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IN FULL

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ACTION ACDA-17

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 ONY-00 SSO-00 /017W
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REVIEW AUTHORITY: Theodore Sellin, Senior
Reviewer

R 051630Z OCT 92
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1579

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 030075

DEPT FOR ACDA LUCAS FISHER FROM NST AMBASSADOR BROOKS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PARM, START
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. LUCAS:

FOLLOWING IS A MINI-SITREP OF THE MEETINGS IN KIEV.
PLEASE PASS THIS INFORMATION TO ALL WHO NEED IT IN
SNA. WISNER SENT MORE DETAILS WHICH WERE COPIED TO
RON; YOU SHOULD ASK FOR COPY IF NOT DISTRIBUTED. I
ASSUME THERE WILL BE AN EMBASSY REPORTING CABLE
SOONER OR LATER.

3. ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL. THEY ALL MADE THE RIGHT
NOISES ABOUT ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL AND MOST ON THE
TRIP FEEL AT EASE ABOUT THAT SUBJECT. MOZOROV
(DEFENSE MINISTER) TOLD ME THAT BOMBER NUCLEAR

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WEAPONS WOULD BE RETURNED TO RUSSIA, BUT THAT, WITH
REGARD TO THE BOMBERS THEMSELVES, THERE WAS AN
ALLOCATION OF THE FORCES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION
AND UKRAINE HAD ROOM TO RETAIN THEM "UNDER THE
TREATY" (I THINK HE MEANT CFE, BUT WISNER ARRIVED AT
THIS POINT AND I COULDN'T FOLLOW UP). MOZOROV SAID
THAT THE BOMBERS WEREN'T PARTICULARLY SUITED FOR
UKRAINE AND MIGHT BE RETURNED TO RUSSIA, BUT AT A
PRICE. NOT CLEAR WHAT THE PRICE WAS OR WHETHER HE
WAS TALKING ABOUT BEAR, BLACKJACK, OR BOTH.

4. IMPLEMENTATION. I HAD ASSUMED THAT THERE WAS A
FOUR-PARTY AGREEMENT NEARLY COMPLETE. WE HAD SEEN A
DRAFT (EITHER FROM KIEV OR MOSCOW, DON'T REMEMBER
WHICH) IN AUGUST. UKRAINE SAYS THAT THAT DRAFT HAS
FALLEN APART, THAT THERE IS NO AGREEMENT ON

IMPLEMENTATION, AND THAT RUSSIA NOW PROPOSES TO DEAL BILATERALLY WITH EACH STATE. WE WILL FOLLOW UP WITH RUSSIANS.

5. DEACTIVATION PLANS. WE MET SEPARATELY WITH THEIR START PEOPLE, HEADED BY A COLONEL ASTAKHOV. THEY TOLD US THE FOLLOWING:

A. SS-24 DESTRUCTION. THEY WILL DELAY THIS UNTIL LATER AND ARE FOCUSING ON SS-19S FIRST. THEY STILL THINK MAY WANT TO USE THE MISSILES FOR SPACE, BU CLEARLY HAVE NOT THOUGHT ABOUT IT IN DETAIL. THEY HAVE ALSO BEEN LOOKING AT INCINERATING THE MISSILES IN A "CLEAN ENGINE" (NOT FURTHER DESCRIBED).

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B. SS-19 DESTRUCTION. THEY HAVE MADE A FIRM DECISION NOT/NOT TO USE THE FACILITY IN BELARUS. THEY UNDERSTAND THE BELARUSSIAN FACILITY WILL CLOSE AT THE END OF THE YEAR AND THE EQUIPMENT WILL SHIFT TO RUSSIA. THEY PLAN TO BUILD A FACILITY IN UKRAINE AND ESTIMATE 60 MONTHS FOR DESTRUCTION. THEY CLAIM TO NEED HELP WITH RESEARCH COSTS, TANK CARS FOR FUEL, AND FOUR TO FIVE CRANES OF 100 TONS LIFT TO DISASSEMBLE SILOS. THEY HAVE MADE A FIRM DECISION NOT TO USE EXPLOSIVE DEMOLITION FOR SILOS. THEY APPEAR TO PLAN ON NO ASSISTANCE FROM RUSSIA AND CLAIM THEY CAN DO THE TASK ALONE.

C. SPEEDING UP/EARLY DEACTIVATION. THE UKRAINIANS SHOWED NO INTEREST WHATSOEVER IN EARLY DEACTIVATION DURING THE TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS I HELD. THEY CLAIMED EARLY DEACTIVATION WAS A VIOLATION OF THE ACCOUNTABILITY PROCEDURES OF START. WE TRIED TO EXPLAIN OUR APPROACH, BUT IT'S CLEAR THEY AREN'T HAVING ANY, AT LEAST AT THE TECHNICAL LEVEL. MY IMPRESSION (NOT SHARED BY EVERYONE) IS THAT THEY ALREADY THINK THE TASK IS HARD AND DON'T EVEN WANT TO CONTEMPLATE THE THOUGHT OF ACCELERATION.

D. U.S. DRAFT AGREEMENT. THEY HAD SOME AGREEMENT ON U.S. ASSISTANCE WHICH BURNS HAD TABLED ON HIS LAST TRIP WHICH THEY WANTED TO REVIEW PARAGRAPH BY PARAGRAPH. YOU MAY GUESS HOW THRILLED I WAS TO FIND THAT THERE WAS A TABLED AGREEMENT THAT I'D NEVER HEARD OF, ALTHOUGH I WAS SOMEWHAT MOLLIFIED

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WHEN IT TURNED OUT THAT OSD AND JCS DIDN'T KNOW ABOUT
ANY SUCH AGREEMENT EITHER. PLEASE HAVE TA GET A COPY
FOR ME FOR FRIDAY (THEY HAD IT UKRAINIAN ONLY).

