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0009

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 25, 1993

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0122-m (1.01)
KBH 11/22/2019

JAN 25 P2:09

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

01-26-93

FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *AL*

SUBJECT: Telephone Call to President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine

DATE: January 26

PURPOSE: Your telephone call to President Leonid Kravchuk will send an important signal of U.S. interest in strengthening our relationship with Ukraine. Kravchuk, like most Ukrainians, believes that the Bush Administration paid too much attention to Russia, and too little to Ukraine. The central aim of the call is to pledge your interest in a close relationship with Kravchuk, expanded economic ties, and to make it clear that we expect the earliest possible Ukrainian ratification of START I and the Non-Proliferation treaty.

SECURE OR OPEN: Open

INTERPRETER: State to provide

PHONE NUMBER: Signal will place the call

CONTACT PERSON: Nicholas Burns, NSC Staff

TIME DIFFERENCE: +7

SUGGESTED TIMES:

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: See attached talking points

Date of Submission:

Action: This call will take place during your 11:15 a.m. phone call time.

Attachment
Tab A Points to be Made

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REVISED

SUGGESTED POINTS

TELEPHONE CALL TO PRESIDENT LEONID KRAVCHUK OF UKRAINE

- Mr. President, I am delighted to talk with you, and wanted to make this early call to let you know how interested I am in developing a close, working relationship.
- I hope that we will communicate often about the many issues before us.
- We are delighted that Ukraine has regained its independence and taken its rightful place in the community of nations. My Administration will seek to develop an effective partnership with you.
- As a first step, I suggest that Secretary of State Christopher and Foreign Minister Zlenko talk to arrange early and detailed discussions between our governments on the major economic, security and political issues.
- We want to have a broad-gauged relationship that focuses not just on security ties, but on closer economic and political cooperation as well.
- But there is one issue that is critically important to us-- Ukraine's commitment to become a non-nuclear state.
 - I want you to know how much importance I attach to the earliest possible Ukrainian ratification of START I and the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).
 - Your successful ratification will go a long way toward creating the basis for broader relations between our countries.
 - The U.S. is prepared to provide at least \$175 million in Nunn-Lugar assistance, primarily in missile dismantlement, and to extend security assurances upon your ratification of the two treaties.

{Note for President Clinton: We have already given to the Ukrainians a draft text of security assurances which reiterate our existing commitments on non-aggression, territorial integrity, and non-use of nuclear weapons. We, the UK and Russia will extend such assurances once Ukraine has ratified the two treaties.}

 - What are the prospects of ratification of both by February?

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2016-0122-17 (1.01)
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-- I understand your government has launched a new economic reform program. We will be as supportive as we can as the reforms succeed.

- This is a major step forward, and I congratulate you for it.

- It will be important for Ukraine to coordinate these reforms with the IMF -- that is the surest way to gain additional international economic assistance.

(If Kravchuk presses for an early meeting with you:

-- I look forward to a meeting, but cannot commit to a date just yet.

-- Let's agree to ask our Foreign Ministers to get together first.)

(If Kravchuk asks about sharing with Russia the proceeds from sales to the U.S. of highly-enriched uranium (HEU):

-- We have insisted to Russia that we will not implement the HEU sales contract until Russia agrees on an equitable sharing of the proceeds with Ukraine, as well as Belarus and Kazakhstan.)

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0009

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0122-M (1.02)
KBH 11/22/2019

January 23, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM:

NICHOLAS BURNS^{NB}/ROSE GOTTEMOELLER^{RR}

SUBJECT:

Telephone Call Proposal with President Kravchuk of Ukraine

We have attached at Tab A suggested points for a Presidential telephone call to President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine. We would recommend that the President agree to make a call to Kravchuk on January 26. The main benefit of calling Kravchuk is to signal the President's desire for a close relationship with Ukraine.

As with Yeltsin, we recommend avoiding a detailed discussion of policy issues in this call. It will be very important, however, for the President to mention our keen interest in the earliest possible Ukrainian Parliament ratification of START I and NPT.

Kravchuk will be available for a call on Tuesday, January 26, but unavailable for the rest of the week. It would therefore be helpful if we could alert the Ukrainians to a call, if one is to be made, by Monday, January 25.

Concurrence by: Robert Bell^{NB for}

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Telephone Call Proposal
Tab A Points to be Made

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SUGGESTED POINTS

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- We want to have a broad-gauged relationship that focuses not just on security ties, but on closer economic and political cooperation as well.
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 - I want you to know how much importance I attach to the earliest possible Ukrainian ratification of START I and the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).
 - Your successful ratification will go a long way toward creating the basis for broader relations between our countries.
 - What are the prospects of ratification of both by February?
- I understand your government has launched a new economic reform program. We will be as supportive as we can as the reforms succeed.
 - This is a major step forward, and I congratulate you for it.
 - It will be important for Ukraine to coordinate these reforms with the IMF--that is the surest way to gain additional international economic assistance.

(If Kravchuk presses for an early meeting with you:

- I look forward to a meeting, but cannot commit to a date just yet.
- Let's agree to ask our Foreign Ministers to get together first.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONDECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0122-m (1.03)
KBH 11/22/2019

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine on January 26, 1993

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Kravchuk of Ukraine
Interpreter: George Sajewych
Notetaker: Christine Potts

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: January 26, 1993, 11:47 a.m. - 12:06 p.m.
The Oval Office

The President: Hello, Mr. President. I am delighted to speak with you. (U)

President Kravchuk: Thank you. (U)

The President: I look forward to developing a close relationship and talking frequently with you. (U)

President Kravchuk: I fully share you thoughts. (U)

The President: I enjoyed our conversation after I was elected, but before I took office, and I am anxious to develop an effective partnership. As a first step, I suggest that Secretary of State Christopher and Foreign Minister Zlenko talk to arrange early and detailed discussions between our governments on the major issues -- economic, security, and political. (S)

President Kravchuk: I fully share your idea and I want to establish relations to create the possibility of solving our mutual problems. (S)

The President: First of all, I want to raise an issue that is critically important to both of us -- Ukraine's ratification and implementation of START I and the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The successful ratification of both these treaties will go a long way toward creating the basis for broader relations between our two countries. We are prepared to provide at least \$175 million under the Nunn-Lugar Act, primarily for dismantlement, to extend strong security assurances upon your ratification of the two treaties. What are the prospects of ratification by February? (S)

President Kravchuk: I want to inform you, Mr. President, that the meeting of heads of state in Minsk has come to a conclusion. Ukraine proposed a declaration, which was signed by all the states, and Ukraine also made it possible to ratify a charter on the main principles of economic reform between the states. The interstate relationship with Russia was confirmed by the two

presidents on January 15th. Now the process of pre-ratification in the Supreme Rada is underway on NPT and START I ratification. According to my information, it is going on quite normally. (U)

Of course, your assurances will play an important role, and President Yeltsin also assured me of certain guarantees. (U)

Today Russian-Ukrainian talks started in Kiev on dismantlement of nuclear devices. We made an agreement with Russia in Minsk that an agreement will be reached in the near future. The Russian delegation is fully in favor of this, and now the document is under consideration. These talks on dismantlement are part of our general agreement with Russia. (U)

Our Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense will scrutinize the problem and will then give their analysis to the Supreme Rada. On the basis of these recommendations, I will make a report to the Supreme Rada so that the deputies will ratify the agreement. (U)

You may also know that Ukraine supported START II and considers it a historic event. I am looking forward to bilateral cooperation and we are ready for better cooperation in the world. (U)

The commissions of the Supreme Rada are also working on debt problems (with Russia). I am sure these problems will be solved in the right way. I would not want this to hamper our economic and political relations with other states. (U)

Of course, Mr. President, I should have started with my sincere congratulations and by wishing you every success. This is the objective information available today and it will be guaranteed by the government and by the Supreme Rada. (U)

The President: Thank you. I appreciate your support for ratification. I also want you to know that I support the economic reforms you have launched. This is a major step forward, and I congratulate you for it. The more you coordinate these reforms with the IMF, the more supportive we can be and the more international economic assistance you can get. (U)

If you can ratify both START I and the NPT, if you can make this happen, I am going to do what I can to make the relationship better. I will do what I can so that together we can really do some good things. (U)

President Kravchuk: I want to assure you that we fully understand the necessity of ratification and we will follow it to the end. We understand our responsibility before our people and before the whole world. (U)

The President: Thank you very much. I look forward to working with you. Good-bye. (U)

President Kravchuk: Thank you. I wish you all the best in your politics and your affairs. Good-bye. (U)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia
on January 23, 1993 (U)

PARTICIPANTS; The President
President Boris Yeltsin
Interpreter: Dmitri Zarechnak
Notetaker: Nicholas Burns, NSC staff

DATE, TIME January 23, 1993, 10:45 - 11:17am
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Mr. President, this is President Clinton. Good morning, Mr. President. (U)

Now that I have become President, I want to reemphasize with you my commitment that Russia be a top priority for U.S. foreign policy during my Administration. Thank you very much for your congratulatory message to me. I am determined that, together, we create the closest possible U.S.-Russia partnership. This is a complex time in Europe and in Asia and we will need to work together effectively to use the power of our two countries for the good. And I want our governments to get off to a fast start. I am looking forward to an early meeting between us. Secretary of State Christopher will contact Foreign Minister Kozyrev to schedule an early meeting between them and to begin discussions about our meeting. I know how vitally important their relationship will be to us both. (S)

I am also determined to find the best possible person as my Ambassador to Moscow. At the present time, I want you to know that we are determined to do whatever we can to help Russia's democratic reforms to succeed. We will try to make our economic aid as beneficial as possible. I have appointed a very close friend and expert on Russia, Strobe Talbott, to oversee all of our assistance programs in Russia and in Eastern Europe. His appointment will ensure that I can maintain a high level of personal involvement on this important issue. This will be good for both you and me. (S)

I will also do my best to get as soon as possible a good person in Moscow as Ambassador who has my complete confidence and attention. (C)

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President Yeltsin: Mr. President, I would like to thank you and tell you that I personally know Bob Strauss and believe that these good personal contacts did much for the development of relations between our two states. I would be very thankful if you could in a preliminary way give me the name of your candidate to be Ambassador to Russia. ~~(S)~~

The President: Thank you. Let me mention a couple of specific issues. I want to reiterate my support for a rescheduling of Russia's debt in the Paris Club. I also want to boost American investment and trade. I would also like to work closely with you to resolve differences on Ukraine's ratification of START I and the NPT so that we can make progress on START II. ~~(S)~~

I also want to make sure that we consult closely on important foreign policy issues. I know that the situation in Bosnia has presented you with some difficulties at home. The U.S. will continue to work closely with you on this issue. I will appreciate your continued support. On Iraq, we believe strongly that Saddam must comply with the UN Security Council resolutions and measures the coalition has established to enforce and monitor them, including the No-Fly Zones. I want to assure you that we will stay in close touch and I have instructed Secretary of State Christopher to speak to Foreign Minister Kozyrev as soon as possible about this and other issues of foreign policy. I want them to meet quickly and to set an agenda and a particular time to get together. I am anxious to see you and to get going. And I want our relations to be the same as in the past. ~~(S)~~

President Yeltsin: Mr. President, I want to thank you very much for your nice and good words and your constructive proposals. I thank you, Mr. President for these proposals. Of course, I want us to cooperate on Yugoslavia, but hope the cooperation will be closer to your "softer line", stressing not only confrontation with military forces, but also a political settlement through the UN Security Council and the UN, to find a mutually acceptable solution to the problem. ~~(S)~~

Now, about our meeting. I believe that the entire world is awaiting this meeting because the new U.S. President would probably make some corrections in policy, while supporting the general line of our policy and with me personally. Our Foreign Minister, Kozyrev, has got instructions personally from me to get in touch with Secretary Christopher to begin the organization of a working meeting in a third, neutral country. I believe this is the sentiment of all the world -- for the U.S. and Russia, it is important that we meet very soon to elaborate the common positions in our relations. I would like to believe that this kind of meeting could take place no later than February. As for the place, I leave the initiative to you and would accept your proposal. ~~(S)~~

The President: I think that's a pretty good idea. Let me tell you -- I have to give a State of the Union address in early February to outline all of the economic issues here in the U.S. with the Congress. As soon as that is out of the way, we can

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proceed to a meeting with you. Let me talk to Secretary Christopher and the schedulers and we will be in touch. I appreciate your letting me choose the site. I'll try to pick something convenient for you. We might have to do it on a weekend so as not to conflict with the schedule of the Congress. I will be in touch soon. I am eager to do it. (S)

President Yeltsin: I thank you, Mr. President. This meeting should have an informal character. The most important thing is to meet. I agree with your support for a meeting between us personally which will not conflict with the schedule of the U.S. Congress or the Parliament of the Russian Federation. I believe we could make it at the end of February, after the 20th. I also believe that we should meet in a country of your choice. It will be good for all of us -- the U.S. and Russia. I had good relations with Bush. Now I need to develop relations with President Clinton. Everyone in the world wants this. The first meeting with you was very good. I am confident our relations will improve in the future. We just need to set a date and place. (S)

The President: I agree and we will be back in touch soon. Thank you very much. (U)

President Yeltsin: I agree with you, Mr. President and am grateful and we will be in contact. Congratulations on your inauguration. You are the President of the U.S. from the Democratic party. I believe you will play a great role in the life of the U.S. which will benefit America's national self-awareness as well as its foreign policy. I stand ready to cooperate in the future. I am anxious to meet with you and to get to know you as "Bill". (U)

The President: Good. Thank you very much. Good-bye. (U)

President Yeltsin: Thank you very much and good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

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The President: Thank you very much. I look forward to working with you. Good-bye. (U)

President Kravchuk: Thank you. I wish you all the best in your politics and your affairs. Good-bye. (U)

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2016-0122-M (1.07)
KBH 11/22/2019

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT LEONID KRAVCHUK

DATE: June 12, 1993

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 11:30am

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 

I. PURPOSE

To voice support for President Leonid Kravchuk prior to a critical extraordinary session of the Ukrainian Parliament on Monday, June 14.

II. BACKGROUND

Through our embassy in Kiev, President Kravchuk has urgently requested a telephone conversation with you over this weekend. We believe he wants the call to strengthen his position as he faces a critical test with the Parliament. Kravchuk has called an extraordinary session of the Ukrainian Parliament for Monday, June 14, to address the deepening political and economic crises in Ukraine. The Parliament has stymied the government's attempts to introduce strong Presidential powers and further economic reform. Strikes in the Donbass coal mines are threatening to spread and political conflict between Kravchuk, Prime Minister Kuchma and the Parliament has gone unresolved. Kravchuk feels that Ukraine is at crossroads: the crisis will either spin out of control or be brought to a halt by the government's actions on Monday and the following days. In a speech to the nation on Thursday, he appealed for calm and promised to work with Kuchma and the Parliament to solve the nation's problems.

In appealing to you for a telephone conversation, Kravchuk cited the positive effect that your call to President Yeltsin had prior to the April referendum in Russia. According to Kravchuk, Ukraine is at just such a critical moment. A public signal of your support would be of tremendous help. Not incidentally, the Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister who conveyed the request indicated that a success for Kravchuk next week would put him in a much stronger political position to achieve a vote in favor of START I and the Nonproliferation Treaty.

Kravchuk has requested that the fact of the call, once it has occurred, be made public immediately to maximize its

political effect. His suggestions for the main themes to be struck are positive: support for Ukrainian independence, economic reform, and U.S. "good offices" to help Ukraine and Russia resolve their differences. He also suggested that you refer to the progress achieved during Secretary Aspin's trip to Kiev earlier this week.

While there is a possibility that Kravchuk could act next week to assert Presidential rule or even dissolve the Parliament, we believe it is unlikely he will take extraconstitutional measures. Nevertheless, we have included contingency points should Kravchuk mention these issues to you.

Attachment

Tab A Talking Points

POINTS TO BE MADE
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT LEONID KRAVCHUK

- Mr. President, I am very pleased that we have a chance to talk today since its been quite awhile since our last call (January 26).
- I know this is a busy time for you and also a difficult time with the coal mine strikes and the debates in the Rada (note: the Ukrainian Parliament) over Ukraine's future.
- I wanted simply to reaffirm to you and the Ukrainian people my strong support for Ukrainian independence and for democratic political and market economic reform.
- I'm pleased Secretary Aspin's recent trip was so productive.
 - We want strong security ties. I know that Secretary Aspin talked to you about an extensive program of defense cooperation, which we will be working to develop with your armed forces.
 - It is vitally important that Ukraine meet its commitment to be a non-nuclear state. I was glad to hear from Secretary Aspin of your continued resolve to achieve ratification of START I and the NPT.
- We want to build strong economic ties.
 - We are prepared to extend food credits and grants. I will have Secretary of Agriculture Espy contact your officials next week on our plans.
 - We could also support greater G-7 economic help to Ukraine provided your government introduces a market reform program.
- We would also like to help promote better Ukrainian-Russian relations.
 - I know you will meet Yeltsin this week. I strongly support his reform program in Russia.
 - As Ambassador Strobe Talbott told you last month, the U.S. is prepared to be helpful to both Ukraine and Russia in finding ways to resolve your bilateral differences if you both agree.

- I hope very much that you and President Yeltsin will continue your efforts to promote good and peaceful relations between your countries.

-- Finally, I wanted to reiterate U.S. support for a strong, independent and democratic Ukraine as the Ukrainian people work to create a new country.

(If Kravchuk asks for your support for possible Presidential Rule or dissolution of the Parliament:

-- The U.S. supports reform in Ukraine and a democratic future. We believe it is important to respect the democratic process.

-- We have no interest in interfering in Ukrainian domestic affairs but would find it difficult to support a process that did not allow the people to determine their future.)

(If Kravchuk asks for your support that he attend the G-7 Summit in Tokyo:

-- I know how important it is for Ukraine to have a good relationship with the G-7.

-- We would have to check with Japan, this year's host, and the other members, but this would be difficult to arrange.

-- The G-7 countries will meet President Yeltsin after the G-7 Summit concludes to discuss our very large program of support for Russia's economic reforms.

-- Since there is no such program in existence with Ukraine due to the fact that your economic reforms are not as advanced as Russia's, it would be difficult to justify a meeting.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Deep desire to progress
but with a significant transition

- Situation in Ukraine complex

- Ukraine needs a + program: autonomy, unit: Donets
return to socialism
Nuclear conversion
press for explosion:
% of Ukraine
Start with autonomy of D -
go on to 2013 other - then
to Yugoslavia.

- All this subject for outside Ukraine
Change - need for support
Deta to go down path of reform
PWR: conserved. Par - conserved local councils (go back to USSR)

- Need UNF... 2004 in class...
- De Sa... Ps up... - PWR...
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WASHINGTON

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TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT LEONID KRAVCHUK

DATE: June 12, 1993
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 11:30am

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

I. PURPOSE

To voice support for President Leonid Kravchuk prior to a critical extraordinary session of the Ukrainian Parliament on Monday, June 14.

II. BACKGROUND

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POINTS TO BE MADE
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- Mr. President, I am very pleased that we have a chance to talk today since its been quite awhile since our last call (January 26).
- I know this is a busy time for you and also a difficult time with the coal mine strikes and the debates in the Rada (note: the Ukrainian Parliament) over Ukraine's future.
- I wanted simply to reaffirm to you and the Ukrainian people my strong support for Ukrainian independence and for democratic political and market economic reform.
- I'm pleased Secretary Aspin's recent trip was so productive.
 - We want strong security ties. I know that Secretary Aspin talked to you about an extensive program of defense cooperation, which we will be working to develop with your armed forces.
 - It is vitally important that Ukraine meet its commitment to be a non-nuclear state. I was glad to hear from Secretary Aspin of your continued resolve to achieve ratification of START I and the NPT.
- We want to build strong economic ties.
 - We are prepared to extend food credits and grants. I will have Secretary of Agriculture Espy contact your officials next week on our plans.
 - We could also support greater G-7 economic help to Ukraine provided your government introduces a market reform program.
- We would also like to help promote better Ukrainian-Russian relations.
 - I know you will meet Yeltsin this week. I strongly support his reform program in Russia.
 - As Ambassador Strobe Talbott told you last month, the U.S. is prepared to be helpful to both Ukraine and Russia in finding ways to resolve your bilateral differences if you both agree.

