



Mon Nov 22 09:55:35 1993 [KIEV 0007488] SNIS COPY 14 OF 16 Page 02 OF 05

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PAGE 01

KIEV 07488 01 OF 03 201845Z

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B.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PARM, PREL, START, NPT, SSD, PINS, ECON, UP  
SUBJECT: GOU CLARIFIES MEANING OF START RATIFICATION

RBF: 11/20 MILLER/TALBOTT TELCON

1. ~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY: Geoffrey W. Chapman, Senior Reviewer,  
A/GIS/IPS 3/25/2019

2. DURING A MEETING LATE SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20, FOREIGN MINISTER ZLENKO AND RADA (PARLIAMENT) FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION CHAIRMAN PAVLYCHKO CLARIFIED FOR THE AMBASSADOR THE MEANING OF CERTAIN KEY POINTS IN THE RADA'S NOVEMBER 18 RESOLUTION RATIFYING THE START AGREEMENT. BOTH AGREED THAT PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK AND THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT HAVE AUTHORITY UNDER THE RATIFICATION RESOLUTION TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY WITH DEACTIVATION/DISMANTLEMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, PRIOR TO SATISFACTION OF THE RADA'S THREE CONDITIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RATIFICATION DECISION. ZLENKO REPEATEDLY STRESSED KRAVCHUK'S INTENTION TO MOVE FORWARD BOTH WITH DISMANTLEMENT AND, WHEN THE NEW RADA CONVENES NEXT SPRING, WITH EFFORTS TO RATIFY THE LISBON PROTOCOL IN ITS ENTIRETY AND TO HAVE UKRAINE ACCEDE TO THE NPT AS A NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE. BOTH ZLENKO AND PAVLYCHKO SAID THAT THE DEACTIVATION/DISMANTLEMENT PROCESS WILL PROCEED IN PARALLEL WITH NEGOTIATIONS ON THE CONDITIONS.

3. IN A PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR SUBSEQUENT TO THE JOINT MEETING WITH PAVLYCHKO, ZLENKO, ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM KRAVCHUK, TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT UKRAINE DEACTIVATED ONE REGIMENT OF SS-24 MISSILES "ON THE EVE OF THE RADA VOTE," AND IS PREPARED TO DEACTIVATE ALL/ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS "IF LANGUAGE CAN BE FOUND WITH YOUR ADMINISTRATION ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE." ZLENKO SAID THAT KRAVCHUK INTENDS TO PROVIDE MORE INFORMATION ON HIS DEACTIVATION DECISION TO PRESIDENT CLINTON IN THE PHONE CALL THE GOU HAS REQUESTED. KRAVCHUK WILL ALSO, SAID ZLENKO, ELABORATE ON THE TYPE OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE UKRAINE SEEKS. END SUMMARY.

IMPLEMENTATION AND CONDITIONS: CLARIFICATION

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Mon Nov 22 09:55:35 1993 [KIEV 0007488] SNIS COPY 14 OF 16 Page 03 OF 05

4. THE AMBASSADOR MET AT HIS REQUEST WITH ZLENKO AND PAVLYCHKO EARLY THIS EVENING (NOVEMBER 20), TO SEEK CLARIFICATION OF CERTAIN KEY POINTS IN THE RADA'S START RATIFICATION RESOLUTION. THE AMBASSADOR SPECIFICALLY ASKED WHETHER THE GOU IS AUTHORIZED BY THE RESOLUTION TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY WITH DEACTIVATION/DISMANTLEMENT OF THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, OR WHETHER SUCH ACTION MUST EITHER AWAIT SATISFACTION OF THE RADA'S STATED CONDITIONS OR OTHERWISE BE EXPLICITLY APPROVED, STEP BY STEP, BY THE RADA. BOTH ZLENKO AND PAVLYCHKO CLEARLY STATED, REPEATEDLY, THAT THE GOU IS AUTHORIZED BY THE RADA DECISION TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY/IMMEDIATELY WITH DEACTIVATION OR DISMANTLEMENT OF MISSILES -- AT LEAST UP TO THE 36 PERCENT OF LAUNCHERS/42 PERCENT OF WARHEADS STATED IN THE RESOLUTION -- WITHOUT THE NEED TO AWAIT SATISFACTION OF THE RADA'S THREE STATED CONDITIONS FOR IMPLEMENTING THE RATIFICATION DECISION. ARTICLE 6 OF THE RADA DECISION, ZLENKO, NOTED, ALLOWS THE POSSIBILITY OF EXCEEDING THE 36/42 PERCENT FIGURE IF CIRCUMSTANCES WARRANT.

