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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Nursultan Nazarbayev
of Kazakhstan (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
James A. Baker, Secretary of State
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

Nursultan Nazarbayev, President of Kazakhstan

DATE, TIME May 19, 1992, 11:00am - 12:00pm
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Every one is anxious to hear from you. After the discussion, we will have a working lunch then signing and statements. If there is anything you wish to discuss privately we should do so now. I want you and Jim to fill us in on START. I hope at Lisbon you will have a high level representative. (S)

President Nazarbayev: I believe we have overcome new obstacles. I want to express my own feeling. I am grateful for your kind attitude toward Kazakhstan from the great state of the United States. At the moment the CIS is not working. Meetings like a President's club. The Soviet Union continues to disintegrate. Problems within Russia accelerate and that is dangerous. The main concern is that Russia doesn't control the course of reform - it is being done at the local level. Why? We shifted from totalitarianism to freedom instantaneously. We should have sorted out the economy first. Destroyed the center in Bolshevik manner. We sign documents and they are meaningless. Russians exert pressure on many areas. I have told Yeltsin what I am telling you. We should keep Yeltsin, for all his faults he is sincere. If you and I prompt him - he pays no attention to anyone else - including our help. I am talking about his drinking. He says what can I do - look what surrounds me. But that is not the way out. (S)

The President: How did he respond to your drinking comment? (S)

President Nazarbayev: All right. There are many problems. The Black Sea Fleet, for example. I could solve it. But there are many people around Yeltsin with territorial claims. There is no

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united army. Everyone knows that. We have our own army - so do the others. There is mistrust of Russia. Other republics are willing to go under the protection of the West but not Russia. Only Kazakhstan may be able to prevent fundamentalism in Tadjikistan related to Massood. The CIS is collapsing. I am working hard to preserve it, but it is useless. We signed an international security pact. (Describes). I signed that merely to prevent fundamentalist interference. We have enough resources and industry so we won't be the last to get out of the crisis. But we need aid now. It should not be delayed - including Russia and the others. Crisis is reaching an apex. We can't afford to be late. We could have a catastrophe. There is total disintegration in the Russian countryside. Now Kazakhstan is OK. We have a choice. Representatives of all Arab states have visited, including Iran. They have promised to provide what we need. But that would put Kazakhstan under their influence. Kazakhstan has Turkic base so I would be honored - but I won't do that but I will support democracy. There will be instability between the Central Asian republics because there are territorial and racial disputes. It is important to stabilize Afghanistan to defend against fundamentalism. There are 3 aggressor S _____, Dustum... (S)

The President: Massood is more moderate isn't he? (S)

President Nazarbayev: Yes. Our task is security and democracy. We have the resources. We have begun our work with Chevron. We want American Companies to come over and invest. (Opens Map). Look at the central location of Kazakhstan. (Describes). We want your military to come over and train our military - a military cadre. I want a grand and powerful US presence. That is the reason for Chevron and that is only the beginning. I closed a nuclear testing site. Nevada is still operating but I won't criticize (laughs). Here is a powerful base. (points) Here we work on nuclear rocket engines. I want to cooperate on high technology. (S)

The President: We could send Dan Golden. (S)

President Nazarbayev: Here - this could be a landing site for shuttle in an emergency. (S)

The President: Is Russia sensitive about all this belonging to you? (S)

President Nazarbayev: We have an agreement. We are prepared to lease some of these - they are all on Kazakhstan territory. Please exempt Kazakhstan from COCOM. We want preferential treatment, like you give Israel. It's not clear what will happen in Russia. In China some of their books show part of our territory as Chinese. To the south is fundamentalism. What are we to do? That is why we wish to be close to the U.S. This is why we wanted to remain temporarily a nuclear state. I want Kazakhstan to become a bastion of democratic principles as a lesson to the world. I will hand out books in New York with 135

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opportunities, with all the economic details, legislation on market economy, our achievements. (S)

The President: OPIC? (S)

General Scowcroft: You will sign the treaty? (S)

President Nazarbayev: I am not coming empty handed. I come with projects and opportunity! (Describes minerals, etc). Kazakhstan exports 5 billion annually. Gold and diamonds. Will put gold in Swiss banks as security. (S)

Secretary Baker: Kazakhstan can get its own currency sooner than most. Should put some in the Federal Reserve Bank. (S)

President Nazarbayev: We'll do that. I just wanted to brief you on our situation. Our position is peacemaker between Christians and Muslims. Want to be close to the U.S. I want to extend an invitation to you to visit. (S)

The President: It is difficult this election year. But I'd love to do it, so let's leave it open. I think I'll win and would love to come. Do we need to resolve any more business? (S)

Secretary Baker: Where and when can we sign this protocol? The Museum of Art is good. (S)

President Nazarbayev: How about Minsk? That is the capitol of the CIS. (S)

Secretary Baker: Can't you send someone to Lisbon? We are running out of time to start hearings. (S)

President Nazarbayev: We can't send someone on the 24th. If you have arranged it with the other 3 - why not do it in Minsk on the 25th. (S)

Secretary Baker: Someone would be ready on the 25th to go anywhere? (S)

President Nazarbayev: We are signing a treaty at 6 p.m. in Moscow on the 24th. (S)

Secretary Baker: OK. We need to move to get it ratified. (S)

President Nazarbayev: What do you think of on Kazakhstan? (S)

The President: Scientific cooperation is great, business incentives are great, nuclear business is running along and we take seriously our responsibilities under NPT, NALL, etc. (S)

President Nazarbayev: How about the military? (S)

Secretary Baker: We could do some training. (S)

The President: Military to military visits would be good. (S)

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President Nazarbayev: My security... is US/UN. (S)

The President: We can discuss. (U)

President Nazarbayev: Scientific cooperation, business, military, etc. (S)

Secretary Baker: The biggest help to Kazakhstan would be business investments. Resolutions of nuclear issues open the way. (S)

The President: Your deal with Chevron will really open the doors. Cut contract with our smaller businesses. They can move more capacity. Won't Eagleburger mission apply? (S)

Secretary Baker: Yes. (U)

President Nazarbayev: Last - happy to know the U.S. is providing \$500 million in CCC. We need cattlefeed. Here is my request for this. (S)

Secretary Baker: Also have some funds for destruction of nuclear weapons. Ukraine asks for some and we should find a way to get some to Kazakhstan. (S)

President Nazarbayev: That would help. We have a lot of tanks and small arms. Want your help to sell them. (S)

Secretary Baker: Our public ... to CIS making and selling weapons to Burma, Libya, etc. (S)

President Nazarbayev: We don't make them - just want to dispose of the ones we have. (S)

The President: We just missed our Cabinet meeting. Let's wash up and go to lunch. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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