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- I hope very much that you and President Yeltsin will continue your efforts to promote good and peaceful relations between your countries.
- Finally, I wanted to reiterate U.S. support for a strong, independent and democratic Ukraine as the Ukrainian people work to create a new country.

(If Kravchuk asks for your support for possible Presidential Rule or dissolution of the Parliament:

- The U.S. supports reform in Ukraine and a democratic future. We believe it is important to respect the democratic process.
- We have no interest in interfering in Ukrainian domestic affairs but would find it difficult to support a process that did not allow the people to determine their future.)

(If Kravchuk asks for your support that he attend the G-7 Summit in Tokyo:

- I know how important it is for Ukraine to have a good relationship with the G-7.
- We would have to check with Japan, this year's host, and the other members, but this would be difficult to arrange.
- We will meet President Yeltsin after the G-7 Summit concludes to discuss our very large program of support for Russia's economic reforms.
- Since there is no such program in existence with Ukraine due to the fact that your economic reforms are not as advanced as Ukraine's, it would be difficult to justify a meeting.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0122-M (1.11)
KBH 11/22/2019

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with Ukrainian
President Leonid Kravchuk

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Leonid Kravchuk
Interpreter: George Sajewych
Notetaker: Rose Gottemoeller

DATE, TIME: June 12, 1993, 10:33-10:47am
AND PLACE: Small Dining Room

The President: Mr. President, I am very pleased that we have a chance to talk today since it's been quite a while since our last call in late January. (U)

President Kravchuk: Yes, time does fly, and I am glad to be able to speak to the President of the United States. (U)

The President: I know this is a busy time for you and also a difficult time with the coal mine strikes and the debates in the Rada over Ukraine's future. (U)

I wanted simply to reaffirm to you and the Ukrainian people my strong support for Ukrainian independence and for democratic political and market economic reform. (U)

I'm very pleased Secretary Aspin's recent trip was so productive. We want strong security ties and I know that Secretary Aspin talked to you about an extensive program of defense cooperation, which we will be working to develop with your armed forces. (U)

I also appreciate your continued resolve to achieve ratification of START I and the NPT. (U)

On economic issues, we want to build strong economic ties. We are prepared to extend food credits and grants. I will have our Secretary of Agriculture, Mike Espy, contact your officials next week on our plans. (U)

We could also support greater G-7 economic help to Ukraine conditioned on a market reform program introduced by your government. (U)

I would also like to do what we can to help promote better Ukrainian-Russian relations. I know you will meet Yeltsin this week. I strongly support his reform program in Russia. (U)

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As Ambassador Strobe Talbott told you last month, the U.S. is prepared to be helpful to both Ukraine and Russia in finding ways to resolve your differences if you agree that we should try to be of help. (U)

I hope very much that you and President Yeltsin will continue your efforts to promote good and peaceful relations between your countries. (U)

Let me say I really wanted to encourage you in this trying time. I hope we can be real partners and I wish you well at this time. (U)

President Kravchuk: Thank you very much, Mr. President. I also want to tell you that the situation in our country is very complex. The miners in the Donetsk and the Krivoi Rog Autonomous Regions are seeking a return to socialism, a return to the Union, and a return to the Communist Party. And what's involved is a build-up of political pressure in light of economic difficulties. (U)

The fear is political explosion and the dividing up of Ukraine -- autonomy for Donetsk, and Krivoi Rog, and Galicia, and finally the dismemberment of the country not unlike the situation in Yugoslavia. I also have very good information that these efforts are being orchestrated outside of Ukraine. (U)

We have great danger today. It is important that we have the economic support of the United States. I am determined to move forward with reform. We have a complex, conservative parliament. The local councils are also conservative: they were elected at the time of the Soviet Union. In general, forces wanting the recreation of the Union are in control. (U)

Today, I passed to parliament 22 documents on reform. I repeat that the parliament is dragging this out. I will undertake currency reform, and I ask for the support of the International Monetary Fund. Without it, currency reform will have no chance. (U)

I believe President Yeltsin and I will resolve the Black Sea Fleet. We have both introduced interesting proposals, and I believe this will be resolved. We are also discussing energy sources, as the price for petroleum recently increased 100 percent. (U)

These are matters of survival to us. Ukraine is afraid of political explosion. All Bolshevik and Communist forces, the left and right, are united to take advantage of the economic situation. (U)

I ask the world community and the United States, the greatest country in the world, to help us in these endeavors. You must understand that we may not be able to deal with parliament in a democratic way. I deeply desire to invoke a democratic and free-

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market society, but great forces are aggressively working against us: the media of Russia and various pro-Communist forces. (S)

This is what I wanted to pass on to you. I also wanted to thank you for your words, for you have expressed not only moral, but also practical support. (U)

The President: Thank you, I look forward to working with you. (U)

President Kravchuk: Good-bye, Mr. President. (U)

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KRAVCHUK'S REMARKS TO PRESIDENT CLINTON - 12 JUNE 1993

The President:

Kravchuk: Yes, time does fly, and I am glad to be able to speak to the President of the United States.

The President:

Kravchuk: Thank you very much, Mr. President. I also want to tell you that the situation in our country is very complex. The miners in the Donetsk region are raising economic and political issues as well. The Donetsk and the Krivoi Rog Autonomous Units are seeking a return to socialism, a return to the Union, and a return to the Communist Party. And what's involved is a build-up of political pressure in light of economic difficulties.

The fear is political explosion and the dividing up of the Ukraine...autonomy for Donetsk, and Krivoi Rog, and Galicia, and finally the dismemberment of the country not unlike the situation in Yugoslavia.

I also have very good information that these efforts are being orchestrated outside of Ukraine.

We face great danger today. It is important that we have the economic support of the United States. I am determined to move forward with reform. We have a complex, conservative parliament. The local councils are also conservative: they were elected at the time of the Soviet Union.

In general, forces wanting the recreation of the Union are in control.

Today I passed to parliament 22 documents on reform. I repeat that the Supreme Parliament is dragging this out.

I will undertake currency reform, and I ask for the support of the International Monetary Fund. Without it, currency reform will have no chance.

I believe President Yeltsin and I will resolve the Black Sea Fleet. We have both introduced interesting proposals, and I believe this will be resolved.

We are also discussing energy sources, as the price for petroleum recently increased 100%.

These are matters of survival to us. The Ukraine is afraid of political explosion. All Bolshevik and Communist forces, the left and right are united to take advantage of the economic situation.

I ask the world community and the United States, the greatest country in the world, to help us in these endeavors. You must understand that we may not be able to deal with parliament in a "democratic" way. I deeply desire to invoke a democratic and free-market society, but great forces are aggressively working against us: the media of Russia and various pro-Communist forces.

This is what I wanted to pass on to you. I also wanted to thank you for your words, for you have expressed not only moral, but also practical support.

The President:

Kravchuk: Goodbye, Mr. President.

*notes taken by White House Situation Room

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 23, 1993 10:23 P10:38

*Returned from
Podesta's office
since call has
not been made*

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK

DATE: TBD
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: TBD

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *AL*

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2010-0122-17 (1.13)

KBH 11/22/2019

I. PURPOSE

To address the political crisis in Ukraine and suggest a possible working visit this fall.

II. BACKGROUND

You are calling President Kravchuk to talk to him about the political crisis in Kiev. You should urge him to work with us to ensure that neither the reform process nor the movement of nuclear weapons out of Ukraine come to a complete halt because of the ongoing political crisis in the country. You should suggest to him that the two of you meet in Washington for a working visit to drive this momentum by developing a plan for enhanced bilateral cooperation. At the same time, you should remind him that the visit is contingent on a Ukrainian expression of good faith that its nuclear commitments will be fulfilled.

Although the situation in Moscow claimed the world's attention on Tuesday, the political crisis in Kiev was also coming to a head. Prime Minister Kuchma's resignation was finally accepted by the Parliament after several weeks of hesitation and President Kravchuk was ordered to form a new government. He was also pressed to agree to presidential as well as parliamentary elections. Unlike Moscow, National Guard troops were visibly deployed in the city. Kravchuk appealed to the public for calm.

The ongoing crisis in Kiev has stymied economic and political reform and made it difficult to move forward with the goal of getting nuclear weapons out of Ukraine. This situation will not improve soon: the elections, although they might occur as early as the end of the year, are more likely to take place in the spring. In the meantime, political leaders will be campaigning rather than focusing on politically difficult business such as economic reform and denuclearization.

You should know that we have told the Ukrainians that a Kravchuk visit to Washington will not be possible unless they clearly show their continued commitment to the Lisbon Protocol and the goal of START I ratification and accession to the Nonproliferation Treaty. We have suggested that they could do so by beginning to deactivate each of the three types of nuclear weapons in Ukraine.

Although the older SS-19 ballistic missiles and the air-launched cruise missiles have not proven a problem -- both types are going out of operational status -- the Ukrainians have thus far balked at including the more modern SS-24 missiles. Some influential Ukrainian parliamentarians, including a general in the Strategic Rocket Forces, are claiming that these weapons should be a minimal deterrent force for Ukraine.

Your points (Tab A) underline our view that each of the three types of weapons should be included in the deactivation process. Secretary Christopher and Ambassador Strobe Talbott will meet with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Zlenko within a few days of your call to make this point in more detail. Without a commitment to movement on the nuclear issue, I do not believe you should go through with a Kravchuk meeting in Washington this autumn.

Attachment

Tab A Points to be Made

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0122-17 (1.13)

KBH 11/22/2019

POINTS TO BE MADE IN PRESIDENT'S TELEPHONE CALL TO
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT LEONID KRAVCHUK

- Although the events in Moscow claimed my attention this week, as I'm sure they did yours, I wanted to let you know that I am also following events closely in Kiev.
- Much has happened in the months since we last spoke, and I realize that Ukraine has reached an important crossroads.
- The resignation of Prime Minister Kuchma and his government places a heavy burden of responsibility on you and the Ukrainian leadership.
 - We hope that any disputes that arise will be resolved peacefully and through the democratic process.
- Despite the ongoing political crisis, I urge that you move forward with critical economic and political reforms and with the security agenda that we all give top priority, Ukraine's Lisbon Protocol commitments.
- The United States would like to do everything it can to help you to make reform a reality in Ukraine. If I may be frank, Leonid, we have seen little progress on reform as your energies and those of your government have been sapped by crisis over the past six months.
- I know that you and your colleagues must give full attention to resolving the crisis. However, I wanted to stress to you that developing an active agenda of reform measures can be an important part of that process.
- It is in the process of developing reforms that I think we can give you some significant help. I would like to suggest that you and I get together in Washington for a working meeting this fall.
 - We can use the meeting to focus on the economic and democracy-building issues that should be addressed by the process of reform.
 - In my view, we should use the meeting to launch a process to prepare a fuller summit in Kiev sometime next year. That would include assigning joint working groups to consider how Ukraine and the United States can develop the range of issues in our broad bilateral relationship.

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- We should also focus on ways in which the United States can work together with you and your counterparts in Russia to complete our Lisbon Protocol agenda and put the problem of nuclear weapons behind us.
- I want to launch a broader process of cooperation that takes us well beyond the old agenda of the two years since Ukrainian independence.
- For this working meeting to be a success, I think Ukraine should involve all three types of nuclear weapons in Ukraine in the process of early deactivation. This must occur before the meeting takes place.
- You have already made important progress in early deactivation and I hope the modest steps needed to involve all three types of weapons can be worked out.
 - I would like to have Secretary of State Christopher and my special advisor, Ambassador Strobe Talbott, follow up with Foreign Minister Zlenko on these important points. I know they will be seeing each other next week.
- I hope that we will be meeting soon here in Washington.
- Before I say good-bye, I would be interested in your assessment of the situation in Kiev.
- I would also be interested in your assessment of the situation in Moscow.

[If asked whether we will support Kravchuk if he takes emergency powers (like Yeltsin):

- Let me reiterate, Leonid, that I understand your political situation is a difficult one. However, I have to underscore that our support for Yeltsin has been possible because it is first and foremost support for the political and economic reforms that his government has stood for.
- U.S. support for any such steps in Ukraine would be contingent on our understanding that your government was fully committed to reform and that you were moving toward elections, that they would be democratic and free and that there would be an open political process.]

[If asked about the possibility of economic support and assistance:

- It is high time that we begin to work together seriously on our agenda of economic cooperation. That is why I would like to get our specialists together at the earliest possible date, to work out a game plan.]

[If asked if you will receive Foreign Minister Zlenko when he comes to Washington on October 4-5:

- I enjoyed meeting Mr. Zlenko in March and found our substantive discussion to be extremely valuable. I will have a chance to see him at our evening reception in New York on September 27.
- The Washington leg of his trip unfortunately comes at a busy time for me.]

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN⁹²⁸²

11/29/93 8:43

11:00:00

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 1993

2016-0122-M [1.14]

KBH 11/22/2019

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK

DATE: November 29, 1993

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 10:30am

FROM: ANTHONY LAKH 

I. PURPOSE

To voice your strong concern at Ukraine's incomplete ratification of the START I strategic arms reduction treaty and to hear Kravchuk's remedy for the problem caused by his Parliament's vote against acceding to the Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear weapon state.

II. BACKGROUND

On November 18, the Ukrainian Parliament took action on the START Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol, the legal mechanism by which Ukraine is to become a non-nuclear weapon state. The Parliament's action was incomplete, conditioning START ratification on a number of conditions. Most importantly, the Parliament stated that Ukraine is not bound by Article V of the Lisbon Protocol, which calls for its adherence to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as a non-nuclear weapon state at the earliest possible time.

President Kravchuk stated publicly at the time of the vote that his government remains committed to the Lisbon Protocol as a package that includes START I and the NPT. He has since commented to the media that he plans to resubmit the complete package to the new Parliament that will be seated following elections in March. If he does not do so, it will be impossible for the states that are signatories of the Protocol to exchange the instruments of ratification for START I. The Parliament has introduced changes that go to the very heart of the deal struck among Russia, the United States, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus: in becoming signatories to the START Treaty, they committed to acceding to the NPT at the earliest possible time. The other parties will not agree to bring START into force in the face of such a radical change by the Ukrainians. As a result, the strategic arms reduction regime (which includes the much deeper reductions in nuclear forces under the START II Treaty) will not go forward.

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Although the telephone call will be focused on the nuclear issue, it will be important to begin by emphasizing to Kravchuk that we are looking forward to the future, when we will have left this problem behind us. You should remind him that we are eager to work on expanding our overall relationship, especially in the sphere of economic cooperation where our assistance will be crucial to launching Ukraine's economic reforms.

Attachment

Tab A Points to be Made

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POINTS TO BE MADE IN PRESIDENT'S TELEPHONE CALL
TO UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT LEONID KRAVCHUK

- Leonid, I am pleased to talk to you after such a long gap since our conversation in June.
- I want to tell you first the importance I attach to a stronger, more broad-based relationship between our countries.
- We took several steps this autumn to achieve that goal:
 - Secretary Christopher reviewed for me the results of his trip to Kiev.
 - I was pleased that you made it possible for Secretary Christopher and Minister Zlenko to sign the agreement on the safe and secure dismantlement of nuclear weapons.
 - In addition, we have begun a new economic dialogue, the success of which will be critical for our future relationship.
- I know this is a critical time for you with Parliamentary elections in March and the Presidential election in June.
- My strong sense is that we need to cooperate closely now to achieve progress during the next few months.
- With this goal in mind, let me turn to the nuclear issues.

START Ratification

- I must say that the action your Parliament took on START I and the Lisbon Protocol has had a very negative impact here, both on public opinion and Congress.
 - It threatens to undercut Congressional support for Ukraine, including on assistance for dismantling nuclear weapons.
- I am extremely concerned that the Parliament acted in a way that will make it impossible to bring START into force.
 - The list of conditions that the Rada would like to see fulfilled before our governments can exchange instruments of ratification is extensive and unlike anything that other Treaty signatories have introduced.
- Most troubling is the Parliament's decision to set aside Article V of the Lisbon Protocol, which calls for Ukraine to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear weapon state at the earliest possible time.

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- Article V is at the heart of the commitment that Ukraine entered into at Lisbon. Our Senate underscored this when it approved our resolution of ratification on START I.
- Trying to bring START into force on the basis of the Rada's incomplete action will have the effect of killing not only the Treaty but the entire package.
- I know that you have publicly reconfirmed your government's commitment to the coherence of the Lisbon Protocol package: implementation of START I and accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear weapon state at the earliest possible time.
- How will you pursue implementation of the Lisbon package? In particular, what remedy do you see for the Parliament's action on Article V of the Protocol?

[If Kravchuk does not state that he will resubmit the entire Lisbon package to the new Parliament:]

- In my view, I think that it will be imperative for you to resubmit the entire Lisbon package, especially the Protocol with Article V, to your new Parliament for a new vote of ratification. Do you share that view?

SS-24 Deactivation and Kravchuk Visit

- Ambassador Miller told me that you have given the order to deactivate one regiment of the SS-24 missiles.
- I applaud you for this decision: it is a clear indication of your government's commitment to the Lisbon Protocol.
- The Parliament's handling of START makes it critical for us to achieve concrete, conclusive steps on early deactivation.
- As Secretary Christopher stressed to you when he was in Kiev in October, it will be important for us to receive written confirmation of your decision to deactivate the regiment as well as a schedule for the time that will be required to carry it out.
 - I believe that you should proceed quickly to a second regiment and continue deactivation at a rapid pace.
- I would also like to reiterate the proposal in my recent letter: once we have established the details of the SS-24 deactivation, we can talk seriously about your coming to Washington for a working visit.
- Secretary Christopher can discuss this possibility when he meets with Minister Zlenko in Brussels this week.

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- It will be important for us to mention publicly your action on the SS-24s, so that it will be clear to our public and Congress that Ukraine is moving forward on nuclear disarmament despite the Parliament's unhelpful action on the Lisbon package.
- I will also want to report to Senators Nunn and Lugar on whatever we work out with regard to SS-24 deactivation. Assistance to Ukraine for weapon dismantlement will depend on their support.

[If Kravchuk states that he would like to visit Washington in December or January:]

- I know that you will be busy with parliamentary elections in Ukraine in March. When we have a clear understanding of how you will proceed with the SS-24s, we can talk seriously about your coming to Washington before your elections.
- I do think that it will be important not only to clarify the situation with regard to the SS-24s, but also to make progress with our broader cooperation before we meet.
 - In particular, we should have a second round of economic discussions in Washington, to plan our assistance to your economy, and to discuss your economic reform plans.
 - Frankly, we have been disappointed that Ukraine has not been able to commit to an economic reform program.
 - I would also like to see the implementing agreements completed for the dismantlement of nuclear weapons in Ukraine.
 - I will think carefully about the points that you've made and ask Secretary Christopher to talk with Minister Zlenko about next steps when they meet in Brussels this week.

[If Kravchuk presses to have Kiev included in your January itinerary:]

- My itinerary in January is very heavily scheduled, so it will not be possible for me to come to Kiev this time.
- However, I will be making two more trips to Europe in 1994. I hope to visit Kiev on one of them, once Ukraine has ratified START and voted to accede to the NPT.
- If it would be helpful, Secretary Christopher can discuss these possibilities with your Foreign Minister, Mr. Zlenko, when they see each other in Brussels this week.

