration to take a principled position on the settlement of conflicts in the post-Soviet era. With respect to Nazarbayev, I will see him tomorrow within the framework of the meeting of governors from the neighboring states. Judging by your joint statement and the press conference, I see you had a successful meeting and I congratulate you. Also, on behalf of Ludmila, I want to thank Laura for the invitation to visit New York. Ludmila participated in the conference that was organized by Laura supporting the dissemination of literacy. In my view, New York City is such a huge and busy conglomerate, it is unlivable for human beings. Ludmila said she liked it a lot, and we had an argument about it yesterday. I believe that this is due to the warm hospitality afforded to her by Laura. I hope to see you in Hanoi. (S)

The President: What are you doing in the Urals? (U)

President Putin: I am on a working visit in the area. (U)

The President: I thought you might be hunting. (U)

President Putin: No, no. Unfortunately not hunting. We are discussing health care issues. (U)

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The President: I hope everything is well with you, and I look forward to seeing you in a month. (U)

President Putin: I am absolutely fine, and I look forward to seeing you. Thank you for this call. (U)

The President: Bye, Vladimir. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with the President of Russia (S)

PARTICIPANTS: President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: Brian Sollom, Jo-Ann Burdian,
and Julie Brotherton

DATE, TIME: October 9, 2006, 7:52 - 8:04 a.m. EDT

AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Vladimir, how are you? (U)

President Putin: So, the problem is that the Koreans are upsetting us. (U)

The President: Let me tell you three things on my mind. One, happy birthday. You're getting to be an old man, but not as old as me. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much. So I see that you are in a good mood. (U)

The President: I would say my mood is mixed. Before I talk about North Korea, I want to talk about the recent death of the reporter and would hope very much that you take a personal interest in solving this. (S)

President Putin: So, this is a terrible tragedy first of all on the personal level. And of course this is a political blow against Russia because it gets us back to the freedom of the press and security of the press and journalists, and those that did this were well aware of that. Recently she was really engaged in the topic of Chechnya and this throws a shadow over the leadership of Chechnya and we are well aware of that. Actually, this assassination does more damage than the reports

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she made. We haven't forgotten about the assassination of American journalist Paul Klebnikov, and we will do everything possible to solve this case and finish the investigation and the prosecution of the other. (S)

The President: Thank you. It's very important as you know. Listen, the other issue is North Korea of course. He ignored the warnings of the world, but primarily of Japan, China, and South Korea, who sent him very clear messages. It is important that we send a very strong message primarily through the United Nations Security Council, primarily through a chapter 7 resolution, that their behavior is unacceptable. And that's what I'm calling about, just to make sure we've spoken and that Condi and Lavrov and Hadley and Ivanov stay close. I will have spoken by the end of the morning to China, Japan and South Korea. We don't want to emotionalize the issue. We don't want to issue statements that are provocative. We will be strong in our statement and measured in our resolve and that's why I am calling. (S)

President Putin: Actually, I saw your statement and your interviews in TV related to the Korean issue. I believe what is being done is according to the scope of the problem. I remember in your interview with Larry King, you told him you would act persistently in a calm and quiet manner. Three hours ago in a session with a governor, I said publicly that Russia condemns North Korea's test. The explosion was just 200 kilometers from our border. We are concerned for two reasons: first of all, this is a security issue for Russia. I repeat, it was only 200 kilometers off our border. I will have to closely monitor the environmental situation. Of course, it inflicts damage on the nuclear non-proliferation regime. So, it incites other nuclear-threshold countries to move closer to this eventually, and it also makes worse the problem of Iran. (S)

The President: That's right. (U)

President Putin: We are prepared to work closely with the U.S. and other states in the U.N. Security Council to resolve the situation. But, I agree with you that we should act without hysterics and in a balanced way. (S)

The President: We are on the same page. That is important. (S)

President Putin: It looks that way. (U)

The President: I hope you are doing okay. (U)

President Putin: Yes, everything is alright. I know you will be flying to APEC and will make a technical stopover in Moscow. (U)

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The President: Thank you very much. (U)

President Putin: We'll make sure you are comfortable on Russian land, so it will be comfortable even for a couple of minutes.
(U)

The President: Well, you're very kind. It helps with the logistics. That is a kind gesture and I appreciate it. (U)

President Putin: So, we'll prepare caviar and coke. (U)

The President: And belinis. Thank you. If we don't talk before then, I'll see you in Vietnam. (U)

President Putin: Thank you very much for the call. (U)

The President: Alright Valdimir, thanks. (U)

President Putin: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with President
Vladimir Putin of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: President Putin

Interpreter: Nikolai Sorokin
Notetakers: Cristina Fekkes, Will Lion, and
Derek Westfall

DATE, TIME: December 23, 2006, 7:28 - 7:42 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Camp David

The President: Hey, Vladimir. How are you, sir? (U)

President Putin: Everything is fine thank you. I am very glad to hear you. First of all I would like to congratulate you and your family on the coming Christmas. (U)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: [REDACTED] b(6)

[REDACTED] b(6)

The President: [REDACTED] b(6)

[REDACTED] b(6)

(S)

President Putin: Please convey our best wishes to her. George, I called you not just to congratulate you on the upcoming Christmas, but the second topic is Iran. We have talked to you

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Reason: 1.4(b)(d)

Declassify on: 12/8/18

CAUTION: A Memorandum of a Telephone Conversation (TELCON) is not a verbatim transcript of a discussion. The text in this document records the notes and recollections of Situation Room Duty Officers and NSC policy staff assigned to listen and memorialize the conversation in written form as the conversation takes place. A number of factors can affect the accuracy of the record, including poor telecommunications connections and variations in accent and/or interpretation. The word "inaudible" is used to indicate portions of a conversation that the note taker was unable to hear.

An interpreter facilitated this conversation. Differences in interpretation may result in subtle differences in the exact meaning of phrases.

