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**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Theodore
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MOSCOW 035873

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDRESSEE ADDED)

EXDIS **DECAPIED**

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO SENATOR NUNN AND SENATOR LUGAR

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, RS, US, UP
SUBJECT: YELTSIN TO NUNN/LUGAR: CONCERN OVER "PAUSE"
IN U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONS, WILLING TO GIVE
GUARANTEES TO UKRAINE

1. (CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.)
2. SUMMARY. MEETING WITH SENATORS NUNN AND LUGAR
----- NOVEMBER 24, PRESIDENT YELTSIN
EMPHASIZED HIS CONCERN THAT THE CHANGE IN U.S.
ADMINISTRATION NOT OCCASION A "PAUSE" IN THE
U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIP. HE PREDICTED A "BIG
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FIGHT" AT THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES BUT HE
WILL PREVAIL: HE WILL DEFEND REFORM AND HE IS TRYING
TO STRUCTURE THE CONGRESS TO PREVENT ITS BECOMING A
LYNCH MOB AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, BUT EXPECTS HE WILL
HAVE TO SACRIFICE SOME CABINET MINISTERS. YELTSIN
WAS DEEPLY SKEPTICAL OF THE UKRAINIANS' WILLINGNESS
TO HONOR THEIR LISBON OBLIGATIONS, BUT SAID RUSSIA
WOULD BE WILLING TO JOIN THE U.S. IN A STATEMENT OF
GUARANTEES TO THE UKRAINIANS. END SUMMARY.

3. PRESIDENT YELTSIN RECEIVED SENATOR NUNN AND
SENATOR LUGAR IN HIS KREMLIN MEETING ROOM AT 1730 ON
NOVEMBER 23. FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV, FOREIGN
POLICY AIDE RYURIKOV AND AN INTERPRETER WERE WITH THE
PRESIDENT. CHARGE AND SENATE STAFFERS RICHARD COMBS
AND KENNETH MEYERS ACCOMPANIED THE SENATORS.

From the Nunn-Lugar collection of the National Security Archive

4. IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR NUNN'S CONGRATULATIONS ON A SUCCESSFUL TRIP TO KOREA, YELTSIN SAID THE TRIP UNDERSCORED THAT RUSSIA SHOULD LOOK NOT ONLY TO THE WEST BUT ALSO TO THE EAST. SYMBOLICALLY, HE EXPLAINED, THE RUSSIAN PARLIAMENT WOULD SOON ADOPT RUSSIA'S FORMAL EMBLEM, THE TWO HEADED EAGLE -- ONE HEAD LOOKING EAST AND ONE WEST. A LOT OF GROUND HAD BEEN COVERED WITH THE U.S. THE ASIA TRIP WAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE SOME HEADWAY IN ASIA. MINISTER KOZYREV INTERJECTED AT THIS POINT THAT RUSSIA NEEDED TO REMEMBER THAT IN LOOKING TO THE EAST THE EAGLE ALSO LOOKED TO THE UNITED STATES. YELTSIN RESPONDED THAT MEANT RUSSIA WOULD LOOK TO THE U.S. IN TWO DIRECTIONS.