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POINTS TO BE MADE IN PRESIDENT'S TELEPHONE CALL
TO UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT LEONID KRAVCHUK

- Leonid, I am pleased to talk to you after such a long gap since our conversation in June.
- I want to tell you first the importance I attach to a stronger, more broad-based relationship between our countries.
- We took several steps this autumn to achieve that goal:
 - Secretary Christopher reviewed for me the results of his trip to Kiev.
 - I was pleased that you made it possible for Secretary Christopher and Minister Zlenko to sign the agreement on the safe and secure dismantlement of nuclear weapons.
 - In addition, we have begun a new economic dialogue, the success of which will be critical for our future relationship.
- I know this is a critical time for you with Parliamentary elections in March and the Presidential election in June.
- I also know how difficult the nuclear issue is for you as you work with the Rada.
- My strong sense is that we need to cooperate closely now to achieve progress during the next few months:
 - I want to do what I can to help Ukraine meets its Lisbon commitments and move quickly toward a non-nuclear future.
 - And I want to use our assistance program and expertise to help you move toward market economic reforms.
- With these goals in mind, let me turn to the nuclear issues.

START Ratification

- I know that your Parliament took action on START I and the Lisbon Protocol on November 18. I must say that the action has had a very negative impact here, both on public opinion and Congress.
 - It threatens to undercut Congressional support for Ukraine, including on assistance for dismantling nuclear weapons.

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- I am extremely concerned that the Parliament voted to ratify START I and the Lisbon Protocol in a way that will make it virtually impossible to bring START into force.
- The list of conditions that the Rada would like to see fulfilled before our governments can exchange instruments of ratification is extensive and unlike anything that other Treaty signatories have introduced.
- Most troubling, however, is the Parliament's decision to set aside Article V of the Lisbon Protocol, which calls for Ukraine to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty at the earliest possible time.
- Article V is at the heart of the commitment that Ukraine entered into at Lisbon: to become a non-nuclear weapon state within the shortest possible period. Our Senate underscored this when it approved our resolution of ratification on START I.
- On the basis of this commitment, as you know, the United States has been willing to work with Ukraine to offer security assurances, provide \$175 million in assistance for the dismantlement of weapon systems on your territory, and find a solution to the problem of compensation for the nuclear materials in the warheads.
- I know that, at the time the Rada voted, you publicly reconfirmed your government's commitment to the coherence of the Lisbon Protocol package: implementation of START I and accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear weapon state at the earliest possible time.
- How can you pursue implementation of the Lisbon package? In particular, what remedy do you see for the Parliament's action on Article V of the Protocol?
 - In my view, I think that it will be imperative for you to resubmit the entire Lisbon package, especially the Protocol with Article V, to your new Parliament for a new vote of ratification.
 - Do you share that view?
 - Trying to bring START into force on the basis of the Rada's incomplete action will have the effect of killing not only the Treaty but the entire package.

SS-24 Deactivation and Kravchuk Visit

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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 - I believe that you should proceed quickly to a second regiment and continue deactivation at a rapid pace.
- I would also like to reiterate the proposal in my recent letter: once we have established the details of the SS-24 deactivation, we can talk seriously about your coming to Washington for a working visit.
- Secretary Christopher can discuss this possibility when he meets with Minister Zlenko in Brussels this week.
- It will be important for us to mention publicly your action on the SS-24s, so that it will be clear to our public and Congress that Ukraine is moving forward on nuclear disarmament despite the Parliament's unhelpful action on the Lisbon package.
- I will also want to report to Senators Nunn and Lugar on whatever we work out with regard to SS-24 deactivation. Assistance to Ukraine for weapon dismantlement will depend on their support.

[If Kravchuk states that he would like to visit Washington in December or January:]

- I know that you will be busy with parliamentary elections in Ukraine in March. When we have a clear understanding of how you will proceed with the SS-24s, we can talk seriously about your coming to Washington before your elections.
- I do think that it will be important not only to clarify the situation with regard to the SS-24s, but also to take some important steps forward with our broader cooperation before we meet.
 - In particular, we should plan a second round of economic discussions in Washington, to plan our assistance to your economy, and to discuss your economic reform plans.
 - Frankly, we have been disappointed that Ukraine has not been able to commit to an economic reform program.

- I would also like to see the implementing agreements completed for the dismantlement of nuclear weapons in Ukraine.
- I will think carefully about the points that you've made and ask Secretary Christopher to talk with Minister Zlenko about next steps when they meet in Brussels this week.

[If Kravchuk presses to have Kiev included in your January itinerary:]

- My itinerary in January is very heavily scheduled, so it will not be possible for me to come to Kiev this time.
- However, I will be making two more trips to Europe in 1994. I hope to visit Kiev on one of them, once Ukraine has ratified START and voted to accede to the NPT.
- If it would be helpful, Secretary Christopher can discuss these possibilities with your Foreign Minister, Mr. Zlenko, when they see each other in Brussels this week.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0122-M (1.17)
KBH 11/22/2019

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Leonid Kravchuk
Interpreter: George Sajewych
Notetaker: Christine Potts

DATE, TIME: November 29, 1993; 10:57-11:20 am
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Hello. Good evening, Leonid. (U)

President Kravchuk: Mr. President. I'd like to greet you. I am happy to talk with you and to inform you of the latest events in Kiev. If you don't mind, first I would like to give you some information and then we can discuss it. (U)

The President: Go ahead. (U)

President Kravchuk: First, concerning the ratification of START I, I would like to tell you now that I am not happy with the decision of Parliament, but I think it is possible to take positive steps forward. I do not want to dramatize the situation caused by Parliament, but as President I wanted all three documents ratified: START I, the Lisbon Protocol and the Non-Proliferation Treaty. We (in the Executive Branch) are preparing propositions and I hope it is not a final decision. We will try to rebuff it to parliament for a third review. The main thing is that the President is understood, the Executive power is understood, and the character of documents is understood to sort out this difficult problem. For me, it is important to find a path and sort out this very complex problem. (e)

I am sure that it will find mutual understanding and support from the United States and from Russia. As you know, we have been negotiating with the Russians. In the nearest future, I am hopeful that we will find a way to progress. (e)

I hope you understand our situation. Concerning the Executive power, it does not change our position. We want ratification of the whole package. Our package is not a precondition, but a basis of understanding. I mean that today your Ambassador, Mr. Miller, started negotiations again on national security

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guarantees to Kiev. Mr. Goodby will also be here. I hope this makes it possible to render technical and economic assistance to Kiev. We are expecting fruitful continuation of discussions initiated by your special expert, Nicholas Burns. (S)

I was informed that the U.S. will contribute to quicker compensation for nuclear warheads, including guarantees in the event Russia will not be able to do it. We exchanged letters with President Yeltsin and we are at a stage of preparing certain points for negotiation. (S)

I am keeping to the statement of early deactivation of SS-24s. We have deactivated the 115th regiment of division 46. Another is prepared for deactivation and we are ready to follow the same path with your special support. I would like the American people to be freed of the concern that these missiles are targeted at the U.S. I will follow this up to the very end. (S)

I also feel the understanding and support of the United States, and of you Mr. President, as far as economic assistance. I would like a package to be prepared. I met with one of your experts and I found him to be very wise. I naturally share his opinion. I feel your assistance is very important, first in attracting foreign assistance, and also to help with the fuel and power problem, pharmaceutical assistance and protection of the environment. We also seek your help in the establishment of a stabilization fund for the introduction of a monetary unit and an incentive regime for tariffs on a constant basis. (S)

Today the government considered privatization for the next year and the strength of the financial system, as well as support for new laws and other problems concerning economic reforms. I am happy we have more profound support in local places and I think this support will promote quicker development. That is, in brief, what I wanted to discuss with you, Mr. President. (U)

The President: Thank you very much. First, I want to say again how important the relationship is between our two states. (U)

Secretary Christopher reviewed for me the results of his trip to Kiev and I was pleased that you made it possible for Secretary Christopher and Foreign Minister Zlenko to sign the agreement on the safe and secure dismantlement of nuclear weapons. (S)

With regard to the economic dialogue, I agree with you that it is a critical part of our future relationship. (U)

I am very glad that you will resubmit measures concerning START ratification to Parliament again because, as you know, that causes us some difficulties. I gather that the Rada action gives you the legal right to deactivate some SS-24s. (S)

President Kravchuk: Yes. (U)

The President: I hope it will be possible now to speak about this publicly. As you know, I will have to report to Senators

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Nunn and Lugar on the deactivation of SS-24s because their support is crucial and necessary. (U)

When you spoke about deactivation, what did you mean? Have you already removed warheads? (S)

President Kravchuk: Yes, I meant we are removing warheads and storing them at "S" facilities. Yes, these are special installations for storing nuclear warheads and they are properly guarded. (S)

The President: I think this is very good news and we should have our experts talk as soon as possible. Thank you. (U)

President Kravchuk: You are welcome. We will be glad to accept your experts when it is convenient to your schedule. (U)

The President: On Russia, we are working hard to work out arrangements, especially on the sharing of proceeds. On security assurances, we are determined to find a workable formula. Secretary Christopher and Foreign Minister Zlenko can discuss this in the future. With regard to economic assistance, we would welcome a high-level delegation soon, as promised, to discuss these matters. (S)

President Kravchuk: Thank you. That is very nice. We shall send such a delegation soon. (U)

The President: Again, I want to express my appreciation for your hard work. I see it has been sometimes difficult with parliament and I sometimes have problems with Congress, too. (U)

President Kravchuk: You see, Mr. President, our Parliament is more difficult to tackle than the Russian one. There is one positive thing -- our Parliament has made a decision about the elections. (U)

The President: I feel very good about this discussion. We should proceed along the lines we have discussed. (U)

President Kravchuk: I would like to ask for one more thing, Mr. President. We negotiated one thing in Geneva. I would like your assistance because you can help us greatly. I was very glad about the essence of our conversation. It was nice to talk with you. Good health and good wishes, especially at Christmas time. (U)

The President: Thank you very much and good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 17, 1994

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0122-M (1.18)

KBH 11/22/2019

TELEPHONE CALL WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK

DATE: FEBRUARY 17, 1994

LOCATION: OVAL OFFICE

TIME: 2:30pm

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 

I. PURPOSE

To encourage President Kravchuk to push hard to achieve a successful parliamentary vote on accession to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) on February 22 and to lay the groundwork for economic discussions at your March 4 meeting with Kravchuk.

II. BACKGROUND

President Kravchuk is calling his Parliament into special session on February 22 to vote once again on Ukraine's accession to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Kravchuk achieved a major victory with his Parliament on February 3 when a wide majority approved the Trilateral Statement that you signed with Yeltsin and Kravchuk on January 14. The Rada also removed all the conditions that they had placed last November on START ratification and Ukraine's accession to the NPT "at the earliest possible time"--the Lisbon Protocol commitment. The Rada specifically left open the question of what "the earliest possible time" means for Ukraine, arguing that a hedge was needed in case Russia did not live up to its commitments under the Trilateral accord. Since February 3, however, Ukraine and Russia have made good progress on implementation, working out a schedule for Ukraine's compensation as well as for warhead transfers to Russia. Kravchuk will argue on this basis that the Rada should approve NPT accession in time for his March 4 visit to Washington. In your telephone call, you praise the success he has achieved so far and encourage him to work with the Rada to go this final distance. (Points are at Tab A.) You should know that we are working intensively with the Ukrainians to develop a program of near-term assistance for SS-24 missile early deactivation. Your points reflect the fact that we will be moving fuel and hardware for this purpose to Kiev before February 22, to help Kravchuk to convince his Parliament. You should also know that Kravchuk has asked in a February 15 letter (Tab B) to sign on March 4 the Ukrainian-American Charter that is analogous to the one that you signed with Nazarbayev on February 14. We have

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WJC HANDWRITING

told the Ukrainians that, as was the case with Belarus and Kazakhstan, we would only sign the Charter once they have acceded to the NPT as a non-nuclear weapons state. If Kravchuk raises the subject directly with you, you should underscore that we will continue to work hard with Ukraine to achieve NPT accession, but will only sign the Charter when we are sure that the nuclear question is resolved.

You will also want to discuss our program of economic cooperation with Ukraine, as your points reflect. Kravchuk may press you, as he does in his February 15 letter, to send Nicholas Burns with a team to Kiev in advance of his visit. You should urge him instead to send his economic team to Washington to prepare his visit and work with senior levels of the IMF and World Bank.

III. PARTICIPANTS

TBD.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Not required.

V. SEQUENCE

Telephone call in Oval Office.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be made.

Tab B February 15 letter from President Kravchuk.

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0122-M (1.18)
KBH 11/22/2019

POINTS TO BE MADE IN PRESIDENT'S CALL TO
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK

Introduction

-- I'm very pleased to speak with you again. I just received your letter and I too am looking forward to your visit here on March 4. I think it will be a great success.

- I know our people are already hard at work on it.

Security Issues

-- Leonid, I watched your overwhelming victory with your Parliament on February 3 and remembered so clearly our talk together at Borispol.

-- You predicted that you would achieve success with the Rada after some very hard work and I am impressed at the way you did just that.

-- The Trilateral Statement brings tremendous benefits to Ukraine as we begin to close the nuclear chapter and move to a more wide-ranging relationship rooted in economic cooperation.

-- I am glad that your parliamentarians saw, in the end, that the security of Ukraine would be better served by our trilateral accord with Russia than by continued doubt and uncertainty on the nuclear issue.

-- I was especially pleased that the Rada removed all the conditions it had placed on the Lisbon Protocol. That opens the door to Ukraine's accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty as soon as possible.

-- Leonid, we should finish this matter in time for our meeting in Washington. I know that you are asking your Rada to look at this issue again next Tuesday (February 22).

-- I wanted to let you know how much I support you in this effort and how much I hope that you will be able to bring with you the instruments of accession to the NPT when you arrive in Washington on March 3.

-- This would allow us to sign our bilateral Charter and truly celebrate the opening of a new chapter in our relationship.

-- Before we turn to economic issues, I wanted to tell you personally that our people are working very hard to make sure that our assistance for SS-24 deactivation begins to flow now.

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- I understand that you will be receiving a shipment of fuel that you requested in very short order. We are committed to ensuring that equipment you requested for SS-24 deactivation begins to arrive in Kiev by February 22.
- I hope that our fast action will be a good sign to your parliamentarians that we are committed to working with Ukraine in a serious and effective way.

(If Kravchuk asks you to sign the Charter on March 4 without the NPT accession:

- I understand the Charter's importance to you, but it is also very important to me--it will define our relationship for many years to come. I want it to be signed when we are ready to cement that relationship as one that will not be burdened by the nuclear question.
- If your NPT accession cannot occur on March 4, we will continue to work hard to help you to make the case that the trilateral accord is fair and fully in the interest of Ukraine's security.)

Economic Issues

- I agree with the thrust of your letter that we have arrived at a new beginning in our economic relationship.
- The visit of your economic delegation in late January was a positive turning point. Our people worked effectively with Minister Shpek and were encouraged by your and his emphasis on a new Ukrainian economic reform plan.
- Based on the visit, we intend to proceed in the following concrete ways to assist you:
 - 1) We have committed to \$350 million in bilateral economic assistance in 1994. We can announce that figure and the details of the programs during your visit;
 - 2) We have agreed to make a major, new push on trade and investment. In addition to creating a joint Business promotion committee, I hope we can sign the Bilateral Investment and Tax treaties during your visit.
 - 3) We worked hard to convince the IMF and World Bank to meet with you and to negotiate a new relationship. I know those discussions are ongoing.
- It will be critically important for Ukraine to develop a detailed economic reform program so that you can then negotiate a program of support with the IMF and World Bank.

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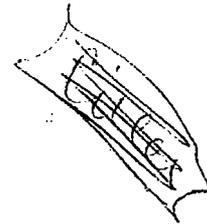
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(If Kravchuk asks for a Bridge Loan of \$300 million to provide immediate help before IMF/World Bank lending begins:

- As our officials have indicated before to your government, I am afraid we are not now in a position to extend such a loan.
- In order for a bridge loan to be possible, there must be something to which to bridge.
- Your best bet is to pursue vigorously an agreement with the IMF and World Bank.)

(If Kravchuk asks for a U.S. economic delegation to visit Kiev next week to discuss the bridge loan:

- I agree that our officials should keep in the closest possible contact on these economic issues.
- Since you are arriving on March 3, it might be better for Minister Shpek and others to visit Washington just ahead of your visit.
- This would allow our people to be able to put him in contact again with senior officials of the IMF and World Bank here in Washington which I think is the priority now.)



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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

16-Feb-1994 18:58 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

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

SUBJECT: KRAVCHUK LETTER TO PRESIDENT CLINTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0122-17 (117)

KBH 11/22/2019

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KRAVCHUK LETTER TO PRESIDENT CLINTON

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KIEV 001264

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S/S PLEASE PASS TO S/NIS TALBOTT

S/S PLS PASS TO NSC BURNS/GOTTEMOELLER

E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR

TAGS: PARM, ECON, PREL, OVIP (KRAVCHUK), UP

SUBJECT: KRAVCHUK LETTER TO PRESIDENT CLINTON

1. ~~ENTIRE~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. THE FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY'S UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LETTER OF FEBRUARY 3. MFA DEPUTY USA-CANADA DESK OFFICER DATSENKO PRESENTED THE LETTER TO THE EMBASSY ON FEBRUARY 16. DATSENKO SAID THAT THE MFA WILL POUCH THE LETTER TO THE UKRAINIAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON O/A FEBRUARY 20 FOR OFFICIAL PRESENTATION TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF KRAVCHUK LETTER, DATED FEBRUARY 15:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I WAS VERY PLEASED TO READ YOUR LETTER OF FEBRUARY 3.

YOU HAVE ACCURATELY UNDERScoreD THE SITUATION

SURROUNDING OUR JOINT APPROACH TO THE PRACTICAL

SOLUTION OF A NUMBER OF EXTREMELY IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

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WHICH FACE UKRAINE TODAY.

OUR FIRST SMALL MEETING ON UKRAINIAN SOIL ON JANUARY 12 -- I AM VERY PLEASED THIS TOOK PLACE -- PERMITTED US TO PLAN AND BEGIN JOINT STEPS TOWARDS ACTIVATING THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS AND STRENGTHENING OUR COOPERATION IN THE SECURITY SPHERE. I AM DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR YOUR OPTIMISM IN EVALUATING THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USA AND UKRAINE. IN SHARING THIS OPTIMISM, I WANT TO STRESS ONCE MORE THAT AS PRESIDENT I WILL CONTINUE TO DO ALL POSSIBLE SO THAT THE CONTENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES WILL FULFILL THE HOPES OF THOSE WHO EXPECT FROM US, THE HEADS OF STATE, CONCRETE ACTIONS.

I AM GRATEFUL TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, FOR YOUR PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO THE PRACTICAL RESOLUTION OF EXTREMELY DIFFICULT AND, WITHOUT EXAGGERATION, SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE PROCESS OF ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH WE INHERITED FROM THE FORMER SOVIET UNION.

THE ACT OF SIGNING THE TRILATERAL STATEMENT AND THE ANNEX TO IT WAS A GREAT STEP FORWARD IN PRACTICAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, WHICH MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ON THIS PLANET ARE AWAITING AND HOPING FOR. I AM GRATEFUL FOR YOUR READINESS TO WORK WITH US FURTHER IN MATTERS WHICH HAVE EXCEPTIONALLY IMPORTANT SIGNIFICANCE FOR UKRAINE. MY EVALUATION OF YOUR REMARKS WAS FULLY SHARED BY CHAIRMAN OF THE SUPREME RADA IVAN PLYUSHCH AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COORDINATION COUNCIL ON ECONOMIC REFORM DURING A DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS OF THE VISIT TO THE U.S. BY A UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATION.

WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK SERIOUSLY IN REALIZING THE COMMITMENTS WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNDER THE START I TREATY AND THE MOSCOW STATEMENT EVEN IN THESE DIFFICULT SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES. IT IS ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT FOR US UNDER THESE CONDITIONS TO HAVE THE PRACTICAL, CONCRETE SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE OF ALL INTERESTED STATES AND THE WORLD COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE. AS FOR THE SECTIONS OF YOUR LETTER CONCERNING ECONOMIC ISSUES, I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE FOLLOWING:

FIRSTLY. I FULLY SHARE YOUR EVALUATION OF THE ACTIONS OF OUR GOVERNMENTS ON STRENGTHENING BILATERAL ECONOMIC TIES. UKRAINE IS READY TO TAKE CONCRETE AND LARGE-SCALE STEPS TOWARDS DEEPENING ECONOMIC COOPERATION. THE PRESENT, EXTREMELY DIFFICULT SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION IN UKRAINE CALLS FOR DECISIVE AND HARSH MEASURES. THE LEADERSHIP OF STATE HAS THE NECESSARY POLITICAL WILL TO PROCEED ALONG THE PATH OF DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN THE SOCIETY AND TO ACCELERATE ECONOMIC REFORM. BUT THE REALIZATION OF THESE INTENTIONS WILL NOT BE EASY -- THERE ARE CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES SURROUNDING INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS -- OF WHICH YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, ARE NO DOUBT AWARE.

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SECONDLY. I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY CONVICTION THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S MEASURES FOR REFORMING UKRAINE'S ECONOMY IN THE DIRECTION OF MACROECONOMIC STABILIZATION WILL BE STRENGTHENED BY COOPERATION THIS MONTH WITH EXPERTS OF THE IMF AND THE WORLD BANK IN WORKING OUT A COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR THE PURPOSE OF RECEIVING SYSTEM TRANSFORMATION LOANS. WE ARE COUNTING

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KIEV 001264
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S/S PLEASE PASS TO S/NIS TALBOTT
S/S PLS PASS TO NSC BURNS/GOTTEMOELLER
E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR

TAGS: PARM, ECON, PREL, OVIP (KRAVCHUK), UP
SUBJECT: KRAVCHUK LETTER TO PRESIDENT CLINTON
ON THIS PROGRAM BEING PREPARED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO THAT UKRAINE CAN RECEIVE THE FIRST CREDITS FROM INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN A FIXED TERM. AT THE SAME TIME, MR. PRESIDENT, I TAKE THE LIBERTY OF TURNING YOUR ATTENTION TO A PROBLEM WHICH IS OF URGENT IMPORTANCE FOR UKRAINE AND THE GUARANTEE OF ITS SOCIAL STABILITY, ESPECIALLY IN THE CRITICAL SITUATION OF IMPLEMENTING THE FIRST STAGE OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN THIS STATE. THE CONCERNS PROVIDING UKRAINE WITH AN EMERGENCY ADDITIONAL -- I STRESS THESE VERY WORDS -- FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AMOUNTING TO 300 MILLION USD FOR THE IMMEDIATE SERVICING OF THE EXTERNAL DEBT AND ACCOUNTS FOR THE DELIVERY OF CRITICAL IMPORTS -- FIRST OF ALL TO GUARANTEE SUFFICIENT FUEL FOR THE SPRING SOWING.

THIRDLY. IN MY OPINION, DURING THE MEETING IN WASHINGTON IT WOULD ALL BE DESIRABLE TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE SOURCES AND OVERALL VOLUME OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR UKRAINE NECESSARY, IN PARTICULAR, FOR THE CREATION OF A STABILIZATION FUND FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF A NATIONAL CURRENCY, STRUCTURAL REFORM, AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MEASURES FOR THE SOCIAL PROTECTION OF THE POPULATION AND THE SOLUTION OF OTHER URGENT PROBLEMS CAUSED BY THE ECONOMIC CRISIS.

I BELIEVE THAT THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HISTORICAL PROCESS THAT WE ARE JOINTLY FORMING IN OUR BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WILL DEPEND LARGELY ON THE RESULTS OF OUR NEXT MEETING AND YOUR PERSONAL SUPPORT FOR THE ISSUES I RAISED.

IN CONNECTION WITH THIS, WE WOULD WELCOME A VISIT TO KIEV BY YOUR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE NICHOLAS BURNS, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF TREASURY LARRY SUMMERS AND MR. DAVID LIPTON TO FINALIZE A PROGRAM FOR OUR ECONOMIC COOPERATION. I HAVE GIVEN THE AUTHORITY TO MINISTER ROMAN SHPEK TO DO ALL THAT IS NECESSARY TO ENSURE THAT RESULTS DESIRED BY BOTH SIDES WILL BE ACHIEVED DURING THE VISIT.

I ALSO INVITE TO KIEV DEFENSE SECRETARY WILLIAM PERRY TO DISCUSS QUESTIONS OF COOPERATION IN DEFENSE

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CONVERSION AND SPACE EXPLORATION.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT!

IN ANALYZING THE STATE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP OVER THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS, I WILL TAKE THE LIBERTY OF NOTING THAT THANKS TO OUR JOINT EFFORTS, WE HAVE ELEVATED OUR RELATIONSHIP TO A HIGHER STEP AND THAT WILL OPEN THE WAY TO ADDITIONAL POSSIBILITIES.

I AM DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THAT POSITIVE PROCESS WILL BE ENHANCED BY THE COMPLETION OF WORK ON AND THE SUBSEQUENT SIGNING OF THE CHARTER FOR FRIENDSHIP, PARTNERSHIP AND COOPERATION.

FOR MYSELF AND THE PEOPLE OF UKRAINE, AND IN GENERAL FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, IT WOULD BE AN HONOR TO SIGN A DOCUMENT OF SUCH POLITICAL IMPORT DURING MY VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

NOT TO EXAGGERATE WHAT WE BOTH ARE DOING PERSONALLY, ONE CAN SPEAK WITH CERTAINTY ABOUT THE PROGRESS OF OUR RELATIONS, WHICH IS NOT GOING UNNOTICED BY THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

FOR OUR PART, WE ARE READY TO CONTINUE TO DO ALL POSSIBLE FOR THE WIDENING AND DEEPENING OF MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO STATES.

WITH SINCERE REGARDS AND BEST WISHES FOR YOUR GOOD HEALTH AND PERSONAL SUCCESS IN YOUR STATELY ACTIVITIES.

LEONID KRAVCHUK. END TEXT OF KRAVCHUK LETTER.

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POINTS TO BE MADE IN PRESIDENT'S CALL TO
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK

Introduction

- I'm very pleased to speak with you again. I just received your letter and I too am looking forward to your visit here on March 4. I think it will be a great success.
- I know our people are already hard at work on it.

Security Issues

- Leonid, I watched your overwhelming victory with your Parliament on February 3 and remembered so clearly our talk together at Borispol.
- You predicted that you would achieve success with the Rada after some very hard work and I am impressed at the way you did just that.
- The Trilateral Statement brings tremendous benefits to Ukraine as we begin to close the nuclear chapter and move to a more wide-ranging relationship rooted in economic cooperation.
- I am glad that your parliamentarians saw, in the end, that the security of Ukraine would be better served by our trilateral accord with Russia than by continued doubt and uncertainty on the nuclear issue.
- I was especially pleased that the Rada removed all the conditions it had placed on the Lisbon Protocol, ~~including the one affecting Article V (five)~~. That opens the door to Ukraine's accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty as soon as possible.
- Leonid, we should finish this matter in time for our meeting in Washington. I know that you are asking your Rada to look at this issue again next Tuesday (February 22).
- I wanted to let you know how much I support you in this effort and how much I hope that you will be able to bring with you the instruments of accession to the NPT when you arrive in Washington on March 3.
- This would allow us to sign our bilateral Charter and truly celebrate the opening of a new chapter in our relationship.
- Before we turn to economic issues, I wanted to tell you personally that our people are working very hard to make sure that our assistance for SS-24 deactivation begins to flow now.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0122-M (1.21)
KBH 11/22/2019

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with Ukrainian
President Kravchuk

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Leonid Kravchuk
Interpreter: George Sajewych
Notetaker: Rose Gottemoeller

DATE, TIME February 17, 1994, 2:40-2:57pm
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hello, how are you? (U)

President Kravchuk: I'm fine. A little chill but I will be all right. (U)

The President: Leonid, I watched your overwhelming victory with your Parliament on February 3. I am impressed at the way you achieved success with your Rada. The Trilateral Statement brings tremendous benefits to Ukraine as we begin to close the nuclear chapter and move to a better and broader relationship based on economic cooperation. I was especially glad that the Rada removed all the conditions it had placed on the Lisbon Protocol. That opens the door to Ukraine's accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. I know that you are asking your Rada to look at this issue again next Tuesday. I wanted to let you know how much I support you in this effort and how much I hope that you will be able to bring with you the instruments of accession to the NPT when you arrive in Washington on March 3. That would enable us to sign our bilateral Charter and really celebrate the opening of a new chapter in our relationship. I also wanted to tell you personally that our people are working very hard to make sure that our assistance for SS-24 deactivation begins to flow now. We are working hard on that. I understand that you will be receiving a shipment of fuel that you requested very soon. We are committed to ensuring that equipment you requested for SS-24 deactivation also begins to arrive in Kiev by February 22. I hope our fast action will be a good sign to your Rada that we are committed to working with Ukraine in a serious and effective way for the long run. (S)

I agree with the thrust of your letter that we have arrived at a new beginning in our economic relationship. The visit of your economic delegation in late January was a very positive turning point. Our people worked effectively with Minister Shpek and were encouraged by your and his emphasis on a new Ukrainian economic reform plan. Based on that visit, we have committed to

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\$350 million in bilateral economic assistance in 1994, which can be announced along with the details of the programs during your visit. We've also agreed to make a major, new push on trade and investment. In addition to creating a joint business promotion committee, I hope we can sign the Bilateral Investment and Tax treaties during your visit to reinforce this commitment. We worked hard to convince the IMF and World Bank to meet with you and negotiate a new relationship. I know those discussions are ongoing, but we will continue to work with them. It's critically important for Ukraine to develop a detailed economic reform program so that you can then negotiate a program of support with the IMF and World Bank. We will do everything we can to help. One final point I'd like to make. I agree with you that our officials should keep in very close touch with your officials. Since you are arriving on March 3, maybe we should work out some kind of arrangement for Minister Shpek and your other officials to visit Washington just ahead of your visit. This would allow our people to be able to put him in contact again with senior officials of the IMF and World Bank here in Washington. (C)

President Kravchuk: Thank you for your call, Mr. President, and thank you for your letter. I was very much impressed by it as the beginning of practical new steps toward Ukraine. I was also impressed by your recent meeting with the Ukrainian-American community. We appreciated it very much--not only me, but all our people. I am confident that your personal attitude toward Ukraine will correct the attitude of certain members of our parliament so that they will take the necessary steps on the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The main thing now is a parliamentary problem of whether there will be a quorum. One hundred eighty-two members of parliament have nominated themselves for the new one. Right now my administration and I and the administration of the parliament are doing everything to have them present from February 22 to 26. Right now it is the opinion of the majority to accede to the NPT. Right now I and my government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense, are interested in approving this document. We will take drastic steps to achieve this. This is our course, and we will pursue it. (C)

I would like to tell you the experts meeting between the governments of Russia and Ukraine on practical steps for transport of nuclear warheads has met. We expect the first train to move to Russia with these warheads by the end of this month. There is no serious misunderstanding to block the signing of all the documents. A schedule has been worked out. We will be able to sign all the documents for moving warheads to Russia, and we now intend to do it. The main thing now is to organize transport, although elimination is also a very serious matter. Today, acting Prime Minister Zviahivsky left for Moscow to sign the documents. We have started to work on implementing the Trilateral documents. This is the main result of our Moscow meeting on January 14. I thank you, Mr. President, for your proposals on economic cooperation. I am sure we will use the proposals and implement them. I know that the program of my visit to Washington has been worked out, and I am satisfied with

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it. I am sure it will be good for me and for Ukraine. I am looking forward to meeting you in Washington. (S)

The President: One last thing: Is there anything we can do on our end to help members of parliament attend the Rada session and ratify NPT next week? (S)

President Kravchuk: I think what you have done already has been very good. Everything now depends on our great insistence with the members of parliament. (S)

The President: Thank you very much. (U)

President Kravchuk: Right now I will work in an intensive way to complete these agreement, and I hope we will succeed in this work. (U)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Kravchuk: Thank you. All the best. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

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TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 03 MAR 94
SOURCE REF: 9404827

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE AP
VISIT

PERSONS: KRAVCHUK, LEONID

SUBJECT: ADDL BACKGROUND PAPERS / FACT SHEET / Q & A FOR VISIT OF PRES
KRAVCHUK

ACTION: ORIGINAL MTG CARDS RETURNED DUE DATE: 01 MAR 94 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS LOGREF:

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

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COMMENTS: _____

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001	BURNS	Z	94022508	PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE
002	BURNS	X	94030109	ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
003	BURNS	Z	94030109	ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
004	BURNS	Z	94030109	ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
005	BURNS	Z	94030111	ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
006	BURNS	Z	94030213	ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
007	BURNS	X	94030310	ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
008	BURNS	Z	94030311	ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
009	BERGER	Z	94030318	FOR SIGNATURE
010	PRESIDENT	Z	94030321	FOR INFORMATION
011	BURNS	Z	94030409	ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
011		X	94081114	NOTED BY PRESIDENT
011		X	94081114	ORIGINAL MTG CARDS RETURNED

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

<u>DOC</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>DISPATCH FOR ACTION</u>	<u>DISPATCH FOR INFO</u>
010	940303		VICE PRESIDENT
010	940303		WH CHIEF OF STAFF
010	940303		STEPHANOPOULOS, G

TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 03 MAR 94
SOURCE REF: 9404827

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE AP
VISIT

PERSONS: KRAVCHUK, LEONID

SUBJECT: ADDL BACKGROUND PAPERS / FACT SHEET / Q & A FOR VISIT OF PRES
KRAVCHUK

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION DUE DATE: 01 MAR 94 STATUS: S

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for visit.
N. Burns
3/4/94*

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TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

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DOC DATE: 02 MAR 94
SOURCE REF: 9404664

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE
VISIT

AP

PERSONS: KRAVCHUK, LEONID

SUBJECT: REVISED & NEW Q & A FOR VISIT OF UKRAINE PRES KRAVCHUK

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 01 MAR 94 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS

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White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KBY NARA, Date 11/22/2019
2016-0122-M

TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 02 MAR 94
SOURCE REF: 9404425

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE AP
VISIT

PERSONS: KRAVCHUK, LEONID

SUBJECT: REVISED BACKGROUND PAPERS & FACT SHEETS FOR VISIT OF UKRAINE
PRES KRAVCHUK

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION DUE DATE: 01 MAR 94 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS LOGREF:

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

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COMMENTS:

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TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 02 MAR 94
SOURCE REF: 9404426

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE
VISIT

AP

PERSONS: KRAVCHUK, LEONID

SUBJECT: REVISED TALKING POINTS FOR VISIT OF UKRAINE PRES KRAVCHUK

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION DUE DATE: 01 MAR 94 STATUS: S

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COMMENTS:

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OPENED BY: NSJDA CLOSED BY: DOC 6 OF 6

TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 28 FEB 94
SOURCE REF: 9404363

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE
VISIT

AP

PERSONS: KRAVCHUK, LEONID

SUBJECT: Q & A FOR VISIT OF UKRAINE PRES KRAVCHUK

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 01 MAR 94 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

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COMMENTS:

no further action required
J. Burns

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DOC 3 OF 3

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White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KRM/NARA, Date 11/22/2019
2016-0122-M

TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 28 FEB 94
SOURCE REF: 9404197

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE AP
VISIT

PERSONS: KRAVCHUK, LEONID

SUBJECT: FACT SHEET FOR VISIT OF UKRAINE PRES KRAVCHUK

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION DUE DATE: 01 MAR 94 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS LOGREF:

FILES: WH NSCP: CODES:

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COMMENTS:

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TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 28 FEB 94
SOURCE REF: 9404365

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE AP
VISIT

PERSONS: KRAVCHUK, LEONID

SUBJECT: PRESS STATEMENT FOR VISIT OF UKRAINE PRES KRAVCHUK

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION DUE DATE: 01 MAR 94 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS LOGREF:

FILES: WH NSCP: CODES:

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COMMENTS:

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TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 28 FEB 94
SOURCE REF: 9404367

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE
VISIT

AP

PERSONS: KRAVCHUK, LEONID

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR PRES DURING VISIT OF UKRAINE PRES KRAVCHUK

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 01 MAR 94 STATUS: S

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*No action required
J. Burns*

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TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 24 FEB 94
SOURCE REF: 9404053

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE
VISIT

AP

PERSONS: KRAVCHUK, LEONID

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PAPERS & FACT SHEETS FOR VISIT OF UKRAINE PRES KRAVCHUK

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 01 MAR 94 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

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CODES:

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By ~~KRM~~ NARA, Date 11/22/2019
2016-0122-M

Reed 3/3 7:45am

National Security Council
The White House

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Reed	_____	_____	_____
Kenney	<u>1 copy</u>	<u>nan</u>	_____
Itoh	_____	_____	_____
Soderberg	<u>copy</u>	Deputy Natl Sec Advisor	_____
<i>nhw</i> Berger	<u>2</u>	has seen	_____
Lake	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>3</u>	<u>MB 3/3</u>	<u>D TO PODESTA</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>4</u>	_____	<u>N</u>

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc: VP McLarty Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

CC: NS, KK

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

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Kecci 3/3 7:45am

National Security Council
The White House

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Itoh	_____	_____	_____
Soderberg	<u>copy</u>	<u>Deputy Nat Sec Advisor</u>	_____
<i>ntw</i> Berger	<u>2</u>	<u>has seen</u>	_____
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West Wing Desk	<u>3</u>	<u>WAB 3/3</u>	<u>D TO PODESTA</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>4</u>	_____	<u>N</u>

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc: VP McLarty Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

CC: NS, KK

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THE WHITE HOUSE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

WASHINGTON

3.4.94

March 3, 1994

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2016-0122-M (1.22)
KBM 11/22/2019

MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT LEONID KRAVCHUK OF UKRAINE

DATE: March 4, 1994

LOCATION: Oval Office, Old Family
Dining Room, East Room

TIME: 11:25 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 

I. PURPOSE

To reaffirm the new beginning in our relationship with Ukraine that will focus on intense development of economic cooperation and further progress in our security cooperation as we move finally to resolve the nuclear question.

KEY POINTS

- Express appreciation for Kravchuk's leadership in moving Ukraine toward non-nuclear status, especially his success in achieving Rada approval of the Trilateral Statement, START I and the Lisbon Protocol.
- Urge Kravchuk's continued efforts to achieve accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty at the earliest possible time.
- Highlight the substantial increase in U.S. support for Ukraine -- to \$700 million by the end of FY 95 -- for Ukraine's economic and political reform and the safe and secure dismantlement of nuclear weapons in Ukraine.
- Encourage Kravchuk to develop a comprehensive economic reform program in order to attract major financial support from the IMF and World Bank.
- Seek Kravchuk's views on the progress of events in Russia and their impact on Ukraine -- e.g., in the Crimea -- and the other countries of the region.
- Emphasize our willingness to continue the trilateral process begun with Russia and Ukraine last year in order to resolve issues affecting our mutual interests.