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685371

about it not once, our diplomats have worked very hard on the resolution in the recent days. I know it is very difficult to find the common understanding and common approach, especially in the details. The Europeans have introduced their amendment, which is as follows, that everything which is not forbidden is allowed, and that is what they put on paper. But in the last moment they took it out of the resolution, and as we know this is also because of your influence. But we proceed from the premise that these amendments are very important and would improve the resolution. However, I remember our first conversations in this regard, so I have taken the decision and have given instructions to the foreign ministry to vote for the resolution. We will proceed with the premise that the amendment that has been taken out of the draft, even without being in the text, that the amendment in practice will be working. And we will not block the resolution on that second offense, but we will make a second statement in this regard, having voted for the resolution. Because I think the unity of the Security Council on this very important and delicate issue is very crucial. We have talked about this numerous times, and I proceed on the premise that this is our common approach. I know that now you and the Republicans have not had an easy time in your country. And because we have a common approach on this issue it would be right to show this. (S)

The President: Yes. (S)

President Putin: Because it will strengthen our position on questions where our approach coincides. And there is one other aspect that I would like to have your attention to. Proceeding from the resolution, all the deals before the adoptions from the resolution remain in force and we will proceed from this. And I would like to inform you that this has practical significance, in particular in the areas for military technical cooperation in Iran. In particular, in the beginning of this year, or the end of last year, I don't remember the date, but we concluded a deal with the Iranians, to send them our S-300 complex for air defense. So far we have not delivered those components. And if this particular shipment will take place at all it will take place in 2009, 2010, or even later. Of course this will depend on the general overall situation of the Iranian nuclear program. But the contract has been signed and we will proceed on the premise that we have full right to implement it. George, this is all that I wanted to tell you, and even though the day just started in Washington, I wanted it to start on a positive note. (S)

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The President: It is positive, thank you Vladimir and Merry Christmas as well. I know that diplomacy is difficult at times but I think it is important for the Iranians not to think that there is weakness between the U.S., Russia, and the Europeans. Now thanks to your leadership on this, we now have a resolution and we can say to Iran that the world is serious. I am very concerned when Ahmadinejad brags he has 3,000 centrifuges and will be a nuclear power. That just breeds consternation in the Middle East, in Sunni nations as well as in Israel. Therefore, when he sees Russia and the U.S. working together, it will send them a message. I want to thank you. And secondly, you have made it very clear of the contracts signed prior to the resolution and I understand that. I do think it is a very smart idea that you have said the defense system will be delivered depending on Iranian behavior. That puts you in an interesting position to help them decide what is proper behavior. [REDACTED] b(6)

[REDACTED] b(6) So
give my best to Lyudmila and I will give Laura your best. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much. All the best to you.
(U)

The President: Thank you. Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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2093

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with the President of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: Derek Westfall, Diana Schmidt,
and Todd Whatley

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: March 28, 2007, 7:34 a.m. - 8:08 a.m. EDT
Oval Office

The President: Hey, Vladimir. How are you doing? (U)

President Putin: Just fine George, how are you? (U)

The President: Your English is even better than before. (U)

President Putin: I'm trying my best. I see you have been fighting against Congress there. (U)

The President: I'm fighting like mad. I'll win. (U)

President Putin: I'm glad to hear it. (U)

The President: Listen, it's been a while, and we need to keep in contact. This is part of my effort to make sure you know that I care about your opinions and we can work together on sensitive issues. (C)

President Putin: I'm very glad to hear you, thank you for calling me. (U)

The President: Sometimes we both have concerns that our governments talk past each other and it is our job to make sure our governments work with each other. Let me bring up a couple issues, then if you'd like to respond I'd appreciate it. ~~(C)~~

President Putin: Glad to. (U)

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Classified by: V. Phillip Lago
Reason: 1.4 (d)
Declassify on: 3/30/17

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The President: The first issue is Iran. Thank you very much for working closely to send a clear message to the Iranians. It goes to show what can happen when Russia and the U.S. work closely together. You took the lead and I thank you for helping in the latest round. We'll have to keep working. (S)

Secondly, there is big concern and talk about this missile defense issue. It brings up opportunities for people to claim this is a U.S. attempt to isolate Russia and divide Europe into different camps. And I can understand that people looking at this issue on the surface might come to that conclusion. My intention is not to isolate Russia but to provide a missile shield from missile threats to Europe and yourself from the ultimate threat, the Mideast. These threats don't exist today, but may in the future. Therefore, Vladimir, I propose in order to reduce suspicions we make clear that we have continued U.S.-Russia cooperation and consultation. I would like to share technology with you, so the people of Russia understand this shield protects them as well as anyone else. (S)

And finally, the issue of Kosovo. This is a very sensitive issue for you obviously and I know how sensitive it is. We have come to the conclusion that we need a Security Council resolution along the lines that Mr. Ahtisaari put out. I know Nick Burns, our number three at State, will be in consultation with his counterpart and I know we have been talking to Lavrov. The purpose is to see if there is some way we can work together on an issue that looks like it could lead to problems between Russia, the U.S., and others. I'm not sure if we can head it off or not, but it is worth trying. My message is, I hope you realize that on this sensitive issue we want to have dialogue and see if there is a way to move the issue forward. (S)

I'm sending my Commerce man over, a guy named Gutierrez. He took Don Evans' place. He is a good friend of mine and will bring a message of cooperation on trade and other matters. (S)

That's really what I wanted to discuss. By the way, on the point of Congress, I believe they have given me a great gift. They want to tell the generals how to run the war, and the people understand that would be a mistake. Now that they made their move, I'll make mine. I will be traveling the country to explain to people. I appreciate your concern for your old buddy. I'm still standing and still battling. (S)

President Putin: That's clear. Thank you for your evaluation of these issues. First, I would like to pass the best regards from Mr. Aznar, former President of Spain. We've been talking about you and remembering you so he passes his best. Now to the point. (U)

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(Concerning Iran, truly it was a difficult decision but I'm glad we were able to reach a consensus on this decision. As we discussed with you, the most important thing here is to avoid any kind of gaps. In parallel to the voting, a joint statement was issued by the foreign ministers that expressed the need to continue talks based on decisions previously taken by the six countries. We will continue to work in a consultative manner. And we are going to continue agreeing on our position. Despite differences at the working level, we will work them out and look for consensus. At the same time, we should not give Iran the opportunity to take ill-considered steps that would be impossible to remedy. This has to do with how we implement this resolution.

(S)

Since we've started talking about nuclear issues, I would like to say that our experts have been quite successful to move forward and reinforce the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Now they are coordinating the joint statement they are going to make on this issue. We could put a date for these statements in accordance with our G8 June meeting. I think it would be a good message. As for the peaceful use of nuclear energy documents, we are working on them according to schedule. (S)

(Now to the elements of missile defense in Europe. We have serious concerns about this, and it is not just over the few missiles to be placed in Europe. Therefore, when you say there is an opportunity to cooperate and share technology it looks very attractive. We have suggested ways in the NATO-Russia Council that the U.S. and Russia can cooperate, options beneficial to not just NATO but Russia. The essence of which you have just proposed. But the U.S. delegation in Brussels has blocked this proposal. We were directly told that the U.S. side cannot agree to these provisions. We need to take into account the security interests of NATO and Russia. What you have just stated is an interesting change in the U.S. position and we will accept it.