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5. YELTSIN THEN SAID HE HAD JUST RETURNED FROM A MEETING WITH THE COLLEGIUM OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE, SOME THREE HUNDRED FIFTY OFFICERS. THEY HAD BEEN DISCUSSING THE BEST WAYS TO WAGE WAR. IT WAS GOOD NOW TO TALK ABOUT MAKING PEACE. AT THE MOD QUESTIONS ABOUT RUSSIA'S BORDERS WITH THE CIS STATES HAD BEEN ON THE AGENDA. THESE BORDERS ARE POROUS AND PRESENT A REAL DANGER. WHEN THE USSR EXISTED THERE WAS ONE BORDER AND IT WAS POSSIBLE TO PREVENT THE LEAKAGE OF DANGEROUS TECHNOLOGY, FOR EXAMPLE, MISSILE TECHNOLOGY. NOW, WHEN BORDERS ARE ALMOST NON-EXISTENT, THERE IS A REAL DANGER THAT THIS KIND OF TECHNOLOGY CAN BE STOLEN AND EXPORTED. THE SUBJECT OF SUCH LEAKAGE HAD BEEN SERIOUSLY DISCUSSED AT THE MOD COLLEGIUM MEETING. SENATOR NUNN, RESPONDING TO THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS, SAID THE PREVENTION OF WEAPONS PROLIFERATION IS AN AREA OF MUTUAL INTEREST, AND HE HOPED THAT THE U.S. AND RUSSIA COULD WORK TOGETHER ON IT. HE AND SENATOR LUGAR, IN THE FACE OF JUST THIS KIND OF DANGER, HAD WORKED TO ESTABLISH RISK REDUCTION CENTERS IN THE U.S. AND RUSSIA. THOSE CENTER ARE NOW FUNCTIONING AND PROVIDE A MEASURE OF CONFIDENCE.

6. PRESIDENT YELTSIN FOLLOWED BY NOTING RUSSIA IS PRESENTLY WORKING TO BUILD NEW FACILITIES TO MANAGE NUCLEAR MATERIALS. HE THANKED THE SENATORS FOR THE CONGRESS' ASSISTANCE AND SAID A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF THE USD400 MILLION IN NUNN-LUGAR FUNDS WOULD BE USED TO DEVELOP SECURE STORAGE FACILITIES. RUSSIA HAD DECIDED TO BUILD SUCH FACILITIES IN THE TOMSK AREA,

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ALTHOUGH HE IMPLIED THE DECISION ON LOCATION HAD BEEN
COMPLICATED. AT AN EARLIER TIME, HE SAID, THE SITING
OF SUCH FACILITIES WAS EASY. PUTTING HIS FINGER ON A
PAD, HE SAID, THE LEADERSHIP WOULD HAVE SAID IT WILL
GO THERE, AND THAT WAS ALL THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN TO
IT. NOW, IN NEW CONDITIONS OF DEMOCRACY,
THERE IS A
NEED FIRST TO CONVINCE LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND
POPULATIONS THAT THE ENVIRONMENT WILL NOT BE HARMED
AND THAT THE FACILITY CAN OPERATE SAFELY.
7. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS IMPORTANT TO MOVE AHEAD
QUICKLY. RUSSIA, HE NOTED, HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO
DISMANTLE WEAPONS THAT WILL BE ELIMINATED UNDER THE
START AGREEMENT. THAT AGREEMENT HAS ALSO BEEN
RATIFIED. AND ALL OF THIS IS A GOOD FIRST STEP. NOW
WE ALSO HAVE THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT THAT FORESEES
REDUCTION IN THE NUCLEAR FORCES. BY TWO THIRDS.
WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THAT AGREEMENT RUSSIA HAS ALSO
STARTED THE PROGRAM OF DISASSEMBLING THE SS 18. WE
ARE PROCEEDING FROM THE FRAMEWORK SIGNED WITH

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDRESSEE ADDED)

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GUARANTEES TO UKRAINE

PRESIDENT BUSH, AND NOW WE HAVE ALSO READIED A DRAFT AGREEMENT. (NOTE: SENATORS NUNN AND LUGAR WERE INFORMED ON THE MARGINS OF AN EARLIER MEETING WITH MINISTER KOZYREV NOVEMBER 23 THAT THE U.S. WOULD RECEIVE THE DRAFT ON NOVEMBER 24 VIA DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS.) IN THIS REGARD, THE PRESIDENT CONTINUED, RUSSIA DOES NOT WANT ANY PAUSE IN COOPERATION WITH
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THE U.S., ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA OF ARMS REDUCTION. HE HAD, HE SAID, SENT PRESIDENT ELECT CLINTON A MESSAGE ON THIS AND TALKED TO HIM ON THE PHONE. HE HAD ALSO INVITED THE PRESIDENT ELECT TO COME TO RUSSIA OR TO ARRANGE A MEETING ELSEWHERE SOON AFTER JANUARY 20. THE POINT TO UNDERSCORE, THE PRESIDENT SAID, IS THAT ANY INTERRUPTION IN RUSSIAN-U.S. RELATIONS WOULD BE "VERY BAD".