II. BACKGROUND

Leonid Kravchuk's official visit to Washington is an important milestone in the dramatic improvement in our relations with Ukraine over the past few months. Once the major problem in our relations with the states of the former Soviet Union, Ukraine is now one of the major opportunities. Since last autumn, we have moved forward in two key areas with Kiev. First, Kravchuk acted decisively to move Ukraine toward a non-nuclear future. Second, he began the process of economic reform, however modestly, which has opened the possibility of a new economic relationship with us.

Your primary objective in meeting with Kravchuk is to pursue additional progress in these two areas and to signal publicly our new interest in a close and supportive relationship with Ukraine. The very fact of Kravchuk's visit will help to symbolize this new beginning. In addition, you and he will sign a statement on the future of U.S.-Ukraine relations (a document laying out our mutual commitment to promote political, security, and economic cooperation), sign Bilateral Investment and Tax treaties, issue joint statements on trade and investment and cooperation in other areas, and announce creation of a joint commission on technology--all demonstrating an enhanced U.S.-Ukraine relationship. You will also announce an expansion of U.S. economic assistance and Nunn-Lugar programs totaling roughly \$700 million by early next year.

Kravchuk had initially proposed to have you and he sign the U.S.-Ukraine Charter. We opposed the idea because Ukraine has not yet acceded to the NPT, making it impossible for us to extend the security assurances in the charter. Instead, we proposed a more general joint statement on the future of our relations. In addition, Secretary Christopher and Foreign Minister Zlenko will initial the charter in private. Kravchuk is pleased with this compromise.

I recommend that you use your time with Kravchuk to accomplish several objectives. First, you should review with him the steps necessary to achieve Ukrainian accession to the NPT and the resolution of other outstanding issues in our security relations. Second, you will want to discuss our economic relationship--expansion of our bilateral assistance, a new emphasis on trade and investment, and adoption of a Ukrainian economic reform plan to enable us to push the IMF and World Bank to support it. Third, you should also exchange views with him on Russia's future.

Ukraine will be important in securing our interests in the region. As large as France in population and geography, Ukraine is potentially one of Europe's great powers. Whether it achieves that status is very much in question as ethnic divisions such as the Crimean problem and nearly disastrous economic policies have made its first two years of independence exceedingly difficult. While not a

counterweight to Russian power in the region, Ukraine can act in the future as an important force for stability. It is in our interest to help preserve Ukraine's independence from Russia and its territorial integrity.

The Security Agenda

Your brief first meeting with Kravchuk at Borispol Airport in January and the historic signing of the Trilateral agreement in Moscow helped to push toward resolution the nuclear question that has dominated our relationship with Kiev since Ukraine became independent.

Since January, Kravchuk has fulfilled his assurances to you that he would succeed in implementing the Trilateral Statement. On February 3, the Ukrainian Parliament approved the Trilateral Statement and removed all conditions to ratification of the START I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol. The Rada also agreed to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty at the earliest possible time but declined to name a date when the accession would occur.

This is the major unresolved issue in our dealings with Ukraine on the nuclear question. Kravchuk has been continuing to work on it with the Rada, but failed last week to get a quorum to achieve a majority vote for accession -- a possibility he suggested to you in your last telephone conversation on February 18. Following a successful visit with you in Washington, Kravchuk may attempt again to gain a successful NPT vote prior to parliamentary elections on March 27. You will want to encourage him to do so.

But despite the NPT question, Kravchuk has clearly brought Ukraine a long way toward denuclearization in the past few months. On the heels of the Rada vote, Ukraine and Russia were able to agree on a schedule for the complete withdrawal of nuclear warheads from Ukraine, following the 28-month deadline agreed to in the confidential letters accompanying the Trilateral Statement. They also were able to agree on compensation for Ukraine, not only for the nuclear materials in strategic nuclear warheads, but also for the tactical warheads that have been the subject of so much dispute between the two sides. Most critical is the intelligence we have received indicating that the first train carrying warheads is moving toward the border from Ukraine to Russia.

You will want to lay out a clear program of next steps in security cooperation, not only to finish the business of NPT accession, but also to advance the development of Ukraine's conventional armed forces in their cooperation with NATO and the West--the true source of Ukraine's security, not nuclear weapons. Ukraine has already joined the Partnership for Peace. This builds on the considerable U.S.-Ukrainian defense cooperation and military-to-military contacts that we have underway.

While the direction of these security discussions will be positive, you should be aware that there are several areas of cooperation that pose real or potential problems. One is the safe and secure dismantlement (SSD) or Nunn-Lugar program. The other is space launch and the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).

While Kravchuk has indicated his willingness to proceed with dismantling SS-24 missiles, lower level officials in Kiev have argued that SS-24s are "part of Ukraine's heritage" and should be maintained for space launch, even if the warheads are shipped back to Russia. This is the crux of the issue we face with the Ukrainians over SSD funding: while Kravchuk has requested funding for SS-24 dismantlement, lower echelons in his government are refusing to accept it.

Your discussion with Kravchuk on this issue should focus on two points. The first is the need for his continued involvement in the Nunn-Lugar program in order to ensure that his priorities--e.g. SS-24 dismantlement--are reflected in the assistance projects agreed with his government. We share that goal. The second point is the importance that we attach to SS-24 dismantlement.

The Ukrainians are actively arguing that their SS-24s should be converted for space launch, a major concern to us because of the threat they pose in proliferation of rocket and missile technology. But the Kravchuk government has also indicated its desire to move quickly toward adherence to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), an encouraging sign that Ukraine recognizes the need to behave responsibly in the area of missile proliferation. You are likely to hear from Kravchuk a proposal to move forward with both space cooperation and adherence to the MTCR.

The Ukrainian government is clearly mindful of the agreements that we reached with Russia, which balanced adherence to the MTCR guidelines against access to the commercial space launch market. Ukraine's interest in the MTCR is clearly welcome, but its commercial access to space presents several serious problems. The U.S.-Russian commercial space launch agreement was negotiated to ensure U.S. market share against low-priced Russian launch vehicles. Admitting another non-market economy, Ukraine, to the launch market is complicated from a nonproliferation perspective and has to be balanced against the interests of the U.S. launch industry.

Thus, many factors restrict us from immediately offering the same kind of space cooperation to Ukraine that we offered Russia. Nevertheless, you will want to encourage Kravchuk on three counts: first, we are pleased at Ukraine's evident interest in moving toward entering the MTCR regime. Second, we are interested in space cooperation in certain key areas such as earth observation and space science research. Third, we note that Ukraine and Russia continue to work

together in the aerospace arena. Where Russian-Ukrainian cooperation supports U.S.-Russian space cooperation, we are willing to work with both parties as we have so successfully in the trilateral process.

The Economic Agenda

The core of our future agenda with Ukraine is in developing a closer economic relationship. Kravchuk's major concern, in addition to the nuclear issues, is in stabilizing a near disastrous economy and thereby ensuring his political future. Ukraine's hyperinflationary spiral hit 90 percent per month in January. This problem, coupled with a precipitous drop in industrial production, threatens not only to destabilize the Kravchuk government but to lead to the dismemberment of the state if the worst case becomes reality.

You can suggest three initiatives to Kravchuk to help with this huge economic challenge.

First, you will announce a major expansion of our bilateral grant economic assistance to \$350 million in FY-94. This program will focus on privatization, technical advisors and creation of an enterprise fund to stimulate small business creation. In launching this program, we are, in effect, making an exception for Ukraine by giving them a large amount of assistance up front before reforms are well underway. Kravchuk understands this and appreciates it.

Second, Ukraine needs an urgent infusion of capital to help with pressing balance of payments problems in the critical areas of energy and agriculture. Kravchuk may ask you for a \$300 million bridge loan to help him over the next few months. We cannot do this as we have no capability under our laws for this type of loan absent an IMF agreement in place. We have jumpstarted negotiations between Ukraine and the IMF/World Bank during the last few weeks. While this is encouraging, the IMF and Bank will be unwilling to extend substantial capital to Ukraine before it adopts a comprehensive and written economic reform program. You should encourage Kravchuk to do so. Without the adoption of such a plan and its presentation to the Rada, there will be no reason to believe Kravchuk's commitment to reform is anything other than rhetorical. You need to make him understand that we cannot do much for him with the G-7 and IFIs without his acting first. You can tell him, however, that should he adopt a credible reform program the U.S. will lead an international effort to promote assistance to Ukraine. Our creation of an International Support Group, an idea supported by Major and Kohl, would be one such way to help Ukraine.

Third, you should press Kravchuk to make progress on trade and investment with us. The American business exposure in Ukraine is limited and dwarfed by activities in Kazakhstan

and Russia. Ukraine needs long-term investment to develop its industrial and agricultural bases. You will announce the creation of a Joint Committee on Trade and Investment, headed by Ron Brown. You should encourage Kravchuk to adopt a uniform commercial code and more consistent tax and regulatory laws.

Ukraine's Relations with Russia and Kravchuk's Future

You should take the opportunity, as you did during your meeting at Borispol Airport, to seek Kravchuk's views on his relationship with Yeltsin and on the future of Ukrainian-Russian relations. Kravchuk and Yeltsin appear to have a fairly good relationship. When they get together, they work out compromises on tough issues ranging from the Black Sea Fleet to Crimea. Their subordinates work less effectively in translating these aims into concrete cooperation.

Ukraine's relations with Russia are currently dominated by two issues. The recent pro-secession vote in Crimea has alarmed the Kravchuk government. Fortunately, the Yeltsin government has supported Kravchuk's contention that Crimea should remain part of Ukraine. The Crimean crisis could be inflamed, however, by extremists on both sides and will remain at the center of Kravchuk's attention.

In addition to Crimea, Ukraine's reliance on imports of Russian oil and gas has given Moscow leverage in dealing with the Kravchuk government. Just this week, Russia shut off gas exports to Ukraine due to nonpayment of bills. Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin will likely intervene to restore the shipments but only after the point will have been made that Moscow can exert decisive influence on Kiev.

Finally, as you know, Kravchuk has said he will not run in the Presidential elections now set for June. Latest indications are that he may be counting on the new Rada to postpone the elections until next year. You may wish to probe his thinking on this.

II. SCENARIO

See Tab C.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open photo, writing pool in Oval Office. Signing ceremony and press conference in East Room following lunch.

V. SEQUENCE

Oval Office meeting, followed by working lunch in the Old Family Dining Room. Signing ceremony and press conference will follow in the East Room.

Attachments

Tab A Memorandum from Secretary Christopher
Tab B Points to be Made
Tab C Scenario
Tab D Background Papers
Tab E Press Statement
Tab F Press Q's and A's
Tab G Biographies

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

March 2, 1994

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KBH 11/22/2019

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Warren Christopher *WC*

SUBJECT: Meeting with Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk

I. SETTING

Your January 12 meeting with President Kravchuk set the stage for a qualitatively new era in our bilateral relations. Kravchuk's return visit will complete this breakthrough thanks to the Ukrainian parliament's February 3 ratification of START I, and the expectation that Ukraine soon will accede to the NPT. This dramatic progress in these areas would have been impossible without Kravchuk's personal intervention and statesmanship. With or without the instrument of NPT accession in hand, Kravchuk will look to us during this visit to demonstrate our appreciation and will hope to characterize this visit as the turning point in our relationship. Given Ukraine's urgent need for economic assistance, fears about its political future, and early parliamentary elections in March, this may be the most important visit of his political life.

The visit is scripted for success -- there will be agreements signed and accomplishments announced. More important will be the theme of the visit -- the transition in our bilateral relationship from security issues to a broad focus on economic and political issues demonstrating our mutual commitment to a democratically strong, economically stable, independent and sovereign Ukraine. The agreements to be signed will underscore this theme. Also, you will join Kravchuk in announcing a new program of cooperation aimed at stimulating Ukrainian economic reform, particularly in such areas as privatization, banking, democratization, energy and environment. This and other commitments, including Nunn-Lugar funding, amount to \$700 million -- double last year's. One possible sour note -- Kravchuk may press you to sign the Bilateral Charter, even prior to NPT accession; you will have to resist that.

The investment we make in Ukraine offers us tangible benefits as well as opportunities. Our market reform incentives will improve the climate for American business and help build a foundation for economic stability. Similarly, our security assurances will nurture the climate for political as well as economic reform. Your reassurances to Kravchuk that we stand with Ukraine in affirming its sovereignty and integrity as well as in strengthening its economy will be welcome.

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Since his last visit to Washington in May 1992, Kravchuk has presided over the virtual collapse of an economy forecasters once believed could be the envy of the former USSR. Beset with hyperinflation, a looming energy crisis, national paranoia about Moscow, and fears of Western indifference, Kravchuk is increasingly isolated and beleaguered. Moreover, fears of growing Russian assertiveness continue to dominate domestic politics and headlines, the latest arising from the January 20 election of Crimea's first president, Yuriy Meshkov, who campaigned on a separatist, pro-Russia platform. This fear convinced many Ukrainian lawmakers to support the Trilateral Statement if only for the security assurances it offered. While Crimea could draw Ukraine into confrontation with Moscow or even lead to a use of force if separatist activity challenges Ukrainian rule, Moscow and Kiev thus far have acted with considerable restraint and Meshkov has substantially moderated his rhetoric.

Kravchuk can take some credit for maintaining a measure of stability in a society experiencing dramatic social and economic upheavals. Similarly, Kravchuk's human rights policies are credited with minimizing ethnic friction. Finally, Kravchuk put his political fortunes on the line when he announced early deactivation of SS-24s last December, signed the Trilateral Statement, fought to convince the Ukrainian parliament to back the START I agreement, and joined the Partnership for Peace.

Kravchuk intends to use the attention his visit gets to boost Ukraine's international prestige and accelerate economic assistance from other major powers. You will be able to tell Kravchuk that we have already spurred our NATO/G-7 partners to pledge more in the area of disarmament and other assistance. You will also be able to point to our successful bilateral economic policy talks in January as the cornerstone of our comprehensive economic cooperation effort -- an effort we believe will lead to Ukraine's full integration into the international economic community. You should underscore, however, that much of what we and our partners would like to do with Ukraine will depend heavily on Ukraine's own economic reform efforts. You will want to urge Kravchuk to take the bold steps necessary for genuine and urgent economic reform.

II. TOPICS

- o Congratulate Kravchuk on his statesmanship with START; urge him to press on with accession to NPT.
- o Reassure Kravchuk that U.S. stands behind Ukraine in affirming Ukraine's sovereignty, integrity, independence.
- o Underscore our desire to proceed with economic agenda and to broaden political scope of relations.
- o Emphasize that success of economic program depends on reform effort; urge him to take bold steps.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
UKRAINE PRESIDENT LEONID KRAVCHUK

DECLASSIFIED
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2016-0122-M (1.24)
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OVAL OFFICE MEETING

Introductory Points

- Leonid, I am delighted to welcome you to Washington.
- We had a good meeting in Borispol Airport in January, but it was much too short. I have looked forward to this opportunity to spend more time together.
- I hope we have done everything possible to make your visit a success.
 - We will sign together a statement on our bilateral relations. Secretary Christopher and Minister Zlenko will also initial the U.S.-Ukraine Charter.
 - I will announce at our press conference \$700 million in U.S. economic and nuclear dismantlement assistance.
- We have made tremendous progress in our relationship since the autumn. We are moving in the right direction on nuclear issues, and we are building our economic relations.
- I think that you deserve enormous credit for having made the courageous decisions to move forward on both issues.
- I just want you to know that I am committed to building a good relationship with Ukraine.

Security Issues

Trilateral Statement Implementation

- I congratulate you on the success you have had in implementing the Trilateral Statement and gaining unconditional approval of START I and the Lisbon Protocol.
- Your leadership has once again proven critical to moving forward on resolving the key issue of nuclear weapons in Ukraine. The world is grateful to you.
- I understand the first warheads are preparing to leave Ukraine for Russia--another significant accomplishment of your leadership.
 - What can you tell me about the current status of the transfers? Have they been going smoothly?

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-- We were also pleased that you reached agreement with Russia on HEU compensation for both strategic and tactical nuclear weapons.

-We were expecting to be engaged in further trilateral discussions of tactical compensation, but are glad that you have been able to reach direct and rapid agreement with Russia.

-Have the details of compensation been worked out to your satisfaction?

Non-Proliferation Treaty

-- The major piece of unfinished nuclear business that we face is Ukraine's accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Rada's approval of the Lisbon Protocol lays the groundwork for your unconditional accession to the NPT.

-- I know you have been working hard on this issue with your Rada over the past week--just as you described to me during our last telephone call on February 18. Given your conversations with the Rada, what do you assess to be the earliest possible time when Ukraine will accede to the NPT?

-You know from our previous conversation that we want to help you in whatever way we can to move quickly to complete NPT accession.

-Please let me know if there are specific ways we can help to keep up the real momentum that you have achieved since January. It would be a shame to see this process stall.

Joint Statement

-- I think that the joint statement that you and I will sign today will go a long way toward helping your Parliament and public to understand how deeply the United States is committed to working with Ukraine on key security and economic issues.

- The statement is essentially a roadmap for our work together over the coming months--especially for cooperation on the safe and secure dismantlement of nuclear weapons and reform and assistance for Ukraine's economy.

-- I think it is also very positive that the statement calls for our close cooperation on the Missile Technology Control Regime and the COCOM follow-on regime.

-Ukraine's involvement in these regimes will make a real contribution to their continued success in constraining proliferation.

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- The statement also highlights, as we did in our January Trilateral Statement, the security assurances that Ukraine will receive once Ukraine accedes to the NPT.

-I know that it has been of particular importance to you to ensure that joint consultation was a part of the assurances. At your suggestion, we have included such a provision in the assurances.
- The assurances are a clear statement of our respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. I hope you can use them, as you did so effectively in January, to convey to your Parliament our support for Ukraine.
- In this context, I would like to underscore our recognition of Ukrainian sovereignty over Crimea. I am glad that all concerned parties have acted responsibly.

Dismantlement Assistance

- As you know from our previous conversations, we are ready to increase significantly our assistance for nuclear weapon dismantlement in Ukraine.
- We will provide Ukraine an additional \$100 million in Nunn-Lugar assistance this year. We will also seek at least \$75 million next year. This doubles the amount of assistance we provided to Ukraine in 1992 and 1993.
- Our negotiators have been working to develop a program of projects for the \$100 million that is available this year.
- You and I should lend our continued support and attention to their efforts, in order to ensure that we move quickly to begin new projects that support implementation of the Trilateral Statement.

-We should ensure that SS-24 dismantlement be part of the package. I know you are concerned, as I am, about this issue.
- We are also eager to begin projects with Ukraine that will jump-start defense conversion. This is a new area for our Nunn-Lugar assistance and we are committed to it.
- I know that housing for military officers is a particular concern of yours in the conversion area.
- We are proposing to you a comprehensive approach to housing production, plant conversion and officer retraining. I hope your specialists will carefully consider it.

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Partnership for Peace

- I am very pleased that Ukraine has become the first state in the former Soviet Union to join the Partnership for Peace.
- Ukraine's early participation in the Partnership will begin the closer integration with NATO defense institutions that will ensure your long-term security.
- We are lucky to be able to build your Partnership on the strong framework of defense and military contacts that we have worked to establish in the past year.
- I want to stress to you and all Ukrainians that the United States is committed to assisting Ukraine to strengthen its overall security through strong political cooperation and direct assistance to your conventional military restructuring efforts.
- (If Kravchuk raises space cooperation and the MTCR:
- I am pleased by your interest in moving toward entering the MTCR regime. We want to cooperate closely with you to achieve this goal.
- Our MTCR specialists are ready to begin work with yours at the earliest time.
- We are also interested in space cooperation in key areas such as earth observation and space science research.
- A team from NASA will be in Ukraine later this month to begin these discussions.
- I am also aware that you continue to work closely with Russia on aerospace projects. Your work no doubt will support U.S.-Russian joint efforts on projects such as the Space Station.
- We will be pleased to work with you and Russia as we did in our successful trilateral process.)