(S)

(Speaking on the placement of European bases, technically speaking, our experts think the placement is not perfect in geographical terms, especially if we are talking about countering threats from North Korea and Iran. Most importantly, these European bases are a component of a global anti-missile defense system. Certainly the combination of anti-missile defense systems and strategic systems will lead to the potential of a first strike capability. We have known each other for many years and we respect each other. You can be sure of my respect and my frankness with you. What I've just said about this combination of anti-missile defense systems and missiles, it is in your strategic interest and we cannot turn a blind eye to it in

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(Russia. For the first time in a while, the U.S. is starting to put a strategic component into your presence in Europe and it is a permanent part of the relationship. We would like to respond to your initiative to start discussions on issues and to share technology and we should seek to do so in the framework of frank discussion. (S)

(As for Kosovo, you know that I will tell you something beyond protocol, absolutely frankly, that we are seriously concerned about what is going on there. It is a very dangerous precedent for the whole of Europe. I don't know what your agreement with the Europeans is, but I know many are reluctant to accept this decision because in many parts of Europe, separatism is quite strong. Obviously, if Kosovo is granted independence it will have an impact on all separatist regions. It will be interpreted by others as their right to declare independence. This is the idea the USSR used to promote to fight colonialism and now the U.S. is using it. In the post-Soviet area there are a number of similar conflicts. Yesterday I talked to the President of Azerbaijan and they are following the situation with great caution because it will have a great impact on developments in Nagorno-Karabakh. The same goes for South Ossetia and Abkhazia in Georgia. Finally, it is most important for Serbia. Serbia is seeking membership in the EU and sooner or later Serbia will accept a variant that would be acceptable to the EU and acceptable to the West in general, but it will be a decision taken by Serbia itself. But if we impose this decision today, it will be a decision imposed by other countries. It will be very bad for the Serbians and will create the potential for conflict for many decades to come. Therefore, it would be very difficult for us to support the Ahtisaari plan. I reiterate that sooner or later this situation will be resolved by Serbia itself in the context of Serbia's wanting to join the EU and NATO. I believe the argument that Kosovo is 90 percent Albanian is a bad one. Let's bring back the refugees, then we will not have 90 percent Albanians. We have forgotten about the humanitarian problem with the refugees. I believe on this issue we should get down to the table of negotiations and increased information sharing between our foreign ministries, with Condi and Lavrov. (S)

(The last point I would like to raise is the Adapted Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty. Russia has not only signed but has ratified the treaty and we not only have ratified but are implementing the treaty. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that under this treaty we have agreed to not put heavy weapons in certain parts of Russia. This was an idiotic decision by our side. Just imagine if the U.S. had to limit itself where to place weapons in California, Texas or elsewhere. It's the same. But we are doing this and implementing this. We have dismantled weapons in certain northwestern territories near the

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Finland border. Meanwhile, the Baltic states, which have nothing to do with it, have not ratified it. None of them have. I can't avoid this topic. If it proceeds in the same way, we would be forced to reconsider our participation in this treaty. I don't know how you would do it, but I wouldn't like to make another problem. For us the situation is absolutely stupid and humiliating, because we have taken this decision and are limiting ourselves to numbers and kinds of troops in certain territories. At the same time our partners have not signed the treaty. You're the first person I've told this to and I wanted you to know about this. We are going to try and address this in the most intelligent manner, avoiding any kind of confrontation. We are going to look for a mild solution acceptable to all sides. (S)

I've seen your statement on TV responding to the decision of Congress and I saw how the people standing behind you were reacting. They looked very satisfied with what you were saying.

b(6)

The President: You've had a tough winter. (U)

President Putin: Not at all. In the past century we have not had such a mild winter and spring as this year. The only thing in Siberia is that they used to have minus 50, now they have only minus 15. I'll invite you out there. (U)

The President: Great. One way to make sure we are talking is for me to send Gates to see his counterpart, and you if possible, to discuss the missile shield and the conventional treaty. I'll tell Condi to make sure there are close consultations on the issue of Kosovo. (S)

President Putin: When I was in Munich, I talked to Gates. I think that any option would do for me. I could also send my new Defense Minister to the U.S. Any conversation will do and I support your idea to have these contacts. Your proposal is very important. (S)

The President: The important thing is for you and me to stay in touch. If there are problems we can tell our people to work harder and closer together. Plus I like to hear your voice. (S)

President Putin: Thanks very much. Come and see me here. Maybe you can come over just after the G8 for the CIS Summit. All the leaders from CIS countries will be there. At the same time we will have an economic conference dedicated to the economic issues in CIS countries. Since the U.S. is showing great interest in Central Asia and other CIS countries, it would be a good forum to meet them with the emphasis on the economy. It will be the 10th of June. (S)

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The President: I'll give any suggestion you make consideration. One thing, it would certainly make a lot of news. (U)

President Putin: It would be nice if you could come. I think that instead of this territory as a platform for rivalry, it could be a platform for cooperation. I think it would be a good message. (U)

The President: I love talking to you. Give the family my best. (U)

President Putin: Thanks very much, George, and give my best regards to Laura. I'm happy to hear you and thank you very much for this initiative. (U)

The President: Thanks, Vladimir. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Russian President Putin (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanassenko
Notetakers: Todd Whatley, Diana Schmidt,
and Jo-Ann Burdian

DATE, TIME April 23, 2007, 7:42 - 7:52 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hello? Hey, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Yes, hello, George. (U)

The President: How are you doing, Vladimir? (U)

President Putin: It is a pleasure to hear your voice. (U)

The President: Thank you for calling. (U)

President Putin: Thank you for making time to speak with me.
(U)

The President: Anytime. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, sir. From the outset, I want to
send your Defense Secretary's best regards. I just finished
talking to him. (U)

The President: Oh, good. (U)

President Putin: He asked me to tell you he transferred all the
messages to me. He did all you asked him to do. He is now
consulting with our military. (U)

The President: Good. (U)

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Classified by: V. Phillip Lago
Reason: 1.4(d)
Declassify on: 4/27/17

NW#: 78134

DocId: 34685373

(President Putin: I don't know what they are talking about, because you and the American military know our concerns, but I am calling on a different subject. We are launching a new national library and our experts met with the leadership of the Library of Congress in Washington. The director of the Library of Congress knew one of our outstanding intellectuals, Likhachev, who is unfortunately no longer with us. They were personal friends. The director of the Library of Congress put out an initiative to organize joint work on some of the aspects of our history. We believe it is a good initiative. In the future maybe, we could work on making not a bilateral, but a multilateral project of establishing a global digital library. This fits well into our cooperation in humanitarian areas, especially against the background of the bicentennial of U.S.-Russian relations. I know what great attention Laura is devoting to libraries in the United States. My wife has also been instrumental in developing that issue in Russia. This could be a good bilateral project. If you share my plan, I could say this publicly. I'll be talking to the Federal Assembly in the near future. I can say that we can provide political support for this kind of project. That is pretty much all I wanted to say. (S)