8. SENATOR NUNN SAID HE HAD TALKED TO PRESIDENT ELECT CLINTON BEFORE LEAVING THE U.S. ALTHOUGH NOT A MESSENGER, THE SENATOR SAID, ON RETURN HE WILL RECOMMEND THAT THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION PROCEED TO NEGOTIATE AND COMPLETE A START II AGREEMENT, FINISH THE AGREEMENT ON HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM, AND COMPLETE WORK ON THE AGREEMENTS TO IMPLEMENT PROJECTS TO BE FINANCED FROM THE NUNN-LUGAR FUNDS. THE SENATOR AGREED THAT WE DO NOT WANT TO SEE A SIXTY DAY RECESS IN RELATIONS. ON THE CONTRARY, HE SAID, THIS COULD BE A PERIOD OF REAL ACHIEVEMENT.

9. YELTSIN SAID HE WANTED TO MAKE SOME FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE. IN HIS DISCUSSION WITH THE 350 GENERALS, A MAJOR POINT MADE BY THEM WAS THAT ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS MUST BE UNDER RUSSIAN JURISDICTION AND ON RUSSIAN TERRITORY. RUSSIA HAS AN AGREEMENT WITH BELARUS TO WITHDRAW THE STRATEGIC WEAPONS AND EXPECTS TO SIGN ONE WITH KAZAKHSTAN. BUT THERE ARE PROBLEMS WITH THE UKRAINIANS. THEY, YELTSIN SAID WITH VISIBLE EMOTION, ARE GOING TO BREAK THE LISBON ACCORDS AND THIS IS NOT PERMISSIBLE. THE
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 U.S. CAN HELP INFLUENCE UKRAINE AND SHOULD DO SO.
 WARMING FURTHER TO THE SUBJECT, THE PRESIDENT SAID HE
 DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THE SENATORS HAD DISCUSSED THE
 NUCLEAR WEAPONS ISSUE IN KIEV, BUT HE DID KNOW THE
 UKRAINIANS. THEY ARE TRYING, HE SAID, TO HAVE IT
 BOTH WAYS: TO DECLARE THEMSELVES A NON-NUCLEAR POWER
 AND TO KEEP THE WEAPONS. SAYING HE WOULD SPEAK
 BLUNTLY, YELTSIN CONTINUED THAT THE U.S. MADE A
 TACTICAL MISTAKE IN HANDLING THE NUCLEAR ISSUE WITH
 UKRAINE. IT WAS AN ERROR TO RECOGNIZE UKRAINE BEFORE
 KIEV SIGNED THE NPT. THIS WAS MY VIEW AND ADVICE, HE
 CLAIMED. SENATOR NUNN SAID HE AND SENATOR LUGAR HAD
 TAKEN UP THE NUCLEAR ISSUE IN KIEV IN A FORCEFUL,
 VERY FORCEFUL, MANNER. THEY MADE CLEAR TO THE
 UKRAINIANS THAT UKRAINE MADE A PUBLIC COMMITMENT IN
 LISBON AND THE U.S. EXPECTS THAT COMMITMENT TO BE
 HONORED--START I RATIFICATION AND NPT SIGNATURE AND
 RATIFICATION--WITHOUT DELAY AND WITHOUT AMENDMENTS.
 IN RESPONSE, SENATOR NUNN CONTINUED, THE UKRAINIANS
 EMPHASIZED TWO POINTS. THEY SOUGHT ECONOMIC
 ASSISTANCE AND PUT GREAT STOCK IN THE IMPORTANCE OF
 SECURITY ASSURANCES FROM THE U.S. NEITHER OF THESE
 MATTERS WAS RAISED AS A CONDITION. IT WAS
 EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT ASSISTANCE ON THESE TWO
 ISSUES WOULD HELP WITH RATIFICATION.
 LO. IN RESPONSE TO THE SENATOR'S PRESENTATION YELTSIN
 SAID RUSSIA IS READY TO GIVE GUARANTEES IF THEY ARE
 NEEDED. FURTHERMORE, HE SAID, IF THE U.S. WANTS A
 JOINT STATEMENT THAT WOULD BE POSSIBLE. BUT, THE
 MAIN POINT IS TO GET START I RATIFIED, GET START II
 SIGNED AND PROCEED WITH DESTRUCTION. THE UKRAINIANS
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 SAY THEY WANT TO DESTROY THE MISSILES THEMSELVES.
 THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE. THREE RUSSIAN FACTORIES MAKE
 THE MISSILES AND ONLY THEY HAVE THE CAPABILITY AND
 THE SPECIALISTS TO DISMANTLE THEM. THE POINT HERE IS
 THAT NO MATTER WHICH ADMINISTRATION IS INVOLVED THE
 U.S. SHOULD TRY TO FINALIZE THE AGREEMENTS WITH
 UKRAINE. RUSSIA HAS DONE ALL THAT THE U.S. ASKED:
 START I IS RATIFIED. THE START II AGREEMENT DRAFT IS
 READY. THE UKRAINIANS ON THE OTHER HAND ARE
 FOCUSING ON ONE THING. WHEN THEY GIVE UP THE
 NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THEY FEAR NO ONE WILL TAKE UKRAINE
 SERIOUSLY. MAYBE THE U.S. CAN HELP IN THIS. BUT THE
 UKRAINIANS HAVE THE IDEA THAT THEY WILL LOSE STATUS
 AND IMPORTANCE IF THEY GIVE UP THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
 THEY ARE AFRAID OF BECOMING LIKE THE BALTICS OR
 TAJIKISTAN. RUSSIA AND UKRAINE BEGAN WORKING ON THE
 NUCLEAR ISSUE VERY ENERGETICALLY AND THE QUESTION OF
 TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS WAS RESOLVED QUICKLY. THEN,

