

Final
E9

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

06-Dec-1993 22:49 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RELEASE IN FULL

SIGLER@A1@WHSR
PONEMAN@A1@OEOB
BURNS@A1@OEOB
BELL@A1@OEOB

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Marvin Russell, Senior Reviewer

FROM: White House Situation Room
(WHSR@A1@WHSR)

SUBJECT: ***NO SUBJECT FOUND***

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PRT: BERGER COMM FUERTH HALL HILLIARD ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT(C2)
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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC
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RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
INFO RUEHKV/AMEMBASSY KIEV
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QQQQ
SECTION 1 OF 2
FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRESIDENT YELTSIN AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL
FOLLOW.

HAGUE: PLEASE PASS TO UNDER SECRETARY DAVIS- EYES ONLY.
KIEV: AMBASSADOR- COPY FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONLY.

BEGIN TEXT:

059-06-0070
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BEST COPY
AVAILABLE

WAR BORIS:

YOU MADE CLEAR IN YOUR LAST LETTER TO ME, NO ISSUE ON WHICH YOU
D I ARE WORKING TOGETHER IS MORE IMPORTANT AND POTENTIALLY MORE
NGEROUS THAN THE STATUS OF THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS NOW IN UKRAINE.
U AND I AGREE THAT UKRAINE MUST FULFILL ITS OBLIGATION UNDER THE
SBON PROTOCOL TO BECOME A NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE AT THE
RLIEST POSSIBLE TIME. I REACTED, AS YOU DID, VERY NEGATIVELY TO
E UKRAINIAN RADA'S RECENT ACTION ON START AND THE
N-PROLIFERATION TREATY. THE RADA ACTION CONVINCED ME THAT YOU AND
MUST STEP UP OUR JOINT EFFORTS TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM ONCE AND FOR
L. WE CANNOT WAIT UNTIL AFTER THE UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENTARY
ECTIONS AND THE SEATING OF A NEW RADA; RATHER, WE MUST ACT NOW, IN
N JUNCTION WITH PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE
RAINIAN GOVERNMENT, TO SET IN MOTION A SERIES OF EVENTS THAT WILL
ARANTEE THE OUTCOME WE BOTH WANT: THE ELIMINATION OF ALL NUCLEAR
APONS FROM UKRAINE AND THE REMOVAL OF THEIR WARHEADS TO RUSSIA FOR
FE, SECURE DISMANTLEMENT.

VELOPMENTS IN RECENT DAYS GIVE ME HOPE, AND ALSO A SENSE OF
GENCY. IN A TELEPHONE CONVERSATION THAT I HAD WITH PRESIDENT
AVCHUK ON NOVEMBER 29, AND IN SUBSEQUENT DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS IN
EV, THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT HAS COMMITTED ITSELF TO THE
ACTIVATION OF 20 SS-24 MISSILES BY THE END OF THIS MONTH AND THE
ACTIVATION OF THE REMAINING SS-24S BY MARCH 1994. DEACTIVATION
ULD MEAN THE REMOVAL OF THE FRONT ENDS CONTAINING THE WARHEADS.
E UKRAINIAN SIDE WOULD BE WILLING TO FACILITATE VERIFICATION OF
ESE ACTIONS BY ENSURING THAT SILO DOORS ARE OPENED. UKRAINE HAS
SO DROPPED ITS EARLIER INSISTENCE ON DIRECT COMPENSATION FOR THE
CTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAT HAVE ALREADY BEEN REMOVED TO RUSSIA,
T WOULD INSTEAD SEEK SOME RELIEF FROM RUSSIA FOR ITS ENERGY DEBT.

HAVE ASKED MY EXPERTS TO BRIEF YOURS IN DETAIL ON THESE EXCHANGES.
P THE KEY FACT IS THIS: PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK AT LAST MAY BE PREPARED
TAKE CONCRETE, IRREVERSIBLE AND VERIFIABLE STEPS TOWARD GIVING UP
L THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN UKRAINE. INSTEAD OF TRYING TO HOLD ON TO
-24S, THE MOST MODERN AND THREATENING WEAPONS IN UKRAINE, HE IS
V COMMITTED TO A TIMETABLE THAT WILL MEAN THERE ARE NO ACTIVE
-24S BY THE TIME THE NEW RADA COMES INTO OFFICE. THIS DEVELOPMENT
JLD BE VERY WELCOME, GIVEN THE SUPPORT FOR RETAINING SS-24S THAT
HAVE OBSERVED IN THE RADA IN THE PAST.