(The President: I think it is a great idea. Feel free to say anything you want on the subject. I think we need to put together a group to make sure we follow thorough. This guy Billington at the Library of Congress is very enthusiastic. He is a good guy and would be the right guy to be part of a team to make sure this thing moves forward. (S)

President Putin: This was his idea, by the way. (S)

The President: Well, we'll pursue it. Let me ask you one question. What is your view on the Serbia-Kosovo issue? Where do you think we are on the issue? (S)

President Putin: I know there was a commission going there to see how the previous resolutions were being carried out. I don't know if they have completed their mission, but we need to analyze the results. (S)

The President: Okay. How is everything else going? (U)

(President Putin: Everything is just okay. I hope our ministers are doing their jobs. They had an idea for a good mechanism for relations with individual countries. When defense and foreign ministers meet at the same time, this type of consultation is very useful. In the future, we should think of working in this manner. On the whole, we are preparing to meet you in Germany for the G-8. (S)

(
The President: Good. I am looking forward to it. We have a lot of action here at home. It seems like half the world is running for president so, as you can imagine, we have a lot of opinions. It is interesting to watch everyone position themselves. Of course, the world looks much easier until you end up actually responsible. My hope is to leave the U.S.-Russian relationship in a place so that our successors can work on issues they agree on and learn to disagree amicably. You and I have a responsibility to continue our good relationship. We have to teach others how to proceed in the 21st Century. (S)

President Putin: I agree with you 100 percent. As far as presidential elections, they are the same all over the world. We have the same picture here. I think we will ensure continuity in our interstate relations, too. Thank you very much for finding time today. Please give my best to Laura. (S)

The President: Thank you very much. My best to Lyudmila, too.
(U)

President Putin: Okay. (U)

The President: Bye-bye. (U)

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-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with President
Vladimir Putin of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko
Notetakers: Michael Eaton, Diana Schmidt,
and Todd Whatley

DATE, TIME May 10, 2007, 7:47-8:00 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hello, Vladimir. How are you doing? (U)

President Putin: Excellent. It is good to hear from you,
George. (U)

The President: I talked to my mother, Dad, and Clinton, and I
appreciate your warm hospitality to them. (U)

President Putin: You know, we appreciate it greatly that
President Clinton and your father, he is not a young man, made it
all the way across the ocean. Please convey to them, and your
father in particular, our appreciation. It was a real sign of
respect. (U)

The President: I will.

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I don't want to take up much of your time, but I
want to talk to you about the upcoming G-8. The climate change
issue looks like it is going to be the center of attention. I
wanted to let you know that we are going to come with an
approach, and one of my top men will come to talk to your people,
that will recognize there is a problem but that a solution
recognizes the needs for new technologies, economic growth, and
economic cooperation that meets the concerns of each country. I
am calling a lot of leaders such as yourself, and I will be
calling other leaders to let them know our approach is sensible
and meets the national interests of each country and also meets
international concerns. This approach is a little different than
the one pursued by our friends in Europe. I am not interested in

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Classified by: V. Phillip Lago
Reason: 1.4(d)
Declassify on: 5/14/17

a clash, but I am interested in a solution we can all live with.
(S)

President Putin: I see. I understand, and frankly I am not aware of what exactly your proposal is right now. Our position is that we should try to find a mutually-acceptable solution. Of course, we will not take a position of condemning the U.S. for resolving these issues. To the extent possible, we will try to play a passing game, giving a pass to each other. That should be in cooperation and correspond to the spirit of G-8. (S)

The President: Yeah, okay. (U)

President Putin: We will try to do it so this does not present the U.S. position in a negative light in international public opinion. All the more so, there are many experts in our country who think the European approach has many drawbacks and shortcomings. (S)

The President: I have two people coming to visit. Jim Connaughton will be meeting with your environment minister. Of course, Condi is coming May 14 and 15, and I hope she has the chance to drop by and say hello to you. (S)

President Putin: George, right now I am in Kazakhstan. I would like to use this opportunity to pass the best wishes and greetings of President Nazarbayev. (S)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: He has the best of reminiscences and recalled your warm hospitality when you received him. He spoke in the best of terms about your meeting. (S)

The President: Thanks, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: As far as I understand, Condi will be in Moscow on May 14 and 15. (U)

The President: Yes, sir. (U)

President Putin: My schedule is that I will be back in Moscow late on the 14. A possible meeting time would be in the morning of the 15, in the first half of the day. (S)

The President: Great. (U)

President Putin: It will be a pleasure for me to meet her and convey through her our best wishes. (S)

(The President: Thank you. Give the President my best. He is an important and interesting man because he values his friendship with you and me equally, and that is a good thing. Please give him my best. (S)

President Putin: I will do that. Thank you. Today we signed an agreement with him on a uranium-enrichment facility in Russia. (S)

The President: That is good. (U)

President Putin: We proposed to Iran to join in this initiative and to use the facilities of this center for peaceful purposes. (S)

The President: That is good. I support you on that. I think it is important that you say to Iran that if you want a nuclear power plant that is fine, but Russia will give you the fuel and pick up the spent fuel. That is a very smart move on your part. It calls their bluff. They darn sure don't need a weapon, and I thank you for your position on that issue as well. (S)

(President Putin: George, we have signed this agreement with Kazakhstan today, and this issue is of particular importance because Kazakhstan is the second largest uranium producer. They have the second largest uranium reserves. (S)

The President: Right. Thank you for taking my phone call, and I will tell Condi to adjust her schedule to meet yours. (S)

President Putin: Yes, we have agreed on the subject, and we will be happy to see her in Moscow. (S)

The President: Thank you for taking the call. (U)

President Putin: I also thank you for supporting our experts on the library initiative. (U)

The President: Good. Have a wonderful trip and stay in touch. (U)

President Putin: Please, my best regards to your family. (U)

The President: Please give my best to Lyudmila. (U)

President Putin: I also want to congratulate you on the victory day we marked yesterday. Thanks, we will be in touch. (U)

(The President: All the best. (U)

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President Putin: All the best. (U)

The President: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW#78134 Date:
18-25-2025

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with President
Vladimir Putin of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: Diana Schmidt, Todd Whatley, and
Danielle Lukich