HOWEVER, THE UKRAINIANS BEGAN TRAVELLING AND GOT THE IDEA THE STRATEGIC WEAPONS GAVE THEM STATUS AND

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 MOSCOW 035873

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BARGAINING LEVERAGE. PERHAPS, HE CONCLUDED, THE U.S. CAN HELP WITH THIS PROBLEM, BUT ONE THING RUSSIA MUST STRESS: RUSSIA WILL NOT PAY UKRAINE FOR TAKING AMD DESTROYING THEIR MISSILES.

11. YELTSIN SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO RETURN TO THE MATTER OF A POSSIBLE PAUSE IN RUSSIAN-U.S.

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RELATIONS. THE NEXT SIXTY DAYS ARE A CONCERN, HE SAID, BUT ALSO OF CONCERN ARE THE FIRST HUNDRED DAYS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WHEN THE NEW PRESIDENT WILL HAVE TO ADDRESS HIS CAMPAIGN PROMISES AND WILL FOCUS ON DOMESTIC MATTERS. THE RUSSIAN VIEW IS THAT 160 DAYS--HALF A YEAR--IS TOO LONG TO PERMIT A HIATUS. SENATOR NUNN SAID HE AND SENATOR LUGAR WILL STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT NO SUCH PAUSE BE PERMITTED. IT IS TRUE THAT IN THE NATURAL COURSE OF THINGS AN INCOMING PRESIDENT-ELECT AND AN OUTGOING PRESIDENT TRY NOT TO INTERFERE WITH EACH OTHER. THE RESULT OF THAT SITUATION CAN BE THAT NOTHING HAPPENS DURING THE TRANSITION. WE CANNOT ACCEPT THAT, SENATOR NUNN SAID. TOO MUCH DEPENDS ON THE U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIP.