WORKING LUNCHEON

Economic Issues

- I think that committing ourselves to a more productive economic relationship is the key item for our future agenda. This shift in focus from nuclear to economic issues is positive.
- Let me suggest three ways that we can work together to build a more cooperative economic partnership.
- First, we have agreed together on a major expansion of U.S. bilateral economic assistance to Ukraine.

-I will announce in our press conference a \$350 million program for FY-94. These are grant funds and will support your priority aims in privatization, small business creation, and exchanges and rule of law programs.

-I have asked my people to ensure this assistance flows quickly.

(If Kravchuk asks for a \$120 million loan to purchase pesticides from Ukraine's 1994 crop:

- We have been reviewing this proposal this week. Unfortunately, USDA is barred from extending credits or loans for purchases of anything but agricultural commodities.
- It is also difficult for us to add funds to the aid program to pay for this since we have commitments to so many other countries.
- We have encouraged our European allies to consider your request favorably. I would urge you to be in touch with the UK, Germany, and France about this request.)
- Second, we have begun a good dialogue on economic reform through your Minister of Economy, Roman Shpek who has worked particularly well with our officials.

-I want to help mobilize international support for your economic reforms.

-We have discussed with the British and Germans the possible creation of an International Support Group for Ukraine to provide you with the capital and expertise you will need.

-I am pleased you have begun negotiations with the IMF and World Bank--this is critically important.

-I must tell you, however, that there is little possibility of major assistance from the IMF/World Bank or from the G-7 without the adoption of a comprehensive economic reform program by your government.

-If you can adopt such a program and stick with it, I think the international community will support you. Without one, it will be hard to mobilize support.

-Please let me know if we can help in any way through advisors or additional discussions as you develop your program.

(If Kravchuk asks for a \$300 million bridge loan to help him this spring:

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- We are simply not in a position now to extend such a loan. There is no U.S. government program that can do this without something to which to bridge--namely an IMF program.
- I suggest that you accelerate your negotiations with the IMF and the World Bank. If they concur with a written reform plan, this type of aid might be possible.)
- Third, I want to work with you in expanding trade and investment opportunities between our countries.

-In the long-run, this will be the most important area for economic cooperation.

-I am pleased we will sign the Bilateral Investment and Tax treaties today. They will help to provide a foundation for our investment.

-We will also establish a Joint Commission on Trade and Investment. Secretary Ron Brown will head our side, and we will push this effort aggressively.

-This Commission should concentrate on lowering barriers to trade on both sides, and on helping to establish a uniform commercial code, tax and regulatory systems. This is vital to encourage American firms to invest in Ukraine.

-We will also make the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) available to Ukraine--this will allow literally thousands of your products to be imported at lower tariff levels.

-We have committed to help Ukraine join the GATT.

- Let me make one final point on economics. I want to continue the momentum in building our economic cooperation.

-We are ready to send another economic delegation (led by Larry Summers and Nick Burns) to Kiev when it is convenient and necessary for you.

(If Kravchuk asks for the creation of a Gore-Chernomyrdin type commission:

- I think this is a good idea and that it should focus on technological cooperation and space issues.
- Strobe Talbott will head the U.S. side of the commission.)

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SCENARIO FOR WORKING VISIT OF
UKRAINE PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK
MARCH 4, 1994

- 11:25 a.m. President Kravchuk and party arrive at the West Lobby, will be greeted by Fred Duval, Acting Chief of Protocol, who will escort President Kravchuk into the Roosevelt Room to sign the Guest Book. (A military cordon will line the drive.)
- 11:30 a.m. The Acting Chief of Protocol escorts President Kravchuk into the Oval Office, via the hallway entrance, and introduces him to the President. Other meeting participants enter, are introduced and are seated. White House Photographers/TV and Press enter the Oval for brief photos and Press coverage (approximately 5 minutes), then depart via the hallway door.
- 11:35 a.m. Meeting begins.
- | <u>U.S. Participants</u> | <u>Ukrainian Participants</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| The President | President Leonid Kravchuk |
| The Vice President | Yukhym Zvyahilskiy, |
| Warren Christopher | Acting Prime Minister |
| William Perry | Anatoliy Zlenko, Foreign |
| Amb William Miller | Minister |
| Samuel Berger | Oleh Bilorus, Ukrainian |
| Roger Altman | Ambassador to U.S. |
| Rose Gottemmoeller, | Anton Buteyko, Adviser to |
| NSC Notetaker | the President on Inter- |
| (Interpreter) | national Affairs |
| | (Interpreter) |
- 12:10 p.m. Meeting adjourns. The President and President Kravchuk remain in the Oval Office. Other meeting participants exit the Oval Office and are escorted to the State Dining Room.
- 12:12 p.m. Olympic Gold Medalists Oksana Baiul and Viktor Petrenko enter the Oval Office, are introduced to the President and photos are taken.
- 12:17 p.m. Oksana Baiul and Viktor Petrenko exit the Oval Office. The President escorts President Kravchuk down the colonnade to the State Dining Room.

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12:20 p.m. The President escorts the guests into the Old Family Dining Room and invites them to be seated for lunch.

U.S. Participants
The President
The Vice President
Warren Christopher
William Perry
Amb William Miller
Leon Fuerth
Samuel Berger
Roger Altman
Jim Collins
Nick Burns,
NSC Notetaker

Ukranian Participants
President Leonid Kravchuk
Yukhym Zvyahilskiy,
Acting Prime Minister
Anatoliy Zlenko, Foreign
Minister
Oleh Bilorus, Ukrainian
Ambassador to the U.S.
Anton Buteyko, Adviser to
the President on Inter-
national Affairs
Vitaliy Radetsky,
Defense Minister
Yevhen Marchuk, Chairman,
Ukranian Security
Service
Hryhoriy Pyatachenko,
Finance Minister
Roman Shpek, Minister of
Economy

1:20 p.m. Upon completion of the lunch, the President invites President Kravchuk (only) to the Red Room to hold while the official parties are escorted to the East Room for Press Availability.

1:25 p.m. The President and President Kravchuk are announced, enter the East Room and stand behind the signing table. The President will be on the left with President Kravchuk on his right.

1:26 p.m. Announcement that the President and President Kravchuk will sign three documents: Joint Statement of Cooperation, Bilateral Investment Treaty and the Double Taxation Treaty. (4 copies of each, 2 in English and 2 in Ukrainian.)

1:27 p.m. The President and President Kravchuk sit down at the table and sign the Treaties.

1:29 p.m. Upon completion of this portion of the signing ceremony the President and President Kravchuk stand up, shake hands and exchange pens. Following the exchange of pens, the President and President Kravchuk step to the right of the table where they remain to view the next signing.

1:30 p.m. Announcement that Secretary Christopher and Foreign Minister Zlenko will sign two documents: Agreement on the Protection of Cultural Heritage and the Science and Technology Agreement. (During the announcement Secretary Christopher and Foreign Minister Zlenko approach the table and are seated;

following the announcement Secretary Christopher and Foreign Minister Zlenko sign the documents. Upon completion of this portion of the signing ceremony Secretary Christopher and Foreign Minister Zlenko stand up, shake hands, exchange pens and return to their original positions.)

- 1:32 p.m. The President and President Kravchuk step up to the podiums (President Kravchuk to the President's right).
- 1:33 p.m. Press Availability begins. The President makes brief (5 minute) remarks, followed by President Kravchuk. Qs and As follow. (Simultaneous interpretation.)
- 2:00 p.m. Press Availability ends. The principals are escorted to the Blue Room for brief private time (the rest of the party will be boarding their vehicles at the North Portico); the President escorts President Kravchuk to the North Portico and bids him farewell. The official party departs.

TRILATERAL ACCORD IMPLEMENTATION

The key diplomatic accomplishment of your trip to Kiev and Moscow was the January 14 Trilateral Statement that you signed with Presidents Kravchuk and Yeltsin. It has opened the way to removal of the nuclear warheads located in Ukraine to Russia for dismantlement, in accordance with Ukraine's Lisbon Protocol commitments.

The January 14 Trilateral Statement and its annex provide for the removal of all nuclear weapons located in Ukraine to Russia for dismantlement; specify prompt compensation by Russia to Ukraine for the highly-enriched uranium (HEU) in transferred nuclear weapons; preview security assurances the U.S., Russia and the UK will provide Ukraine following its accession to the NPT as a non-nuclear weapon state; and reaffirm the U.S. commitment to assist the safe and secure dismantlement of nuclear forces located there.

We are very encouraged by the progress Ukraine and Russia have made in implementing the trilateral statement. The Ukrainian parliament February 3 unconditionally ratified the START I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol. Russia and Ukraine have now reached agreement on a withdrawal schedule for all nuclear warheads; the related compensation issues for the HEU in those warheads and in the tactical nuclear weapons transferred to Russia in 1991-92; as well as warhead maintenance, transportation and dismantlement issues. We had intended to hold a trilateral meeting at the end of this month to mediate the issue of compensation for the HEU in the tactical nuclear weapons, but such a meeting does not appear to be necessary at this time.

According to the Trilateral Statement, Ukraine must deactivate all of the SS-24's deployed on its territory within ten months of January 14 by removing their warheads. This commitment is in addition to an earlier commitment made to you by President Kravchuk last November that 20 SS-24's would be deactivated by December 31, 1993 by having their warheads removed. Warhead transfer activity is clearly underway at the present time and a train carrying warheads may have crossed the border from Ukraine to Russia by the time you meet with Kravchuk on Friday.

We expect that our involvement will be required to ensure that all commitments undertaken in the Trilateral Statement are implemented fully and on time. To date, however, Ukraine and Russian cooperation on implementation issues has been smoother than we anticipated.

STATUS OF START/NPT

The Ukrainian Rada voted overwhelmingly on February 3 to ratify without reservations the START I Treaty and Lisbon Protocol and to empower the Government of Ukraine to exchange instruments of ratification bringing START I into force.

The Rada also considered the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) on February 3. The vote was positive but failed to capture the minimum votes required for adoption. By ratifying START and the Lisbon Protocol without conditions, however, Ukraine has committed itself to acceding to the NPT in the "shortest possible time." President Kravchuk had indicated to you that he would try to gain Rada approval of the NPT prior to his arrival here, but he was unsuccessful.

The Rada's vote on START was a major victory for President Kravchuk who personally led the effort to secure unconditional ratification. The Trilateral Statement signed January 14 in Moscow by you and Presidents Yeltsin and Kravchuk was crucial in opening the way for positive action by Ukraine.

We have told the Ukrainians that they will receive an additional \$100 million in Nunn-Lugar assistance in FY'94, and \$175 million over the next two years, fulfilling the commitment you made in the Trilateral Statement to expand our program of cooperation in this area. We succeeded in getting initial dismantlement assistance on the ground in Ukraine in an attempt to influence the Rada's action on NPT. In response to an appeal from Secretary Christopher, fourteen nations' ambassadors also presented a document to President Kravchuk on February 21 pledging bilateral assistance to help Ukraine meet its obligations under the Trilateral Statement and START and the corresponding direct and indirect costs Ukraine would bear. We timed this presentation to influence positively Rada consideration of the NPT.

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U.S. BILATERAL ASSISTANCE AND CREDITS FOR UKRAINE IN 1994

(\$ Millions)

	October 1993 Package	March 1994 Package
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE	85	195
Private Sector Development	27	85
Social Sector Development	8	10
Energy and Environment	30	52
Economic Restructuring and Banking	3	10
Democratic Initiatives	10	13
Exchanges and Training	7	15
Science and Technology Center	--	10
MEDICAL ASSISTANCE	15	30
FOOD ASSISTANCE	15	15
SUBTOTAL GRANT ASSISTANCE	115	240
CREDIT PROGRAMS	40	110
USDA Title I Concessional Credits	--	20
USDA Export Credit Guarantees	40	40
OPIC Insurance	--	40
OPIC Financing	--	10
SUBTOTAL CREDIT PROGRAMS	40	110
TOTAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE	155	350
SECURITY ASSISTANCE	175	350 *
Disarmament/Non-Proliferation	175	350 *
TOTAL ASSISTANCE	330	700

* Total includes \$175 million of funding from FY 1992-1993, \$100 million from FY 1994, and an additional \$75 million in FY 1995 subject to Congressional appropriation.

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U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR UKRAINE

The U.S. government has provided a total of \$183 million in grant assistance to Ukraine in 1992-1993, including \$85 million in technical assistance and \$98 million in humanitarian assistance consisting of food, medicines, and medical supplies. Ukraine ranks second only to Russia in the amount of U.S. bilateral technical assistance provided in the NIS to date.

Our commitment to support Ukraine's transition to a market economy and democratic society expanded substantially in late 1993 and early 1994. Initial discussions on an expanded assistance package took place January 24-30 during wide-ranging economic talks with a visiting delegation led by Ukrainian Minister of Economy Roman Shpek. Follow-on technical discussions also have made significant progress; for example, the United States, together with the World Bank, the European Bank, and the European Union signed a memorandum of understanding this week pledging support for Ukraine's mass privatization program in 1994.

As a result of all of these efforts, the United States has agreed to provide up to \$700 million in assistance in 1994 if Ukraine takes appropriate steps to implement concrete economic reforms necessary for assistance to be effective. Included in this package is up to \$240 million in grant technical and humanitarian assistance, \$60 million in USDA credits, \$50 million in OPIC insurance and financing, and \$350 million in assistance for nuclear dismantlement and non-proliferation. This package reflects a commitment of nearly \$400 million more than the Secretary of State pledged to Ukraine in October 1993.

U.S. bilateral assistance will focus on four key areas:

Support for Transition to a Market Economy: We will work to promote a Ukrainian private sector and to expand trade and investment opportunities. We will establish an enterprise fund to invest in new and privatized businesses, support mass privatization and land reform, reinforce agribusiness partnerships, establish a joint Committee on Defense Industry Conversion, and provide sectoral support in health, banking and finance, energy, environment, and agriculture.

Support for Ukrainian Capacity to Provide Social Services: We will provide grant humanitarian assistance in the form of vaccines, pharmaceuticals, and grant food assistance, and we will support Ukrainian efforts to provide social services, including establishment of a Joint Humanitarian Commission.

Support for Transition to Democratic Governance: We will continue to support Ukraine's transition to democracy through exchange programs to provide training in the U.S. for over 1,000 Ukrainians; through a rule of law program to strengthen laws, legal institutions and civic structures; through assistance to local governments; and through development of financially viable independent media organizations and journalist training.

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Support for Transition to a New Security Regime: We will expand support for safe and secure dismantlement of nuclear weapons, non-proliferation and defense conversion, enhance military-to-military contacts, and support establishment of a science and technology center.

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UKRAINE: ECONOMIC SITUATION/STATUS OF REFORM

The Ukrainian economy continues to deteriorate, with its decline accelerating in the last several months. Monthly inflation is probably at more than 100 percent, well beyond the hyperinflation threshold. Production continues to drop, with overall GDP falling by 20 percent in 1993.

The financial system is in disarray and the state budget prey to social and political forces in parliament and the government. The Ukrainian coupon exchange rate, 900 to the dollar in February 1993, dropped to less than 35,000 to the dollar a year later. Pressured by the industrialist-faction led by former Prime Minister Kuchma, on February 21 the Kravchuk government continued a pattern set last year and announced massive new subsidies worth more than \$300 million to the agricultural and industrial sectors. These new credits will deepen the state budget deficit and ensure that inflation will continue at current high levels in the near term.

In addition to government mismanagement, Ukraine's dependence on Russian fuel supplies has crippled its economy. Ukraine imports from Russia 90% of its oil and most of its natural gas. Over the past year Russia has raised fuel prices (although still significantly below world-market prices) and reduced deliveries to one half 1992 levels. Ukrainian authorities have been forced to cut supplies to industrial enterprises by 40 percent, reduce transport services by one-third and use rolling brownouts in major cities to preserve supplies. Russian fuel supplies are likely to continue at this low level in 1994.

The vast majority of Ukrainian trade is with countries of the former Soviet Union, and principally with Russia. Demand for Ukraine's non-agricultural exports -- ferrous metals, steel pipe, machinery and transport equipment -- continues to fall. Forced to pay high prices for fuel, Ukraine continues to run large, unsustainable trade deficits. Ukraine's trade deficit with Russia was more than \$1.5 billion in 1993.

Reform: A faction of the Ukrainian government led by Minister of the Economy Shpek favors market-oriented reform, and has won the support of President Kravchuk and parliament chairman Plyushch. In January, the parliament passed an ambitious privatization law, which envisions transferring one quarter of the state enterprises into private hands by year's end. Last December, in an effort to restrain inflation, the government slowed wage payments to workers in mining, industry and the agricultural sectors. However, the latest flood of credits have restored these back wages. The government has expressed a desire to negotiate a stabilization program with the IMF, which could serve as the basis for a comprehensive reform effort.

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U.S.-UKRAINE BILATERAL CHARTER

The U.S.-Ukraine Bilateral Charter is a statement of general principles underlying our new, expanded bilateral relationship. Like the just-concluded U.S.-Kazakhstan Charter, it is not a legally binding document, but rather a statement of intent to develop close, mutually beneficial relations across a full range of political, economic, cultural, environmental and security issues. It reiterates U.S. support for the independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine and contains explicit statements of Ukrainian support for democracy and market reform. The U.S. also states its support for Ukrainian efforts to create a society based on the rule of law and full respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms.

The charter also addresses Ukraine's desire for explicit security assurances from the West. In the event that Ukraine is faced with an external threat to its territorial integrity, independence or security, the U.S. and Ukraine state their intention to consult with each other and undertake steps as appropriate to achieve a peaceful resolution of the situation, consistent with international law and the principles of the CSCE.

We have been working for nearly a year to prepare a mutually agreeable text, with only a few issues still outstanding. Throughout the process our negotiators have insisted that the charter can only be signed once Ukraine has both ratified the START agreement and acceded to the NPT. The Ukrainians asked us to consider signing the Charter during President Kravchuk's visit even in the absence of NPT accession.

We have held firm to the position that we will only sign after Ukraine formally accedes to the NPT. This was our position with the Kazakhs when they wanted to conclude their charter during Vice President Gore's visit in December prior to NPT accession. In view of the intense political needs of Kravchuk for "deliverables" from this visit, we have compromised and will initial the charter at the ministerial level during the visit, as a symbol that we are in basic agreement on its provisions and that NPT accession will close the deal.

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UKRAINE: TRILATERAL ACCORDS

Q: Why does the United States believe that Ukraine will fulfill the Trilateral Accords signed in Moscow in January?

A: o President Kravchuk has made considerable progress toward implementing the Trilateral Accords since January. He gained Rada approval for the accords as well as unconditional approval for START I and the Lisbon Protocol.

o We have also seen evidence that the accords are actually being implemented as the process begins of transferring warheads back to Russia.

Q: When is Ukraine going to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty?

A: o The Rada's unconditional approval of the Lisbon Protocol means that Ukraine is committed to accede to the NPT at the earliest possible time.

o President Kravchuk and I discussed this point and he assures me that Ukraine's accession to the NPT can be accomplished soon.

UKRAINE: START IMPLEMENTATION

Q: What is the status of START implementation? NPT?