DATE, TIME May 28, 2007, 07:41-07:59 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hello. (U)

President Putin: Hello, George. (U)

The President: Thank you, thanks for calling. (U)

President Putin: Thank you for finding time to talk. (U)

The President: Anytime. (U)

President Putin: First of all I'd like to congratulate you on Memorial Day. I see how Americans cherish the lives of those who died for their motherland. (U)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: I'd like to discuss briefly a question discussed during Condi's visit. We practically dedicated the visit to the Kosovo problem. I'm sure Condi informed you of the way the discussion was developing, but still I have some personal things to share with you. (U)

I would like you, George, to understand us correctly. Condi, on behalf of the European Union and the State Department, talked about Kosovo as a unique situation. But for us, it is quite obvious Kosovo doesn't present a unique situation, especially in terms of the situation that now exists in the former

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Reason: 1.4(d)

Declassify on: 6/4/17

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685375

(Soviet Union after the disintegration of the former USSR. In one case, there was disintegration of one communist empire -- Yugoslavia -- and in the other case, the disintegration of another communist empire, the Soviet Union. In one case, we witnessed ethnic cleansing and in the other case the same. In both cases, there were ethnic-based crimes. In fact, we all know that Kosovo is independent already. But South Ossetia and Abkhazia and Transnistria are similar and demonstrate even more independence. They have their own constitutions and parliaments and presidents. (S)

For us, it is quite evident that Kosovo has created an objective precedent in the former Soviet space, Europe, and the Balkans. That is why I believe if we use in one case the principle of self determination, then we should apply the same principle in all situations, then we can cut all knots at one time. We wouldn't want to catch fish in these murky waters of conflicts looking to get some unknown advantages. (S)

(But what I believe is more important is that stability is based on the fundamental principle of international law which is territorial integrity of the individual state. We should either follow this principle of a universal nature or follow the principle of self-determination. (S)

We believe we should continue negotiations in New York and provide more time for negotiations, perhaps take a one-year time out. The Serbs are willing to join the European Union and NATO. Sooner or later they will transform their position on Kosovo, but let them determine their position by themselves without any determination from the outside. (S)

One other consideration, George, regarding an issue closely related to Russia. I know, George, how you cherish the presidential duties, how you love America, and I believe that you have no doubt that I feel the same about my country. If they pass this Kosovo resolution without doing the same for South Ossetia and Abkhazia, I risk a second Chechnya because the people in the north Caucasus, especially the Ossetians, will never agree to this position and will take up arms. I'm risking here a second Chechnya. You understand what this will mean for Russia. (S)

(So I would like you to take into account all these things regarding Russia. I'm looking forward to talking about all these things in Kennebunkport on July 1-2. I thank you for your invitation to Kennebunkport. (S)

I noted your recent interview in the press with Reuters. You spoke of the importance of the rule of law, and I believe this is right. But if we apply this to Russia, then we also have to apply it to other international issues. So once again, I'm looking forward to discussing this in an honest, open, candid, and friendly manner. (S)

The President: Vladimir, a couple of points. (U)

First, we will see each other at the G-8, of course. I'm really looking forward to you coming to my dad's house in Maine. He is excited to have you there. It will be a relaxed environment where we can continue to discuss this important issue. (S)

I feel like this phone call represents the relationship we have established where you can share with me your concerns in a candid manner. Frankly, it's going to be an important example for future presidents of our respective countries to show how to deal with complex issues. (S)

I'm always asked about you, and I tell people you are a strong leader; you care deeply about Russia. Of course, I also add I'd like to have some of your popularity points -- you need to loan me a few. (S)

As for Kosovo, it is a very complex issue where over time peoples' attitudes have become fairly set, including mine. We view this as a unique situation -- a unique outcome of the Balkan wars. We are deeply worried about expectations and civil strife. We also need a rational way forward for Serbia in regards to the European Union. I don't know if we will reach common ground, but we should try. My ambassador is ready to talk with your ambassador about potential measures. Our U.N. Ambassador and yours should discuss changes. Condi is coming to the G-8 ministerial and would like to sit down with Lavrov, if possible. Whatever happens, I think we should try to reach an accommodation on a U.N. Security Council Resolution. We think it should happen soon. Listen, this world is full of all kinds of complex issues, and I hope we can reach agreement on this one just like we have on nonproliferation, terrorism, and Iran. I will certainly pass on your concerns and your explanation of your concerns to Condi and Zal, so if your people are interested in sitting down with them, they have your views in mind. They will have your perspective and mine. (S)

(So I appreciate your call a lot. I thought it was very constructive. I'm looking forward to seeing you in Germany.
(U)

President Putin: There is one more small question. You mentioned the problem of climate change, and you hinted at the position of the U.S. The U.S. has its own vision. In our discussion with the European Union, I mentioned to Merkel that Russia has joined Kyoto. But those conditions under which Russia joined Kyoto, we don't see them as fair. I believe we should look for an option which will embrace all countries, including the U.S., China, Brazil, and India. Our Sherpas while discussing this problem were quite close to the U.S. position. I hope our discussion of this problem will be quite positive and will lead to a solution. (S)

The President: Thanks. I look forward to seeing you. Are you bringing Lyudmila to Maine? (U)

President Putin: (Response unclear) (U)

The President: She is or not? (U)

(President Putin: No, she is not. (U)

The President: Don't worry about it, we will have a boys dinner. (U)

President Putin: Okay. (U)

The President: Alright. Thanks, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: All the best. (U)

The President: Bye bye. (U)

--End of Conversation--

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with
Russian President Putin

PARTICIPANTS: President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko

Notetakers: Randall Labine, Frank Kersten,
Chris Davis

DATE, TIME: October 22, 2007, 7:15 - 7:45 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

President Putin: Hello? (U)

The President: Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Hello? (U)

The President: Hey, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Hello, George? (U)

The President: Yeah. (U)

President Putin: Hello, George. I'm very glad to hear your
voice. (U)

The President: Good. How are you doing? (U)

President Putin: I'm doing fine. I wanted to call you to tell
you about my trip to Iran. (U)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: If you do not mind, I'll start with that.
Sorry for taking the initiative. (U)

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Reason: 1.4(b)(d)

Declassify on: 10/24/17

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685376

(The President: Please, thank you. (U)