5. BOTH ZLENKO AND PAVLYCHKO STRESSED, THOUGH, THAT WHILE DISMANTLEMENT/DEACTIVATION CAN PROCEED IMMEDIATELY, THERE MUST BE ESTABLISHED A SERIOUS PARALLEL PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING SATISFACTION OF THE RADA'S REQUIREMENT FOR SECURITY GUARANTEES, FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR SSD AND FOR COMPENSATION FOR HEU. BOTH STRONGLY URGED THE IMMEDIATE ACTIVATION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THESE MATTERS. PAVLYCHKO STATED THAT THE RADA WOULD ORDER A CESSATION OF DEACTIVATION/DISMANTLEMENT ACTIVITIES IF IT IS NOT SATISFIED WITH THE PACE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. WHEN QUERIED BY THE AMBASSADOR, BOTH ZLENKO AND PAVLYCHKO SAID THAT THEY BELIEVE THAT THE RADA'S CONCERNS CAN/CAN BE SATISFIED BY THE U.S. AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

LISBON PROTOCOL/NPT  
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6. PAVLYCHKO RAISED THE PROBLEM OF THE RADA'S REFUSAL TO ALLOW ACCESSION TO THE NPT AND ITS DELETION OF ARTICLE 5 OF THE LISBON PROTOCOL FROM ITS RATIFICATION DECISION. "WE HAVE," HE SAID, "A VERY GOOD NEIGHBOR. THE MILITARY DOCTRINE OF RUSSIA IS A VERY DANGEROUS DOCTRINE. I'M SURE," HE ADDED, "THAT THAT IS WHAT STOPPED OUR RADA FROM PROCEEDING ON TO NPT, THAT LED TO

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THE DELETION OF LISBON ARTICLE 5." PAVLYCHKO ADDED THAT RADICAL NATIONALIST AND COMMUNIST DEPUTIES TRIED TO BLOCK ANY ACTION ON THE ARMS CONTROL PACKAGE, ARGUING THAT IT SHOULD BE DEFERRED TO THE NEW RADA NEXT SPRING. "I WAS VERY AFRAID," HE SAID, "THAT IT (RATIFICATION) WOULD BE STOPPED." UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, HE CONCLUDED, THE RESOLUTION WHICH WAS ADOPTED WAS THE BEST THAT COULD BE ACHIEVED AT THIS TIME.

7. ZLENKO ECHOED PAVLYCHKO'S BELIEF THAT RUSSIAN ACTIONS INFLUENCED THE RADA'S DECISION ON NPT, BUT ATTRIBUTED THE MAIN BLAME FOR IT TO "THE WEST'S" ALLEGED IGNORING OR FAILING TO AID UKRAINE. THE DEPUTIES, HE SAID, HAVE LONG BEEN ANGRY OVER PERCEIVED WESTERN INDIFFERENCE TO UKRAINE AND ITS INTERESTS, AND THEIR DECISION ON LISBON/NPT WAS, FOR MANY, A SLAP BACK



Mon Nov 22 09:55:35 1993 [KIEV 0007488] SNIS COPY 14 OF 16 Page 04 OF 05

AT THE FOREIGNERS.

THE EXECUTIVE'S POSITION

8. PRIOR TO PAVLYCHKO JOINING THE MEETING, AND AFTER HE LEFT IT, ZLENKO TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT KRAVCHUK IS DETERMINED TO PROCEED WITH THE PROCESS OF BRINGING UKRAINE TO A NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATUS. THE GOVERNMENT, AND KRAVCHUK PERSONALLY, ZLENKO SAID, FOUGHT HARD TO HAVE THE ENTIRE PACKAGE OF ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS ADOPTED BY THE RADA. EVEN THOUGH THEY DID NOT SUCCEED, THE EFFORTS WILL CONTINUE. KRAVCHUK INTENDS TO CONTINUE DEACTIVATION/DISMANTLEMENT OF MISSILES. ZLENKO SAID THAT NOTHING MORE WILL BE POSSIBLE WITH THIS RADA (CONCERNING NPT/LISBON PROTOCOL), BUT KRAVCHUK WILL MOVE AS FAR AS HE CAN IN THE INTERIM LEADING UP TO A NEW RADA NEXT SPRING. KRAVCHUK WILL REINTRODUCE THE LISBON PROTOCOL AND NPT FOR RATIFICATION TO THE NEW RADA.

9. IN THE MEANTIME, ZLENKO SAID, THE RADA'S RATIFICATION OF START I, EVEN IF LESS THAN WHAT THE GOU AND THE U.S. WANTED, WAS A MAJOR AND HISTORIC STEP FORWARD. HE URGED THAT IT BE SEEN AS CONFIRMATION OF UKRAINE'S INTENTION OF BECOMING A NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE AND AS REPRESENTING SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS, RATHER THAN BE VIEWED AS INADEQUATE. THE POINT, ZLENKO ARGUED, IS THAT A MAJOR FIRST STEP HAS BEEN TAKEN. THE GOU KNOWS THAT IT IS ONLY A FIRST STEP AND THAT MUCH MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE. THE U.S., ZLENKO SAID, SHOULD VIEW THE RATIFICATION DECISION AS THAT WHICH WAS POSSIBLE AT THE MOMENT, AND UNDERSTAND THAT IT WILL BUILD THE GROUND FOR FURTHER STEPS. THE U.S. MUST THINK "STRATEGICALLY," HE CONCLUDED, RATHER THAN FOCUS ONLY ON TODAY.

SS-24 DEACTIVATION

10. AFTER PAVLYCHKO LEFT THE MEETING, ZLENKO TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAD SPENT PART OF THE MORNING DISCUSSING THE SITUATION WITH KRAVCHUK. KRAVCHUK IS ANXIOUS THAT NO "OBSTACLES" ARISE BETWEEN NOW AND THE ELECTION OF A NEW RADA WHICH MIGHT MAKE THE RADA HALT THE DISMANTLEMENT-ACTIVITIES IT HAS NOW AGREED TO. FURTHERMORE, ZLENKO SAID, KRAVCHUK "DOES NOT EXCLUDE A BROADER SOLUTION - EARLY DEACTIVATION. THE PRESIDENT IS PREPARED TO GO FOR IT IF HE FINDS LANGUAGE WITH 'YOUR ADMINISTRATION' ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. THE PRESIDENT IS PREPARED TO DEACTIVATE ALL NUCLEAR MISSILES." KRAVCHUK MUST, ZLENKO ADDED, "BE ABSOLUTELY SURE OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM YOU." THIS DOES NOT MEAN MONEY ALONE, BUT ALSO U.S. "INVOLVEMENT" IN SOLVING UKRAINE'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

11. ZLENKO THEN TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED BY KRAVCHUK TO TELL HIM THAT UKRAINE, "ON THE EVE OF THE RADA VOTE," DEACTIVATED ONE REGIMENT OF SS-24S. HE STATED THAT THIS MUST BE TREATED STRICTLY CONFIDENTIALLY. FURTHERMORE, ACCORDING TO ZLENKO, KRAVCHUK "IS ABSOLUTELY PREPARED TO DEACTIVATE ALL/ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE HAS THE POWER TO DEACTIVATE." ZLENKO SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT INTENDS TO "HIDE" THE SS-24 DEACTIVATION FROM THE RADA IN THE PROGRAM OF AUTHORIZED SS-19 DISMANTLEMENT. THE TELCON KRAVCHUK IS SEEKING WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON IS INTENDED TO EXPLAIN AND ELABORATE ON THAT DECISION. KRAVCHUK INTENDS, ZLENKO SAID, TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND TO RAISE THE MATTER OF CRITICALLY NEEDED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. KRAVCHUK WANTS TO LINK THE MATTERS. ZLENKO CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT HE TALKED THIS MORNING

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Mon Nov 22 09:55:35 1993 [KIEV 0007488] SNIS COPY 14 OF 16 Page 05 OF 1  
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~~SECRET~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 KIEV 007488  
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TO RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV (COMMENT: ZLENKO NEVER ACTUALLY SAID THAT HE DISCUSSED THE SS-24S WITH THE RUSSIAN, BUT THAT WAS THE CONTEXT OF THE STATEMENT. END COMMENT). KOZYREV, ZLENKO SAID, EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING FOR THE GOV'S POSITION WITH RESPECT TO THE RADA, NOTING THAT THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT NOT LONG AGO WAS IN THE SAME POSITION.

12. THE AMBASSADOR'S COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ARE BEING TRANSMITTED SEPTTEL, SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THIS MESSAGE.

MILLER

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