A: o As you are probably aware, the Ukrainian parliament unconditionally ratified START by an overwhelming vote on February 3.

o We are prepared to exchange instruments of ratification promptly once Ukraine accedes to the Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT). As a prelude, we have agreed to exchange drafts of our ratification instruments for review.

o While Ukraine has not yet formally acceded to the NPT, by unconditionally ratifying START, Ukraine has committed to adhere to the NPT in the shortest possible time.

o We are encouraged by President Kravchuk's plan to resubmit the NPT for a vote once the new Rada is seated following early parliamentary elections in Ukraine later this month.

o Once Ukraine accedes to the NPT, the United States, Russia and the UK will provide security assurances to Ukraine respecting Ukraine's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

UKRAINE: NUNN-LUGAR ASSISTANCE

Q: How much additional Nunn-Lugar assistance has the U.S. pledged to Ukraine? For what purposes will these funds be used? Is this assistance conditioned on NPT adherence?

- A:
- o I'm pleased that we have been able to announce our intention to extend an additional \$175 million in Nunn-Lugar assistance for Ukraine in FY94-FY95. This is in addition to \$175 million committed to Ukraine in FY92-FY93.
 - o These funds will be used among other things to provide additional assistance for the dismantling of strategic forces, and the development of an effective export control system in Ukraine. Some of the funds will also be used for defense conversion projects in Ukraine.
 - o The assistance we are providing meets the commitment I made in the Trilateral Statement to assist Ukraine in its efforts to denuclearize.

ECONOMIC REFORM AND ASSISTANCE

Q: How is the United States helping Ukraine with economic reform?

- A:
- o We are doubling our economic assistance to Ukraine -- to \$350 million in 1994.
 - o Much of our assistance will expand our support for Ukraine's transition to a market-based economy, including privatization, and expanded trade and investment.
 - o We are also actively encouraging a better Ukrainian relationship with the IMF and World Bank.

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UKRAINE: CRIMEA

Q: How does the United States view the situation in Crimea?

- A:
- o The U.S. considers Crimea to be part of Ukraine.
 - o The situation in Crimea is, first and foremost, an internal Ukrainian matter.
 - o Ukrainian authorities appear to us to have taken the initiative in seeking a conciliatory and mutually beneficial approach in resolving outstanding concerns in Crimea.
 - o President Yeltsin also has reaffirmed the Russian government's recognition of Ukraine's present borders and we expect no change in this position.

UKRAINE: KRAVCHUK REELECTION

Q: Will the policy of the United States toward Ukraine change if reports are true that President Kravchuk will not seek reelection? What will this do to his commitments on START, NPT, etc.?

- A:
- o Whatever President Kravchuk's final decision regarding reelection and whatever the outcome of those elections, we have no reason to doubt that Ukraine will honor all commitments it has made during his presidency.
 - o We also hope to see continued efforts to institute reforms in Ukraine following the upcoming parliamentary elections.

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UKRAINE: BILATERAL CHARTER

Q: When will the United States sign a bilateral charter with Ukraine and what will it do?

- A:
- o We have been working for some months with Ukraine on the text of a bilateral charter. We expect to be able to sign a final text once Ukraine has formally acceded to the Nonproliferation Treaty. In the interim, we have agreed that our foreign ministers will initial the text of the charter to signify that we are in basic agreement as to its provisions.
 - o The charter will be a statement of general principles underlying our new, expanded bilateral relationship with Ukraine.
 - o It will not be a legally binding document, but rather a statement of determination on the part of both nations to develop close, mutually beneficial relations.

AGREEMENTS ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Q: What agreements did the United States reach with Ukraine in the area of economic cooperation during this visit?

- A:
- o We have signed a Bilateral Investment Treaty and a Convention for Avoiding Double Taxation, both of which will help create favorable conditions for investment in each of our countries.
 - o We have agreed to set up a Joint Commission on Trade and Investment, which will provide a bilateral forum to promote private sector commercial relations between our two countries.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

UKRAINE: ENERGY SITUATION/CHERNOBYL

Q: Is the United States concerned about the energy situation in Ukraine and, in particular, about the Chernobyl nuclear power plant?

- A:
- o Chernobyl is symbolic of the nuclear safety problems in Ukraine which we are currently trying to ameliorate in our bilateral assistance program. The recent decision by the Ukrainian parliament to keep the Chernobyl nuclear power plant open is of great concern.
 - o We are prepared to work with Ukraine on economic reform issues which directly affect the energy sector. Reform is imperative to reduce dependence on Chernobyl and other reactors of the Chernobyl type in Ukraine.
 - o Economic reform will also ensure adequate and regular salaries to attract and retain qualified nuclear power plant operators.

U.S. POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA

Q: Hasn't your policy toward Russia failed, in light of the Ames case, backsliding on economic reform, and new assertiveness in foreign policy?

- A:
- o Our policy toward Russia is a long-term strategy. It is based on a clear understanding that our own vital national interests are served by supporting Russia's efforts to become more integrated with the West, and less isolated.
 - o There will be issues over which we and the Russians will disagree, as in any relationship, and we will work to resolve those differences. As long as we keep a consistent and clear-headed appreciation of what's in our own national interest, then our policy will work the way it is supposed to.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

RETALIATION FOR AMES EXPULSION

Q: On Monday the Russians expelled a U.S. diplomat in retaliation for your expulsion of the Russian intelligence chief on Friday. Does this close the books on this case now? Do you plan to retaliate?

- A:
- o The books are not closed on this case. The Justice Department will be prosecuting the case against the Ames couple. The CIA and NSC will continue their investigation of the national security implications. And we will maintain a strong counterintelligence capability.
 - o Regarding further expulsions, if our investigation establishes that other Russian diplomats are directly implicated in the case, then we'll reserve the right to take appropriate action.
 - o This will remain a priority as will our efforts to achieve progress on nuclear, political, and economic issues with Russia.

CONTACT WITH YELTSIN

Q: Have you spoken to Yeltsin about this? Do you plan to?

- A:
- o I have not spoken to him about this but I am sure we will be in touch at some point.

RELEASE OF HARDLINERS

Q: How do you react to the release of Rutskoi, Khasbulatov and the officials who plotted the 1991 coup against Gorbachev? Isn't this an indication that Russia is sliding toward civil chaos?

- A:
- o This is really an internal matter, and in the first instance it's for the Russian people to decide how they react to it.
 - o I would say, however, that some of the individuals released were charged with fairly serious crimes against the government and the public order, so in that respect it's obviously not an encouraging development.
 - o Unlike last fall, when political differences provoked violent confrontations, Russia now has a freely-elected Parliament, and a constitution ratified by the people. This provides a solid democratic framework for working out political disputes, and I encourage the Russian people to make full use of it.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

CONTINUED AID TO RUSSIA

Q: Why should we keep sending billions to Russia?

A: o It is in our own national interest to continue to assist Russia as it dismantles its nuclear arsenal, to help build a market infrastructure and help the people, the businessmen, the bankers and farmers of Russia, to help them develop the kind of "market mentality" that will help them build a more prosperous and stable society.

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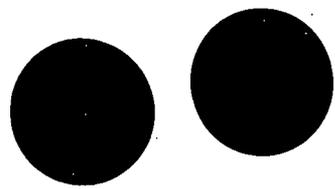
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2001
By KSM/NARA, Date 11/22/2019
2016-0122-M

March 2, 1994



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: NICHOLAS BURNS *NB*
FROM: JOHN BEYRLE *JB* AND ROSE GOTTEMOELLE *R*
SUBJECT: President's Meeting with Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk

We have prepared a briefing package for the President's meeting and lunch with Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk on Friday, March 4, from 11:25 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

- Tab I Memorandum to the President
- Tab A Memorandum from Secretary Christopher
- Tab B Points to be Made
- Tab C Scenario
- Tab D Background Papers
- Tab E Press Statement
- Tab F Press Q's and A's
- Tab G Biographies

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Declassify on: OADR

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S/S 9404827

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

March 3, 1994

UNCLASSIFIED (with ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ attachment)

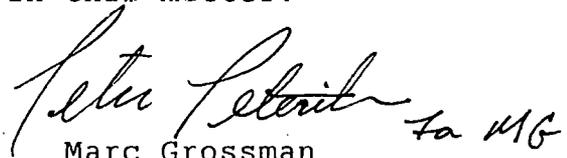
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MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Subject: Additional Background Papers, Fact Sheet and Q and A
for the Visit of Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk

Attached are two new Background Papers, a new Fact Sheet,
and new Q and A to add to the package of briefing materials
already forwarded for use during the upcoming visit of
President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.


Marc Grossman
Executive Secretary

Attachments: As stated.

UNCLASSIFIED (with ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ attachment)

UNCLASSIFIED

UKRAINE: JOINT PRINCIPLES ON NUCLEAR REACTOR SAFETY

On February 28 Ukraine proposed that we sign a statement on Joint Principles on Nuclear Reactor Safety during the visit of Ukraine President Kravchuk. The statement of principles mirrors a similar non-binding document signed by Vice President Gore and Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin last December.

The statement signifies an overarching commitment by the USG and GOU to nuclear reactor safety. While it does not address specifics of the Ukrainian civilian nuclear power program, such as the continued operation of the Chernobyl plant, it gives us an additional high level GOU commitment to nuclear safety and a better basis for us to address specifics. The statement reconfirms that the highest levels of the governments of the United States and Ukraine are strongly committed to nuclear safety and recognize the importance of a strong and independent regulatory authority.

The statement also recognizes that the U.S. and Ukraine (as a successor state of the Soviet Union) have been cooperating on a broad range of activities to promote civilian nuclear and radiation safety since 1988 under the Joint Coordinating Committee for Civilian Nuclear Reactor Safety, and that the U.S. and Ukraine have entered into an agreement to improve the safety of civilian nuclear power plants in Ukraine through operational safety enhancements, near-term risk reduction measures and enhancement of the Ukrainian nuclear and regulatory authority.

The document underscores the commitment of the highest levels of the governments of the U.S. and Ukraine to continue joint efforts to improve the safety of civilian nuclear power plants, including working toward conclusion of an International Nuclear Safety Convention.

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UKRAINE: JOINT PRINCIPLES ON NUCLEAR REACTOR SAFETY

The statement on "Joint Principles on Nuclear Reactor Safety" is a non-binding document reaffirming the commitment of the two nations to nuclear reactor safety. While it does not address specifics of the Ukrainian civilian nuclear power program, such as the continued operation of the Chernobyl plant, it provides an additional high level commitment to nuclear safety and a better basis for addressing specific issues. The U.S. and Ukraine (in the context of cooperative activities with the former Soviet Union) have been cooperating on a broad range of activities to promote civilian nuclear and radiation safety since 1988 under the Joint Coordinating Committee for Civilian Nuclear Reactor Safety. The U.S. and Ukraine recently entered into an agreement to improve the safety of civilian nuclear power plants in Ukraine through operational safety enhancements, near-term risk reduction measures and enhancement of the Ukrainian nuclear and regulatory authority.

UKRAINE: JOINT PRINCIPLES ON NUCLEAR REACTOR SAFETY

Question

What is the significance of the statement on "Joint Principles on Nuclear Reactor Safety?"

Answer

- o The statement on "Joint Principles on Nuclear Reactor Safety" reaffirms the commitment of the two nations to nuclear reactor safety.
- o While it does not address specifics of the Ukrainian civilian nuclear power program, such as the continued operation of the Chernobyl plant, it provides a better basis for addressing specific issues.

EXIM POLICY TOWARDS UKRAINE

The U.S. Export-Import Bank (Exim) has decided to cut off all of its credit and guarantee programs in Ukraine, including short-term. It has taken this decision because of concerns over the hyperinflationary conditions in Ukraine and the generally deteriorating economy, which make it a very poor credit risk. When Exim cut off lending to Ukraine, it had around \$175 million exposure. These credits will be falling due throughout the year, but by November 1994 all must be paid.

Ukraine is seeking \$120 million in Exim financing this spring for imports of pesticides to protect the harvest. They argue that they have met all Exim bank payment obligations in the past and are therefore a good credit risk. Exim has responded that they do not doubt Ukraine's intention to repay credits, but they do not believe Ukraine will have the financial wherewithal. This would apply as well to a sovereign government guarantee, if the Ukrainians were to offer one. Exim has agreed to look at ways to cover financing for Ukrainian pesticide imports, but is not enthusiastic. If Ukraine comes up with some off-shore hard currency collateral, Exim would be more amenable.

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CORE POINTS FOR OVAL OFFICE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK: SECURITY ISSUES

- CONGRATULATE KRAVCHUK FOR HIS SUCCESS IN GAINING RADE APPROVAL OF TRILATERAL ACCORDS, START I, LISBON PROTOCOL
- INQUIRE ABOUT PROGRESS ON WARHEAD TRANSFER AND COMPENSATION ISSUES WITH RUSSIA.
- URGE KRAVCHUK TO CONTINUE PRESSING FOR ACCESSION TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY.
- DESCRIBE JOINT STATEMENT: NUNN-LUGAR ASSISTANCE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN 1994; PREVIEW OF SECURITY ASSURANCES.
- ASK KRAVCHUK TO LEND HIS SUPPORT TO WORKING OUT PROGRAM FOR FY-94 NUNN-LUGAR ASSISTANCE IN SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME.
 - NOTE OUR INTENTION TO PROVIDE NUNN-LUGAR FUNDS OF \$100 MILLION IN FY-94 AND AT LEAST \$75 MILLION IN FY-95.
- COMMEND UKRAINE ON BECOMING FIRST NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATE TO JOIN PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3.11.94

CORE POINTS FOR WORKING LUNCHEON WITH PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK: ECONOMIC ISSUES

- STRESS MAJOR EXPANSION IN U.S. BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO UKRAINE: \$350 MILLION FOR FY-94.
- URGE CONTINUATION OF GOOD DIALOGUE ON ECONOMIC REFORM THROUGH MINISTER OF ECONOMY ROMAN SHPEK.
- NOTE WILLINGNESS TO WORK TO MOBILIZE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT-- IMF, WORLD BANK--ONCE UKRAINE ADOPTS REFORM PROGRAM.
- STATE OUR WILLINGNESS TO EXPAND TRADE AND INVESTMENT WITH UKRAINE--THE MOST IMPORTANT AREA FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION.
 - FOCUS ON LOWERING BARRIERS TO TRADE AND INVESTMENT; HELPING UKRAINE JOIN GATT.
- IF ASKED: PESTICIDE LOAN (\$120 MILLION) AND BRIDGE LOAN (\$300 MILLION) ARE PROBLEMS: NO U.S. PROGRAM CAN SUPPORT.

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CARD 1 OF 24

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
UKRAINE PRESIDENT LEONID KRAVCHUK

OVAL OFFICE MEETING

INTRODUCTORY POINTS

- LEONID, I AM DELIGHTED TO WELCOME YOU TO WASHINGTON.
- WE HAD A GOOD MEETING IN BORISPOL AIRPORT IN JANUARY, BUT IT WAS MUCH TOO SHORT. I HAVE LOOKED FORWARD TO THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SPEND MORE TIME TOGETHER.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3.4.94

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CARD 2 OF 24

- I HOPE WE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO MAKE YOUR VISIT A SUCCESS.
- WE WILL SIGN TOGETHER A STATEMENT ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND MINISTER ZLENKO WILL ALSO INITIAL THE U.S.-UKRAINE CHARTER.
- I WILL ANNOUNCE AT OUR PRESS CONFERENCE \$700 MILLION IN U.S. ECONOMIC AND NUCLEAR DISMANTLEMENT ASSISTANCE.
- WE HAVE MADE TREMENDOUS PROGRESS IN OUR RELATIONSHIP SINCE THE AUTUMN. WE ARE MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION ON NUCLEAR ISSUES, AND WE ARE BUILDING OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

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2016-0122-17 (1.30)
KBH 11/22/2019

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CARD 3 OF 24

- I THINK THAT YOU DESERVE ENORMOUS CREDIT FOR HAVING MADE THE COURAGEOUS DECISIONS TO MOVE FORWARD ON BOTH ISSUES.
- I JUST WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I AM COMMITTED TO BUILDING A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH UKRAINE.

SECURITY ISSUES

TRILATERAL STATEMENT IMPLEMENTATION

- I CONGRATULATE YOU ON THE SUCCESS YOU HAVE HAD IN IMPLEMENTING THE TRILATERAL STATEMENT AND GAINING UNCONDITIONAL APPROVAL OF START I AND THE LISBON PROTOCOL.

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CARD 4 OF 24

- YOUR LEADERSHIP HAS ONCE AGAIN PROVEN CRITICAL TO MOVING FORWARD ON RESOLVING THE KEY ISSUE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN UKRAINE. THE WORLD IS GRATEFUL TO YOU.
- I UNDERSTAND THE FIRST WARHEADS ARE PREPARING TO LEAVE UKRAINE FOR RUSSIA--ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT ACCOMPLISHMENT OF YOUR LEADERSHIP.

WHAT CAN YOU TELL ME ABOUT THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE TRANSFERS? HAVE THEY BEEN GOING SMOOTHLY?
- WE WERE ALSO PLEASED THAT YOU REACHED AGREEMENT WITH RUSSIA ON HEU COMPENSATION FOR BOTH STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

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CARD 5 OF 24

WE WERE EXPECTING TO BE ENGAGED IN FURTHER TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS OF TACTICAL COMPENSATION, BUT ARE GLAD THAT YOU HAVE BEEN ABLE TO REACH DIRECT AND RAPID AGREEMENT WITH RUSSIA.

HAVE THE DETAILS OF COMPENSATION BEEN WORKED OUT TO YOUR SATISFACTION?

NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY

-- THE MAJOR PIECE OF UNFINISHED NUCLEAR BUSINESS THAT WE FACE IS UKRAINE'S ACCESSION TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY. THE RADA'S APPROVAL OF THE LISBON PROTOCOL LAYS THE GROUNDWORK FOR YOUR UNCONDITIONAL ACCESSION TO THE NPT.

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CARD 6 OF 24

-- I KNOW YOU HAVE BEEN WORKING HARD ON THIS ISSUE WITH YOUR RADA OVER THE PAST WEEK--JUST AS YOU DESCRIBED TO ME DURING OUR LAST TELEPHONE CALL ON FEBRUARY 18. GIVEN YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE RADA, WHAT DO YOU ASSESS TO BE THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME WHEN UKRAINE WILL ACCEDE TO THE NPT?

YOU KNOW FROM OUR PREVIOUS CONVERSATION THAT WE WANT TO HELP YOU IN WHATEVER WAY WE CAN TO MOVE QUICKLY TO COMPLETE NPT ACCESSION.

PLEASE LET ME KNOW IF THERE ARE SPECIFIC WAYS WE CAN HELP TO KEEP UP THE REAL MOMENTUM THAT YOU HAVE ACHIEVED SINCE JANUARY. IT WOULD BE A SHAME TO SEE THIS PROCESS STALL.

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CARD 7 OF 24

JOINT STATEMENT

- I THINK THAT THE JOINT STATEMENT THAT YOU AND I WILL SIGN TODAY WILL GO A LONG WAY TOWARD HELPING YOUR PARLIAMENT AND PUBLIC TO UNDERSTAND HOW DEEPLY THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO WORKING WITH UKRAINE ON KEY SECURITY AND ECONOMIC ISSUES.
- THE STATEMENT IS ESSENTIALLY A ROADMAP FOR OUR WORK TOGETHER OVER THE COMING MONTHS--ESPECIALLY FOR COOPERATION ON THE SAFE AND SECURE DISMANTLEMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND REFORM AND ASSISTANCE FOR UKRAINE'S ECONOMY.
- I THINK IT IS ALSO VERY POSITIVE THAT THE STATEMENT CALLS FOR OUR CLOSE COOPERATION ON

SECRET

SECRET

CARD 8 OF 24

THE MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME AND THE COCOM FOLLOW-ON REGIME.