President Putin: Well, first of all, I should tell you this work we have done is very useful. I had an opportunity to talk extensively with Ahmadinejad and the religious leader. The talks were rather serious. We confirmed once again that our position is based on the coordination agreed upon within the "Six." We confirmed once again and underscored that Iran has to stick to its obligations in the field of non-proliferation. We once again said Iran must fix its relationship and resolve all its issues with the IAEA and stop uranium enrichment. I recollect talking with you in Kennebunkport and I remember you and Condi's reaction when I told you of our fuel supplies to Iran. Bearing in mind your views and the views of the Israelis, I have introduced certain corrections on this matter. So we confirmed that we will finalize the construction of Bushehr, and I confirmed we will fulfill our commitments on uranium supplies. But, I said this will be done only after certain amendments to the contract. We didn't set any time frame for the fuel supplies, we just said we will do them in portions. (S)

(You should know that before my visit to Iran, I sent Primakov -- our former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister -- and he delivered our position to the Iranians, which means that they should impose a moratorium on uranium enrichment before we continue talks. We also had a discussion with the religious leader of Iran. In fact, this meeting was witnessed by the President of Iran and all religious authorities and civil leaders of the country. While their view is rather known, their motivation is that they have a right to a peaceful nuclear technology and a peaceful enrichment of uranium. I confirmed on my part, we understand that, and our view on the rights of Iran is the same. But I highlighted two things that make the talks difficult. I should tell you I did so, rather bluntly and openly, in the presence of all who were there. (S)

(So, the first point I made was that they have an excessive position on Israel. It is a radical position, which is higher than the average Arab position on Israel, including the Palestinians themselves, by the way. Well of course, they cannot be more Palestinian than the Palestinians themselves. This was the first point. So the second point was those large scale plans Iran has to create new units of nuclear power plants. Of course, I admitted their right to build new units, and said I am prepared to continue our cooperation. But, I mentioned that Bushehr is being constructed by us for the last

(10 years already. Even assuming other units might be built faster, this will still require years and years of detailed work. But, enrichment is being done by them already, and they are stockpiling that. So, the question of everyone is, "Why would they be doing so?" To tell you frankly, I did not expect a positive response on their behalf. But still, there is some aspect which is positive. When we started to talk with the religious leader, he said they would not stop uranium enrichment. But then later, he said they would think about our position and ideas. Well, this is how our talk with him unfolded. But I won't be able to communicate in this phone call the details and emotional flavor of how this went. (S)

(But, what was brought by Primakov to me after his visit to Iran contains one important moment. The Iranians are asking themselves, if they made certain steps, would the Americans start bilateral talks with them? And there is another point. I would like to encourage positive parts of the dialogue. We managed to hear something positive from the Iran side. I am planning to send Lavrov to Tehran once again for the purpose of hinting other reasons to them of our continuing discussion. Because in our view they can find a way out of the situation, and to a certain extent, be claiming some victory. And they can say they managed to reach all goals with regards to research. This is the first point. The second point is they are expecting to get uranium from Russia for Bushehr, and they will do so. So, the third point is that when they need new uranium in the future for new power plants they can do so, but in the meantime, they could stop this practical work in uranium enrichment. (S)

(Condi has been traveling too, I know. That is why Minister Lavrov has not been able to contact her to discuss these details. But soon he will do so. And we should stay in touch, too. It is very important that the work of the IAEA is maintained with them and capture the positive work of Javier Solana. This is actually all I wanted to tell you about Iran. (S)

The President: Thank you. First of all, when I talk to people in the U.S., I tell them that an Iran that has the capacity to make a nuclear weapon would be very dangerous. (S)

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(The President: Hey, Vladimir, sorry. I tell people here that you are concerned about their uranium program like I am. This conversation reinforced my beliefs. Secondly, I appreciate very

(much the strategy of calling their bluff. Saying, if you want a civilian program, fine, you can have one, but, we, and I mean Russia, and other countries will provide the uranium and collect the uranium. Thirdly, I think it is important for the Iranians to understand that if they verifiably suspend their uranium enrichment programs they will be able to talk with us but through the U.N. process -- or, not the U.N. process, but the P5 plus one. In other words, that would be the beginning of a process. We've got years of distrust, or mistrust to overcome. Over time, suspension and the beginning of multilateral talks could evolve into something different. Now it is very important in the meantime to keep up the pressure. It's very important for us, through the U.N., to remind the Iranian leaders that there is a consequence for their seeming intransigence. Let me ask you a question. Larijani quit the other day. We view him as the most reasonable person in a group of relatively unreasonable people. How did you interpret his departure? (S)

(President Putin: To us, it was absolutely unexpected. Because I also believe he was a person one could talk to. To us it is not clear what is happening there. I believe this is some sort of a loss, because he was very particular and very knowledgeable and he seemed to be looking for some solutions. Let's wait and see who takes over. To us it is unexpected. (S)

(The President: We'll keep in touch. Thank you for your information, and I appreciate the way you handled it. Thank you very much for receiving Gates and Condi. They were both positive about the meetings. (S)

President Putin: Actually, I enjoyed my talk with them because I felt a real desire to find some acceptable solutions. Nothing dramatic, but a desire to look for some ways out. And this is true for the ballistic missile defense system and the CFE treaty. The Secretary of Defense seems to be a person of a particular approach because he managed to formulate some modest, but reasonable ideas we would like to think over. (S)

The President: I think it's important before you and I leave office that we put in place a series of understandings that will allow the leaders who follow us to have good and cordial relations. Obviously the agreements have to be good for both countries. But, I think we have an opportunity with this missile defense deal and CFE, before you leave office. To me, that would be a very good legacy for our relationship. (S)

(President Putin: I fully share your view, George. (S)

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The President: Just one other point before you go. Now is not the time to discuss it. I'm very aware of a conversation you had with the Israeli Prime Minister. At some point in time, if we can find a secure line, I'd like to discuss it with you. I'm interested in your thoughts. I'll leave it at that. (S)

President Putin: He told me he had already informed you of what he was going to tell me. The information he delivered was a surprise to us because we didn't have that before. Absolutely, not even a single hint on that. Very pitiful and alarming situation. (S)

The President: Yeah. Hope you are doing well and thank you for the phone call. (U)

President Putin: Thank you. Well, I am sure we need to keep in touch. (U)

The President: Absolutely. (U)

(
President Putin: And I share your attitude on how we should be organizing our relations, regardless of what's on paper, though of course it would be better if we have something on paper. And, of course, I hope to have an opportunity to meet with you again before I leave office in the Kremlin. (S)

The President: We'll work that out. I told them at the press conference, you were very wily, cagey. People are wondering what your plans are, and I said, "That's my friend Vladimir. He's keeping everyone guessing." (S)

President Putin: Well, George I feel you have a very good mood today, which is really pleasing. I would like to wish you such good moods in the future. (S)

The President: Thank you. (U)

| President Putin: Good bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with President
Vladimir Putin of Russia