E. GENERAL ATTITUDE ON U.S. ASSISTANCE. THEY
ALL SEEMED UPSET THAT THEY KEEP HEARING ABOUT
NUNN-LUGAR AND KEEP SEEING US COME AND ASK QUESTIONS,
BUT THEY DON'T SEE ANY MONEY. THEY SOUNDED VERY
FRUSTRATED.

F. NEXT STEPS. THE DEFENSE MINISTER TOLD FRANK
MILLER THAT WE SHOULD STOP ASKING THEM WHAT THEY WANT
AND PRESENT A PLAN FOR MISSILE AND SILO ELIMINATION.
I THINK THIS IS A GOOD IDEA; ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE
ATTITUDE NOTED ABOVE IT IS TIME TO MOVE FROM
GENERALITIES TO SPECIFICS. TELL KARIN TO START
PUTTING TOGETHER THE OUTLINES OF SOMETHING THAT WE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 030075

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CAN CIRCULATE TO THE INTERAGENCY. SHOULD BE
SPECIFIC: IF THEY WILL DO "X", WE CAN AID THEM WITH
"Y". TELL BURNS WHAT WE ARE DOING. IT MIGHT BE

EASIER TO HAVE THE FIRST DRAFT ONLY INCLUDE SS-19S.
6. SPACE LAUNCH VEHICLES. THEY GAVE US A RUN DOWN ON THEIR PLANS. SPECIFICALLY SAID THAT THEY HAD A DEAL WITH KAZAKHSTAN TO USE SS-18S FOR SPACE LAUNCH, BUT THAT THERE WOULD BE NO NEW SS-18 PRODUCTION FOR THAT PURPOSE. OTHER PLANS ALL SEEM TO ME TO BE NO PROBLEM FROM THE START STANDPOINT; SPACE CLIPPER IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE ISSUE AND THEY CONFIRMED WHAT WE HAVE HEARD BEFORE.

7. RATIFICATION. THEY ALREADY HAD THE RESOLUTION OF
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RATIFICATION AND WERE ASKING QUESTIONS ON IT. TIMBIE AND I ANSWERED SOME, BUT I'LL DO A PAPER WHEN I GET BACK TO SEND THEM. I ALSO LEFT A COPY OF THE ARTICLE BY ARTICLE ANALYSIS OF THE LISBON PROTOCOL WITH EMBASSY TO GIVE THE UKRAINIANS ON MONDAY IF THE EMBASSY THINKS IT WOULD HELP. THE UKRAINIANS CLAIM THAT THE HEU AGREEMENT (AND THE FACT THAT THEY AREN'T GETTING A SHARE OF THE PROFITS) IS A PROBLEM. THEY GAVE SOME IDEAS ABOUT SECURITY ASSURANCES THAT SOME OF US LIKED AND SOME OF US DIDN'T. ROMAN POPADIUK (U.S. AMBASSADOR) SAYS THAT, AT THE END OF THE DAY, KRAVCHUK CAN PUSH START RATIFICATION THROUGH. THERE WAS NO INDICATION OF WHEN THAT MIGHT HAPPEN. MOZOROV TOLD ME THERE HAD BEEN A DECISION TO HOLD IT UP PENDING RESOLUTION OF THE HEU ISSUE, BUT NO ONE ELSE GOT THAT. SEVERAL UKRAINIANS SAID THEY THOUGHT THE RATIFICATION WOULD OCCUR BY THE END OF THE YEAR.

8. COSTS. THEY DID NOT/NOT RAISE INSPECTION COSTS OR SEPARATE POES. THEY DID ASK IF WE WERE GOING TO EXERCISE OUR RIGHTS AT PAVLOGRAD, CITING THEIR COUNTERINTELLIGENCE COSTS. I SAID WE WERE GOING TO ESTABLISH PPCM.

9. GPS/ABM. THEY SAID THEY WANT TO BE A SUCCESSOR STATE FOR ABM TREATY PURPOSES, AND SEEMED UNMOVED BY WISNER'S EXPLANATIONS OF WHY IT WAS A BAD IDEA. WE DID NOT HAND OVER THE GPS CONCEPT PAPER; EMBASSY WILL DO ON MONDAY.

10. THAT'S ALL I KNOW FROM KIEV. PLEASE GET PEOPLE
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STARTED ON A PAPER WITH A PLAN FOR WHAT WE CAN DO TO HELP UKRAINE ON DISMANTLEMENT. IF NECESSARY, CALL AN

INTERAGENCY MEETING ON THE SUBJECT. ALSO PLEASE CALL FRANK MILLER AND TELL HIM I HEAR THAT WOLFOWITZ WILL BE IN KIEV NEXT WEEK. ALSO TELL FRANK WE (ACDA) ARE FOLLOWING UP ON THE IDEA OF A SPECIFIC PLAN ON U.S. DISMANTLEMENT ASSISTANCE.

11. NEW SUBJECT. JUST BEFORE I LEFT, KEN MYERS, FROM LUGAR'S OFFICE CALLED. SUGGESTS WE LOOK AT ARGUMENTS MADE BY WALLOP AND DRAFT SHORT REBUTTALS FOR USE WHEN (IF???) DEMIRVING TREATY GETS SIGNED. MIGHT HAVE RODNEY GET THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD AND MAKE A LIST OF THE ARGUMENTS. DON'T START DRAFTING UNTIL I GET BACK AND WE ALL GET TO TALK.

12. THIS IS PROBABLY THE LAST YOU WILL HEAR FROM ME; I'M IN A MILL-AROUND MODE UNTL START DISCUSSIONS WEDNESDAY. I'LL BE IN OFFICE FRIDAY. HANG IN THERE. LINT. STRAUSS

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