UKRAINE'S INVOLVEMENT IN THESE REGIMES WILL MAKE A REAL CONTRIBUTION TO THEIR CONTINUED SUCCESS IN CONSTRAINING PROLIFERATION.

- THE STATEMENT ALSO HIGHLIGHTS, AS WE DID IN OUR JANUARY TRILATERAL STATEMENT, THE SECURITY ASSURANCES THAT UKRAINE WILL RECEIVE ONCE UKRAINE ACCEDES TO THE NPT.

I KNOW THAT IT HAS BEEN OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO YOU TO ENSURE THAT JOINT CONSULTATION WAS A PART OF THE ASSURANCES. AT YOUR SUGGESTION, WE HAVE INCLUDED SUCH A PROVISION IN THE ASSURANCES.

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CARD 9 OF 24

- THE ASSURANCES ARE A CLEAR STATEMENT OF OUR RESPECT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF UKRAINE. I HOPE YOU CAN USE THEM, AS YOU DID SO EFFECTIVELY IN JANUARY, TO CONVEY TO YOUR PARLIAMENT OUR SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE.
- IN THIS CONTEXT, I WOULD LIKE TO UNDERScore OUR RECOGNITION OF UKRAINIAN SOVEREIGNTY OVER CRIMEA. I AM GLAD THAT ALL CONCERNED PARTIES HAVE ACTED RESPONSIBLY.

DISMANTLEMENT ASSISTANCE

- AS YOU KNOW FROM OUR PREVIOUS CONVERSATIONS, WE ARE READY TO INCREASE SIGNIFICANTLY OUR

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CARD 10 OF 24

ASSISTANCE FOR NUCLEAR WEAPON DISMANTLEMENT IN UKRAINE.

- WE WILL PROVIDE UKRAINE AN ADDITIONAL \$100 MILLION IN NUNN-LUGAR ASSISTANCE THIS YEAR. WE WILL ALSO SEEK AT LEAST \$75 MILLION NEXT YEAR. THIS DOUBLES THE AMOUNT OF ASSISTANCE WE PROVIDED TO UKRAINE IN 1992 AND 1993.
- OUR NEGOTIATORS HAVE BEEN WORKING TO DEVELOP A PROGRAM OF PROJECTS FOR THE \$100 MILLION THAT IS AVAILABLE THIS YEAR.
- YOU AND I SHOULD LEND OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT AND ATTENTION TO THEIR EFFORTS, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT WE MOVE QUICKLY TO BEGIN NEW PROJECTS THAT

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CARD 11 OF 24

SUPPORT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TRILATERAL STATEMENT.

WE SHOULD ENSURE THAT SS-24 DISMANTLEMENT BE PART OF THE PACKAGE. I KNOW YOU ARE CONCERNED, AS I AM, ABOUT THIS ISSUE.

-- WE ARE ALSO EAGER TO BEGIN PROJECTS WITH UKRAINE THAT WILL JUMP-START DEFENSE CONVERSION. THIS IS A NEW AREA FOR OUR NUNN-LUGAR ASSISTANCE AND WE ARE COMMITTED TO IT.

-- I KNOW THAT HOUSING FOR MILITARY OFFICERS IS A PARTICULAR CONCERN OF YOURS IN THE CONVERSION AREA.

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CARD 12 OF 24

~~SECRET~~

-- WE ARE PROPOSING TO YOU A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO HOUSING PRODUCTION, PLANT CONVERSION AND OFFICER RETRAINING. I HOPE YOUR SPECIALISTS WILL CAREFULLY CONSIDER IT.

PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

-- I AM VERY PLEASED THAT UKRAINE HAS BECOME THE FIRST STATE IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION TO JOIN THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE.

-- UKRAINE'S EARLY PARTICIPATION IN THE PARTNERSHIP WILL BEGIN THE CLOSER INTEGRATION WITH NATO DEFENSE INSTITUTIONS THAT WILL ENSURE YOUR LONG-TERM SECURITY.

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~~SECRET~~

CARD 13 OF 24

- WE ARE LUCKY TO BE ABLE TO BUILD YOUR PARTNERSHIP ON THE STRONG FRAMEWORK OF DEFENSE AND MILITARY CONTACTS THAT WE HAVE WORKED TO ESTABLISH IN THE PAST YEAR.
- I WANT TO STRESS TO YOU AND ALL UKRAINIANS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO ASSISTING UKRAINE TO STRENGTHEN ITS OVERALL SECURITY THROUGH STRONG POLITICAL COOPERATION AND DIRECT ASSISTANCE TO YOUR CONVENTIONAL MILITARY RESTRUCTURING EFFORTS.

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CARD 14 OF 24

- (IF KRAVCHUK RAISES SPACE COOPERATION AND THE MTCR:
- I AM PLEASED BY YOUR INTEREST IN MOVING TOWARD ENTERING THE MTCR REGIME. WE WANT TO COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH YOU TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL.
- OUR MTCR SPECIALISTS ARE READY TO BEGIN WORK WITH YOURS AT THE EARLIEST TIME.
- WE ARE ALSO INTERESTED IN SPACE COOPERATION IN KEY AREAS SUCH AS EARTH OBSERVATION AND SPACE SCIENCE RESEARCH.
- A TEAM FROM NASA WILL BE IN UKRAINE LATER THIS MONTH TO BEGIN THESE DISCUSSIONS.

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MR. PRESS

We should head
down for lunch,
after the photos
with Skana.

Sam

SECRET

CARD 15 OF 24

-- I AM ALSO AWARE THAT YOU CONTINUE TO WORK
CLOSELY WITH RUSSIA ON AEROSPACE PROJECTS.
YOUR WORK NO DOUBT WILL SUPPORT U.S.-RUSSIAN
JOINT EFFORTS ON PROJECTS SUCH AS THE SPACE
STATION.

-- WE WILL BE PLEASED TO WORK WITH YOU AND RUSSIA
AS WE DID IN OUR SUCCESSFUL TRILATERAL
PROCESS.)

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN CARD 1 OF 2
3.4.94

KEY POINTS FOR KRAVCHUK MEETING

- EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR KRAVCHUK'S LEADERSHIP IN MOVING UKRAINE TOWARD NON-NUCLEAR STATUS, ESPECIALLY HIS SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING RADA APPROVAL OF THE TRILATERAL STATEMENT, START I AND THE LISBON PROTOCOL.
- URGE KRAVCHUK'S CONTINUED EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE ACCESSION TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME.
- HIGHLIGHT THE SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN U.S. SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE -- TO \$700 MILLION BY THE END OF FY 95 -- FOR UKRAINE'S ECONOMIC AND

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CARD 2 OF 2

POLITICAL REFORM AND THE SAFE AND SECURE DISMANTLEMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN UKRAINE.

- ENCOURAGE KRAVCHUK TO DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAM IN ORDER TO ATTRACT MAJOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM THE IMF AND WORLD BANK.
- SEEK KRAVCHUK'S VIEWS ON THE PROGRESS OF EVENTS IN RUSSIA AND THEIR IMPACT ON UKRAINE -- E.G., IN THE CRIMEA -- AND THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE REGION.
- EMPHASIZE OUR WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE THE TRILATERAL PROCESS BEGUN WITH RUSSIA AND UKRAINE LAST YEAR IN ORDER TO RESOLVE ISSUES AFFECTING OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS.

~~SECRET~~

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

Meeting with President Kravchuk of Ukraine

March 4, 1994

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-4-94

2

Good afternoon. It is a great pleasure for me to welcome President Kravchuk of Ukraine to the White House today. When we first met in Kiev on January 12, the hour was late and the weather icy.

2

But at that brief meeting, we marked the dawn of a warm new era in the relations between America and Ukraine.

3

Two days after that meeting, we signed an historic accord with President Yeltsin of Russia to eliminate some 1,800 Soviet nuclear warheads left in Ukraine.

4

Since then, Ukraine's Parliament has approved the Trilateral Agreement and unconditionally ratified the START Treaty and Lisbon Protocol. And last month, Ukraine joined the NATO Partnership for Peace.

5

These steps are a tribute to the statesmanship and leadership of President Kravchuk -- and to the vision of the Ukrainian people, who understand that integration into a broader, peaceful and democratic Europe is Ukraine's best path to lasting security.

6

In our meeting today, I strongly reaffirmed American support for Ukraine's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. I urged President Kravchuk to continue to work to achieve Ukraine's accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

7

We shared views on developments in Russia and their impact on Ukraine. And we discussed ways to expand cooperation between Ukraine and the United States.

8

At the core of our agenda is developing a closer economic relationship. While Ukraine is going through a difficult period of transition, it remains a nation with enormous economic potential -- endowed with abundant natural resources and human talent.

9

To develop the full measure of these resources, Ukraine's most promising future lies clearly with market reform.

10

That is why I was pleased that President Kravchuk today expressed his determination to move in the future toward a comprehensive market reform program.

11

As Ukraine proceeds with these reforms, the U.S. is prepared to mobilize support from the G-7 nations and from international financial institutions.

12

The U.S. is also prepared to increase our bilateral economic assistance to \$350 million this year for privatization, small business creation and other priorities. And to help Ukraine dismantle nuclear weapons, we have committed \$350 million in what is known as Nunn-Lugar funds.

13

Total U.S. assistance available to Ukraine this year will be \$700 million. This represents a major commitment to an important friend in the region.

Ultimately, the best way to bolster Ukraine's reforms is to facilitate private trade and investment.

14

I told President Kravchuk today that the U.S. will support Ukraine's membership in GATT and will lower tariffs on a number of Ukrainian products.

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We also signed treaties to promote investment and prevent double taxation, and we established a Joint Commission on Trade and Investment that will further strengthen our commercial ties.

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These ties are part of the richly woven fabric that binds our two nations. From the time of America's Revolution, Ukrainian immigrants have helped shape this nation.

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Now, America and Ukraine are dedicated to building a new relationship -- to shape a better future for all our people, and for all the world. I look forward to working with President Kravchuk in that endeavor.

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Let me in closing recognize two young Ukrainians, Oksana Baiul and Viktor Petrenko, who have accompanied President Kravchuk here to Washington. Both are gold medalists in both their performance and their spirit, and they have earned the admiration of people around the world.

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Thank you, Mr. President, for giving us the opportunity to meet them.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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KBM 11/22/2019

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine

PARTICIPANTS: The President
The Vice President
Warren Christopher, Secretary of State
William Perry, Secretary of Defense
William Miller, U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine
Samuel Berger, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Roger Altman, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury
Rose Gottemoeller, Director for Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs, NSC Staff, Notetaker
Marta Zielyk, Interpreter

President Leonid Kravchuk
Yukhym Zvyahilskiy, Acting Prime Minister
Anatoliy Zlenko, Foreign Minister
Vitaliy Radetsky, Defense Minister
Anton Buteyko, Adviser to the President on National Security
Oleh Bilorus, Ukrainian Ambassador to U.S. Interpreter

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: March 4, 1994, 11:45 a.m. - 12:20 p.m.
Oval Office

The President: It is very good to see you. I hope that we have done everything we can to make your visit a success. We are going to sign a good statement about our bilateral relationship and Secretary Christopher and Minister Zlenko will initial the bilateral charter. I will announce that \$700 million for economic assistance and nuclear disarmament purposes will be made available. We have made a lot of progress in the last few months, and I commend you for your courage and political leadership. I also want to say how pleased I am you were able to get approval of START I and the Lisbon Protocol by your parliament. I know how hard it is to pass things through a legislature. (U)

President Kravchuk: Especially the sort we have. (U)

The President: I understand the first warheads are about to leave Ukraine. What can you tell me about that? (U)

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President Kravchuk: The document has been ratified by Ukraine and Russia. The first shipment of warheads is ready for transporting, and the first train is to leave today. We have started to solve the problem of transfer--the schedule has been worked out. We have decided the issue of compensation. There are only technical questions to resolve, not political or economic. As of the first of January, 20 silos of the RS-22 (SS-24) type have been deactivated. They include the Pervomaysk 1,2,6 and 8 groups of silos. I think that we have no problem of technical verification. We are willing to open the silo covers. They have been covered with ice and snow and so we have been unable to open them. But now we are willing to open them and are willing to take steps to agree on a schedule with you. We will be transporting the warheads to the "S" facility. All work is being conducted by our 43rd Army. Russian experts do not take part. As for the schedule of further deactivation of the RS-22 (SS-24), we will do ten more by the end of March, and all will be deactivated by the end of October 1994. The warheads will be transported to "S" facilities and 200 will be sent to Russia as we have agreed. So we should agree on technical measures for confidence building--to sum up, there is only good will on our side. (U)

MOD Radetsky: Today we are going to transport 60 warheads, among them 20 SS-24s. (U)

President Kravchuk: We have worked out compensation for both tactical and strategic weapons. As for accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), I am sure it will be worked out, since we have ratified START I and especially removed all conditions on Article V of the Lisbon Protocol. The Rada has determined that it will accede to the NPT. If more members of the Rada were there last week, they would have ratified it. But about 200 members of the parliament are participating in the election campaign for the next parliament. But the majority--not just the leadership--understands that the issue has been resolved by their vote on Article V of the Lisbon Protocol. And I am sure that our next steps on the nuclear question plus joint work on economic problems and normal guaranteeing of national security opens the door to ratification and accession to the NPT. The main thing now is to continue practical steps for implementation of the Trilateral statement. (U)

The Vice President: I have one brief question: have the Russians agreed on your use of the storage facilities and the means by which you move warheads in and out? (U)

President Kravchuk: Everything has been agreed with the Russians--the documents, the schedule. The Russians have approved and signed at the Cabinet of Ministers level the technical documents envisaging all of these things. We are actually interested to see Prime Minister Chernomyrdin sign too, but he is not well right now and that is why he has not signed. (U)

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MOD Radetsky: The warheads must go to the "S" facility for technical servicing prior to being loaded for transfer to Russia. (U)

President Kravchuk: This is a technological issue, not a political issue. (U)

The President: The Joint Statement we are signing today can go a long way toward helping your Parliament and public to understand how deeply the United States is committed to working with Ukraine on key security and economic issues. I conceive of it as a roadmap for our future cooperation--it deals with cooperation on the Missile Technology control regime and the regime that will follow COCOM. It also highlights the security assurances Ukraine will receive when you accede to the NPT. I know that joint consultation was a very important aspect of the assurances to you, and at your suggestion we have included such a provision in the assurances. The assurances are a clear statement of our respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. And they underscore Ukraine's sovereignty over Crimea. I am glad that all parties have acted responsibly and I hope our assurances will be of some use as you go home and deal with the Rada. (U)

President Kravchuk: I am satisfied that in spite of Crimea, the governments of Russia and Ukraine understand that we have to avoid confrontation. Crimea is a subsidized area. It cannot survive without Ukraine. The statements of the Crimean president are based on slogans designed to initiate confrontation. He did not expect to win and he has no team. His program is still campaign rhetoric. (U)

Acting Prime Minister Zwiahilsky: He was dreaming; now he has woken up and doesn't know what to do. (U)

President Kravchuk: We don't want to create acute problems with Russia. It is very important that the Trilateral Statement that we signed on January 14 pointed to our sovereignty and territorial integrity. This still plays a very important role in sorting out our problems. We have every reason to think we are going to solve our problems by negotiations and discussions. It is in the interest of all in the region. The main thing for Crimea and Ukraine in general is to solve our economic problems. Economic reform is a political problem there. There are about 75 percent Russians in Crimea, and in recent years, 250,000 Crimean Tatars, plus 600,000 Ukrainians, especially in the northern areas. We paid three quadrillion carbovanets to move the Crimean Tatars back to Crimea. By comparison, we paid four quadrillion or 12 percent of our budget for Chernobyl cleanup and 12 percent for the armed forces. And there are other problems that we inherited from the former Soviet Union. There is a burden from the economy which we cannot withstand. Of course, we have had a terrible problem with rising energy prices. Oil is up 1,000 times and gas is up 900 times. The economic situation is very complicated. We have to reconstruct all of our industry and its

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structure, and we also need a lot of funds for dismantlement of weapons and economic assistance. (U)

PM Zwiahilsky: Russia and Turkmenistan have stopped gas shipments because we do not buy at those prices, so we require a lot of assistance. Prime Minister Kebich of Belarus has also sent us a letter asking for 1 quadrillion Russian rubles for Chernobyl cleanup. (U)

President Kravchuk: We have a lot of troubles. (U)

PM Zwiahilsky: Ukraine is a friendly state. As the Trilateral statement is implemented, you can also see that it is a reliable partner. We can help to stabilize the situation in the other CIS countries. For that reason, and what Leonid Makarovich said about our other problems, we would ask you to give us \$1 billion in FY 94, FY 95 and FY 96. When you met with Leonid Makarovich at Borispol, you spoke about the introduction of a national currency for Ukraine and promised \$3.5 billion through the International Monetary Fund for currency stabilization. You remember that, and you are the sort of President who fulfills his promises. We have heard from you about the assistance that we will receive today. Thank you for the decision about the \$700 million, but we must envision the next three years. (U)

The President: We also must agree quickly on dismantlement assistance. We have more money this year and next to use for dismantlement purposes. On the other economic issues, I believe we were to take them up at lunch. (U)

PM Zwiahilsky: I have no appetite since we haven't sorted out this problem. (U)

The President: Before we go, I also want to thank you for joining the Partnership for Peace. (U)

President Kravchuk: Yes, from the beginning we have supported the Partnership. It opens the road to next steps toward NATO membership and is noble in its efforts. I cannot speak against it. (U)

The Vice President: We have found a few who speak against it. President Clinton speaks often about Ukraine's support for the Partnership in saying why it is a good idea--it draws Ukraine and the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe into closer cooperation and integration with NATO. (U)

The President: I met with the leaders of Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, and they wanted to join the Partnership right away. They commented that if we had no Partnership for Peace, what would happen to Ukraine? They went along on the Partnership quickly because they saw the need for a mechanism to bring Ukraine into the European security system. (U)

President Kravchuk: As I understand it, here is the old Europe, with its strong democracies and healthy economies. All of this

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should be moved further east, step by step. If we do not accomplish that, then the world will again be divided into two parts, the old Soviet system and Europe. If Ukraine serves as the means to move these democratic and economic principles further to the east, then Russia will join in the process. We seemed to have been linked forever to the colossal problem of nuclear weapons, but now that is being solved and a new balance of forces and global security system is being established, with no gaps on the European continent. I see Ukraine's role as exceptional. We should focus on common interests not controversies. I am concerned about the serious situation in Ukraine. Although we failed to ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty, I am confident that we will do so. We have already taken the first step and your assistance with the Nunn-Lugar program is tied to my high level of confidence that NPT will be acceded to by the Rada. We have ratified START I and removed the reservations concerning Article V of the Lisbon Protocol. Ukraine has shown political commitment and is committed to this task. The funds allocated for dismantling have already begun to have an impact. Are you planning an official state visit? I would like you to come back to Kiev. (U)

The President: We have been making good progress, and I am personally well satisfied. (U)

President Kravchuk: Ukraine has begun the process with a whole trainload of nuclear warheads on its way to Russia. Agreements have been signed between Russia and Ukraine. Ukraine will fulfill its part of the bargain and so will the others. (U)

The President: I would like to add that one of the big issues in January has been resolved, that of how Ukraine will be compensated for highly enriched uranium. As for your cooperation with Western states, we can't limit our cooperation with Ukraine by what is going on in Russia. Cooperation with Ukraine should be universal. (U)

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