12. WITH THE TIME FOR THE MEETING COMING TO A CLOSE, SENATOR NUNN ASKED PRESIDENT YELTSIN FOR HIS SENSE ABOUT THE DIRECTION THE UPCOMING CONGRESS WOULD TAKE AND HOW HE AND HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD COPE WITH IT. IN REPLY YELTSIN SAID HE PERSONALLY AND THE MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN CONTACTING ALL RELEVANT GROUPINGS, PARTIES, INTERESTS AND REGIONS WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF INFLUENCING THE AGENDA OF THE CONGRESS. THAT PROCESS WILL CONTINUE AND HE EXPECTS TO MEET WITH THE CIVIC UNION AGAIN AND WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MANUFACTURING AND AGRICULTURAL SECTORS. PERSONALLY, YELTSIN SAID, HE HAS NO CONCERNS. THERE ARE ONLY TWO ISSUES TO DEFEND: REFORM AND THE GOVERNMENT. HE HAS SUGGESTED THAT THE CONGRESS HEAR THREE REPORTS: FROM THE PRESIDENT ON THE POLITICAL

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SITUATION; FROM SPEAKER KHASBULATOV ON WHAT THE PARLIAMENT HAS DONE TO ADVANCE THE LEGISLATIVE AGENDA FOR REFORM; AND FROM GAYDAR ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REFORM PROGRAM. STRUCTURING THE CONGRESS THIS WAY WILL PREVENT IT FROM BECOMING A LYNCH MOB FOR THE GOVERNMENT, THE LIKELY RESULT IF GAYDAR WERE ASKED TO PROVIDE THE ONLY REPORT. ON THE OTHER HAND, YELTSIN SAID, HE DID NOT SEE THE CONGRESS DEFEATING ALL THREE REPORTS. AS FOR A FORECAST, YELTSIN SAID, HE EXPECTS A BIG FIGHT; HE ALSO EXPECTS TO HAVE TO SACRIFICE SOME IN THE GOVERNMENT, BUT HE WILL DEFEND REFORM AND WILL PREVAIL. THERE WILL BE MANY TACTICAL MAMEUVERS, BUT THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT WE WILL NOT GIVE UP REFORM; IT WILL REMAIN INTACT OR "I WILL NOT REMAIN PRESIDENT OF RUSSIA."

13. SENATOR NUNN AND SENATOR LUGAR THANKED PRESIDENT YELTSIN FOR HIS TIME AND SAID THEY WANTED THE PRESIDENT TO KNOW THAT ALL IN THE U.S. WISH HIM THE

BEST AND ALL SUCCESS IN HIS EFFORT TO ESTABLISH
CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND TO PROCEED WITH ECONOMIC
REFORM.

14. COMMENT: WE FOUND YELTSIN TIRED AFTER HIS FAR
EAST TRIP BUT CONFIDENT AND DETERMINED. THERE WAS NO
INDICATION FROM HIM THAT HE FORESEES INSURMOUNTABLE
PROBLEMS EMERGING AT THE UPCOMING CONGRESS. HE WAS
ELOQUENT ON THE NEED TO PREVENT ANY INTERRUPTION IN
OUR RELATIONS DURING THE U.S. POLITICAL TRANSITION
AND WAS CLEARLY PLEASED AT THE SUPPORT BOTH SENATORS
EXPRESSED FOR MAINTAINING CONTINUITY IN THE WORK ON
THE U.S.-RUSSIAN AGENDA. ALTHOUGH SUPPORTIVE OF U.S.
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EFFORTS TO BRING UKRAINE ALONG ON RATIFICATION OF
START I AND ADHERENCE TO THE NPT, YELTSIN LEFT NO
DOUBT ABOUT HIS SKEPTICISM THAT UKRAINE'S GOVERNMENT
IS PREPARED TO MEET ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE LISBON
PROTOCOLS.

15. THIS MESSAGE WAS NOT CLEARED BY SENATOR NUNN OR
SENATOR LUGAR PRIOR TO THEIR DEPARTURE FROM MOSCOW.
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CONTINUED PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL.

17. CODEL DID NOT HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW
THIS CABLE. COLLINS

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