PARTICIPANT: President Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko
Notetakers : Troy Ewing, Alexandra Hadley,
Jessica Rowell

DATE, TIME November 20, 2007, 9:40-9:52 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

President Bush: How are you, Mr. President? (U)

President Putin: I am very glad to hear from you. Everything
is okay. (U)

President Bush: Good. Well, you sound good. (U)

President Putin: [REDACTED] b(6)
(U)

President Bush: Very briefly, as you know the Annapolis
conference is starting next week followed by the Moscow
conference, which you have kindly offered to host, and I thank
you for that. I just wanted to tell you that I am cautiously
optimistic that they will come up with a two-state solution that
leads to peace and will give the Palestinians the necessary
courage to move forward. I hope the Arab world will come. You
won't have a final agreement, of course, but negotiations will
start. That's what I wanted to share with you. The Moscow
meeting would then be an important moment to see where people
are in the process. (U)

President Putin: George, I would like to thank you for this
call. I am very glad to hear you and I would like to

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Reason: 1.4(d)

Declassify on: 11/26/17

NW#: 78134 DocId: 34685377

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(congratulate you on the nearing holiday that is Thanksgiving.
(U)

President Bush: Thank you. (U)

President Putin: I hope you have the opportunity to have a little rest. (U)

I also think that the Moscow meeting, if it takes place, could make a contribution toward a settlement, but I must tell you that I didn't think about that when I made an active decision to support you on Annapolis. I believe that your efforts, persistent and continuous, are welcome and it was my wish to help you. I believe that this course is very correct. So, we took up the initiative to help you organize this meeting. (S)

(We talked to Abbas when he came to Moscow. In the beginning of November, I sent Mr. Primakov over to the Middle East to meet with the Palestinians, Syrians, and Israelis. The general outcome of this meeting with Abbas, Barak, Mubarak, and others was that the Arabs told him there is hope for a settlement. But you know that both Abbas and Olmert have domestic difficulties. This will make the situation more difficult. Anyway, it is important that Annapolis provides a bridge for further steps. The Primakov report says that under certain circumstances Syria and Hamas could take certain steps and that there is some room for flexibility. As a result of this mission and meetings in Damascus, both Hamas and the Syrians said they would postpone the alternative conference plan for November. We tried to convince them that it was not good, and it was bad for the interests of their nations. We had the impression that they agreed with us. (S)

(It is our view that the participation of Syria and Lebanon in the meeting in Annapolis would be very useful even if the problem on the Golan Heights will not be discussed. This could be a bridge to a full scale international conference. This is what we have been doing recently. Of course, there are claims on the sides of both the Arabs and Israelis, and as you know Israel continues building the barrier and settlement activity. Also, the humanitarian situation in Gaza is deteriorating quickly. There is concern about ideas expressed in certain Israeli quarters that they would like to have large scale military operations in Gaza right after Annapolis, which makes the issue difficult. And we should not forget in the meeting about the split in the Palestinian Authority. All of our contact demonstrates the prospect for a Palestinian-Israeli

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(settlement is not a utopia. I would like to tell you that Russia would like to support your initiative because it is right and very timely. (C)

President Bush: Yes, thanks a lot. I appreciate that, my friend. I also appreciate your briefing on what Primakov reported to you. Of course we will keep you posted after the Annapolis meeting on how I see the progress. And I thank you very much for encouraging the Arab nations to send their foreign ministers. That is very helpful. I appreciate Lavrov's efforts on your behalf. (S)

President Putin: Well, we have no doubts and we will go hand-in-hand on this. (S)

President Bush: Thank you very much, and good luck in the Duma elections. (U)

(President Putin: Thank you, George. Thank you very much. In conclusion, I would like to say a few words about the visit to Moscow by Secretaries Rice and Gates. They gave us a few ideas concerning Missile Defense and we thought the ideas were not bad. They promised to send a written proposal but we haven't received it yet. (S)

President Bush: Okay, we will get that to you. We owe you something. They were very optimistic when they came back. Thank you for bringing that to my attention. I will get you the written proposal. (S)

President Putin: Thank you very much, George. Okay, we shall be waiting for it and getting ready for the meeting in Washington at the end of November. (S)

President Bush: Thank you, and I wish you the best. Spasibo. I am practicing my Russian. (U)

President Putin: Thank you, and best of luck to you from all our friends. (U)

President Bush: Thank you. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with President Putin
of Russia (U)

PARTICIPANTS: President Vladimir Putin

Interpreter: Peter Afanasenko
Notetakers: Melissa Stone, Chad Ensley,
and Alison Clyde

DATE, TIME: December 24, 2007, 7:45 - 7:51 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Camp David

The President: Hey, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: George, hello. (U)

The President: Hey. (U)

President Putin: I will probably take no more than two minutes of your time. I would like to congratulate you on the upcoming Christmas. It has been a good year. We have recognized the 200th anniversary of the establishment of our diplomatic relations. (U)

So, I recall the meetings which took place in Heilingendamm, and in the summer in Kennebunkport at the house of your father, and I took a look at the statement you made at the pre-Christmas press conference, and basically I believe that even though this has been a difficult year with many events happening, overall it was not too bad. (S)

I would like to wish you and your family, and all Americans, a Merry Christmas and good festivities, and I embrace you and all the best to you. (U)

The President: Thank you, Vladimir. I wish you and your sweet girls and good wife all the best. I told Laura I'd be speaking

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Reason: 1.4(b)(d)

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(to you today, and she told me to wish you and Lyudmila all the best. I'm looking forward to working with you next year. We'll stay in touch. ~~(S)~~

President Putin: Thank you. All the best to you. (U)

The President: Thank you. Thanks for calling, friend. Da svidaniya. (U)

President Putin: Bye-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with President of
Russia

PARTICIPANTS: President Vladimir Putin

Interpreter: Nikolai Sorokin
Notetaker(s): Michael Bradecamp,
Christopher Davis, Danielle Lukich

DATE, TIME March 07, 2008, 7:31 a.m. - 7:50 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey, Vladimir. (U)

President Putin: Hi, George. How are you? (U)

The President: I'm doing good. (U)

President Putin: Wonderful. Tomorrow we're having a Women's
Day celebration. It's a major holiday in our country. So
greatest regards to Laura, your mother, and your daughters. (S)

The President: Great. Every day is Women's Day in my house --
just like your house. (S)

President Putin: Thank you for your call to Dmitry Medvedev,
and your congratulations to him. (S)

The President: It was a good call. He's a fellow who is
following in big footsteps and I'm looking forward to getting to
know him better. (S)