BE SURE, EXPERIENCE AND PRUDENCE DICTATE THAT WE RESERVE JUDGMENT
THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO DELIVER ON THIS PROMISE.
MUST PUT THIS NEW UKRANIAN OFFER TO A PRACTICAL TEST. TO THAT
) , I URGE YOU TO AUTHORIZE TWO STEPS ON THE PART OF YOUR
VERNMENT:

FIRST, AS YOU SUGGESTED IN YOUR LETTER TO ME, WE
ULD COME TO TERMS ON AN AGREEMENT OVER HOW TO SHARE PROCEEDS FOR
; SALE OF THE HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM IN THE WARHEADS. I HOPE
S CAN HAPPEN BY NEXT WEEK WHEN VICE PRESIDENT GORE MEETS WITH YOU
; PRIME MINISTER CHERNOMYRDIN IN MOSCOW.

--SECOND, PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK HAS PROPOSED TO STORE THE SS-24 WARHEADS TEMPORARILY IN FACILITIES KNOWN AS "S" SITES. I REALIZE THAT THIS ARRANGEMENT, WHICH REQUIRES RUSSIAN ASSENT AND COOPERATION, POSES TECHNICAL AND POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES FOR YOUR SIDE. HOWEVER, I BELIEVE THAT THE DECIDING FACTOR SHOULD BE THE OBJECTIVE OF GETTING THE WARHEADS OFF THE MISSILES AND ON THEIR WAY TO YOUR ELIMINATION FACILITIES IN RUSSIA. MAKING THE "S" SITES AVAILABLE REMOVES A REASON FOR FURTHER UKRAINIAN DELAY.

PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK IS EVIDENTLY READY TO RESUME WORK ON DEVELOPING A CLEAR TIMETABLE FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM UKRAINIAN TERRITORY, PROCEEDING ON THE BASIS OF THE AGREEMENTS DISCUSSED AT MASSANDRA. OUR OWN EFFORTS TO DEVELOP A PROGRAM OF ASSISTANCE FOR THE DISMANTLEMENT OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR DELIVERY VEHICLES IN UKRAINE MADE GREAT PROGRESS THIS WEEKEND WITH THE SIGNING OF OUR BILATERAL ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT. I EXPECT THAT THIS PROGRESS WILL AID YOUR OWN EFFORTS.

IN THIS CONTEXT, BORIS, I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS ONE POINT. I REMAIN DETERMINED THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL DO NOTHING TO UNDERCUT THE OBJECTIVES THAT YOU WERE SEEKING IN YOUR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK AT MASSANDRA. SPECIFICALLY, I HAVE BEEN CAREFUL IN MY OWN CONTACTS WITH PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK AND IN WHAT I AM URGING HERE NOT TO IMPEDE THE CHANCES THAT UKRAINE WILL AGREE TO A 24-MONTH TIMETABLE FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM ITS TERRITORY. THAT STRATEGY CAN REMAIN IN PLACE AS WE PURSUE RAPID PROGRESS IN THESE OTHER AREAS.

BORIS, WHEN WE MET IN TOKYO IN JULY, YOU ASKED ME TO STEP UP OUR TRILATERAL EFFORTS TO REACH A SOLUTION TO THIS VEXING AND PERILOUS CHALLENGE. WE MAY WELL BE ON THE VERGE OF JUST SUCH A SOLUTION. WE GOT TO THIS POINT BY WORKING TOGETHER, YOU AND I, AND BY HOLDING TO A COMBINATION OF FIRM PRINCIPLES, UNWAVERING OBJECTIVES AND REALISTIC TACTICS. AS THE CUSTODIANS OF THE TWO LARGEST NUCLEAR ARSENALS ON EARTH--AND AS THE LEADERS OF TWO GREAT COUNTRIES THAT HAVE GONE FROM RIVALRY TO PARTNERSHIP--WE HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION. IN COOPERATION WITH PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK, WE CAN DO THAT IN THE COMING WEEKS, PERHAPS EVEN IN THE COMING DAYS.

I HOPE THAT WE CAN MAKE DECISIVE PROGRESS ON THESE ISSUES AND THAT VICE PRESIDENT GORE WILL BE ABLE TO COME TO CLOSURE ON THE KEY PRINCIPLES FOR FINAL AGREEMENT DURING HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW NEXT WEEK. I KNOW THAT HE IS GREATLY LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING YOU AND TO HIS TALKS WITH PRIME MINISTER CHERNOMYRDIN.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ NODIS

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FINAL SECTION OF 2

THANK YOU FOR ALLOWING SERGEI FILATOV ENOUGH TIME OFF FROM HIS WORK TO COME TO WASHINGTON. I GREATLY ENJOYED MEETING HIM.

SINCERELY,