

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

RELEASE IN FULL

INFO LOG-00 CCOE-00 ADS-00 /000W
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FM AMEMBASSY KIEV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0075

S E C R E T KIEV 003225

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Theodore Sellin, Senior
Reviewer

NODIS DECAPTIONED

S/S PLEASE PASS TO S/NIS FOR STROBE TALBOTT AND NSC FOR
ANTHONY LAKE FROM ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PINR, PGOV, ECON, RS, UP, US
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM BRZEZINSKI

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. FORMER NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DIRECTOR ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI REQUESTED THE EMBASSY PASS THE FOLLOWING TO S/NIS FOR AMBASSADOR TALBOTT AND THE NSC FOR DIRECTOR LAKE.

BEGIN TEXT.

SINCE I WILL NOT BE BACK UNTIL AFTER LES ASPIN'S VISIT
TO KIEV, A READ-OUT ON MY TALKS HERE (INCLUDING A VERY
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CANDID ONE-HOUR WITH KRAVCHUK) MIGHT BE HELPFUL:

-- LES WILL BE COMING HERE AT A TIME OF STRIKING
PESSIMISM. IN NONE OF MY PREVIOUS VISITS DID I EVER
FEEL SUCH ANXIETY, SUCH SENSE OF ABANDONMENT BY THE
WEST AS WELL AS VULNERABILITY TO RUSSIA. EVEN KRAVCHUK
HIMSELF SPOKE IN RATHER DARK TERMS OF UKRAINE'S FUTURE
PROSPECTS AS A NATION -- SOMETHING QUITE UNLIKE ALL MY
PREVIOUS TALKS WITH HIM (AND I HAVE GOTTEN TO KNOW HIM
QUITE WELL). SOME OF IT -- TO BE SURE -- MAY BE "MOOD
MUSIC" FOR THE FORTHCOMING U.S./UKRAINIAN TALKS, BUT I
DO THINK THAT THE ABOVE ACTUALLY CONVEYS THE REAL STATE
OF MIND HERE.

-- SPECIFICALLY, THE UKRAINIANS REMAIN PREOCCUPIED
WITH WHAT THEY PERCEIVE TO BE U.S./RUSSIAN DISCUSSIONS

REGARDING THEIR UKRAINIAN INTERESTS AND BY THE PROPENSITY OF THE WEST IN GENERAL TO IGNORE THEIR DIFFICULT FINANCIAL-ECONOMIC SITUATIONS. THEY TEND, THEREFORE, TO THINK OF THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS A CRITICAL ASSET, OVERESTIMATING BOTH THE NEGOTIATING LEVERAGE THAT GIVES THEM WITH THE U.S. AND THE ALLEGED RESULTING ENHANCEMENT OF THEIR SECURITY VIS-A-VIS RUSSIA.

-- LES COULD ACCOMPLISH SOMETHING QUITE VITAL BY REITERATING VERY EXPLICITLY WHAT HAS BEEN SAID TO THE UKRAINIANS BEFORE: THAT THE U.S. THINKS THAT UKRAINE IS HERE TO STAY; THAT ITS EXISTENCE IS IN OUR GEOPOLITICAL INTEREST; THAT WE ARE NOT INDIFFERENT TO THEIR SECURITY CONCERNS -- AND IF ALL THAT COULD BE SAID PUBLICLY, ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT, ALL TO THE BETTER.

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-- I HAVE THE FEELING THAT SOME GENUINE INVOLVEMENT COULD BE ATTAINED IN A WIDER NEGOTIATING CONTEXT, IN WHICH UKRAINE'S REITERATED ADHERENCE TO LISBON COMMITMENTS COULD BE INITIALLY EXPRESSED THROUGH THE REMOVAL ONLY OF WARHEADS, WITH STORAGE HERE; WHILE THE U.S. WOULD EXPRESS PUBLICLY ITS STRONG INTEREST IN UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY, AND PLEDGE TO INITIATE DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE G-7 ON A MULTILATERAL PACKAGE FOR UKRAINE, PREMISED ON UKRAINIAN MOVEMENT ON A REFORM PROGRAM.

-- LES' KEY MEETING HERE WILL BE WITH KRAVCHUK. THIS OFFERS A CHANCE FOR REAL ENGAGEMENT. TO ENSURE THAT THAT HAPPENS, THE MEETING SHOULD BE KEPT SMALL. I WOULD STRONGLY SUGGEST THAT LES TAKE ONLY STROBE WITH HIM.

-- PERHAPS THE ABOVE IS CARRYING COAL TO NEWCASTLE, BUT I FELT I SHOULD PASS IT ON. REGARDS, ZBIG.
END TEXT

BYRNES

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