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Reason: 1.4(b)(d)
Declassify on: 3/11/33

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President Putin: Thank you, personally, and thanks to your Administration for such a positive reaction. The candidates for the next presidential election are not nibbling or biting anyone but they are itching. (S)

The President: That leads to this very important phone call. You have a president soon-to-be and we'll have a new president very soon. The question is, Vladimir, can you and I use our friendship to forge a strategic relationship that will fuse issues in the future or lock in new areas of agreement? (S)

President Putin: I'd love to. I'd love to. (S)

The President: This is the problem. I'd like to be very candid. I know your strong opinions, because you made them very clear, on Georgia and Ukraine. On the other hand, I feel very compelled, in spite of your objections, to be forward-leaning on the MAP application process. It is a long process for application. If ever admitted, which by the way is uncertain, there is a NATO guarantee there would be no permanent bases or troops in Ukraine or Georgia. But I want you to know the truth as we dialogue on what I hope we can move on in a very constructive way. (S)

President Putin: George, this is a crackdown position that has been detailed by your Ambassador Burns. And I would like to thank you for sending to Moscow such a knowledgeable and intelligent person. I don't believe we will be able to discuss these issues over the phone. Only one brief comment I allow myself. You personally and the U.S. have always been for us, the model of the development of democracy. And that's how your country has positioned itself in the world, as a standard -- a yardstick. I understand it remains valid to this date. Correct? (S)

The President: Well, we're trying to help other democracies. We realize not everyone looks like us. They have their own history and traditions. But yes, we're trying to foster democracy. (S)

President Putin: There are some basic fundamental things. Democracy is, first and foremost, taking into account the opinion of the people. Eighty-five percent of the citizens in Ukraine do not want to be in NATO. Is it to be construed as democracy if the country is moving towards something that 85 percent of people do not want? We can discuss this in an

open manner as friends. And cast our eye 15 years or so into the future. And how important would the relations between the U.S. and Russia be in the future? What role would they play globally? And what should be done to strengthen and not destroy these relations? Therefore, I suggest after the Russia and NATO meeting in Bucharest, it would take only a one hour flight to Sochi. Take a flight and we'll have a cup of tea and have a friendly discussion. And before that, we will have a meeting in the "2+2" with Secretaries Rice and Gates. We will talk with them about Serbian positions in that region and other concerns of ours. We will be engaged in a frank and open discussion, and are expecting some practical outcomes. And with you, we can continue discussion about strategic nuclear weapons and other nuclear related issues. And we would be able to discuss what to do next on Iran. We just adopted the Security Council Resolution to everyone's satisfaction, and the anti-terrorist activities will be incorporated quite well. Despite the existence of numerous points of disagreement, we have numerous points that coincide. (S)

The President: Thanks for the invitation. There's a concern I have to share. I would really love to come. However, if you feel like at Bucharest you need to make a strong statement that would be anti-U.S. or anti-West, it would make it difficult for me to come. I won't tell you what to say. You're my friend. You're going to have to be your own judge on that. I would hope that the spirit at Bucharest is positive, not antagonistic. I make up my own mind, but it would be very hard for me. (S)

President Putin: I'm afraid I scared somebody to smithereens. I do not have any intent to get into a quarrel with anyone, or I would not come there. But, on certain points, I will have to relate the position of the Russian Federation, with certain clarity. But everything will be in a gentlemanly manner. (S)

The President: Yes, you scared me. But you can be a tough guy when you want to be. But, you can be very firm and very clear on your rhetoric and you know what I mean. You're very effective when you want to be in terms of being tough and hard. So I appreciate you saying you'll be gentlemanly. I would like to come. As well, I'm going to send you a letter on what I think should be covered in the "2+2" meeting. I'll share some things on my mind because we can't share them over the phone. (S)

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President Putin: That will be wonderful and very useful. When Rice and Gates came for the first time, they discussed certain points of agreement and then retracted them. (S)

The President: I know, I know. That's why this letter will help keep my bureaucracy locked in. (S)

President Putin: And my best regards to Condi. On the occasion of the forthcoming International Women's Day, I promise during my statement in Bucharest to be very intelligent and gentlemanly. (S)

The President: This will be good. I'm looking forward to seeing you. Two old warhorses writing the final chapter to help other presidents. Alright. I'll talk with you. (C)

President Putin: I understand there are even older horses in your stable. (S)

The President: Alright -- I will talk with you. (U)

President Putin: Yes. Thanks. Good-bye. (U)

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The President: Thanks, give my best to Lyudmila and the girls. (U)

President Putin: Okay. (U)

--End of Conversation--

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Declassified Case: NW# 78134 Date:
08-25-2025

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with the
Prime Minister of Russia

PARTICIPANTS: Prime Minister Vladimir Putin

Interpreter: Nikolai Sorokin
Notetaker(s): Randal LaBine, Alison Clyde,
John Horton

DATE, TIME May 12, 2008, 10:24 a.m. - 10:27 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey, Vladimir. (U)

Prime Minister Putin: Hi, George. It's very nice to hear you.
(U)

The President: I'm just calling to congratulate you on your new position. It's a little awkward not to call you President, but I'm happy to call you Prime Minister. (S)

Prime Minister Putin: Thank you very much, George. Thank you for not forgetting your old friend. I hold that in very high regard. [REDACTED] b(6)

[REDACTED] b(6)
[REDACTED] b(6) (S)

The President: [REDACTED] b(6)
[REDACTED] b(6)
(S)

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Reason: 1.4(d)
Declassify on: 5/19/18

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An interpreter facilitated this conversation. Differences in interpretation may result in subtle differences in the exact meaning of phrases.

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Prime Minister Putin:

b(6)

b(6)

(U)

The President:

b(6)

(U)

Prime Minister Putin: You know, we have established a very good relationship between you and me. I'm sure my successor Medvedev will also have good relations with the new administration, and with you. This is very important for our countries. So you will meet with my successor, President Medvedev, at the island of Hokkaido for the G-8 meetings. And you and I will meet at the opening ceremonies of the Olympic games in Beijing? (U)

The President: Yes, absolutely. We'll go to the old people's events and compete in the over-55 category. (U)

Prime Minister Putin: Yes, but we'll beat them all. We'll by all means be the winners, you'll win the bicycle race and I will win judo. (U)

The President: Glad to hear your voice, we'll stay in touch and I wish you all the best. (U)

Prime Minister Putin: Yes. Thank you very much, all the best to you. I embrace you and we'll be in touch. Until we meet again. (U)

The President: Yes, until then. Thanks, Vladimir. Goodbye. (U)

Prime Minister Putin: Thanks, goodbye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --