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EXD15

~~C.O. 12060 DCL-040R~~

TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, UR
SUBJECT: CONVERSATIONS WITH RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
KOZYREV AND SERGEY ROGOV OF INSTITUTE FOR
USA AND CANADA (ISKAN) RE NUCLEAR MATTERS

REF: MOSCOW 29793

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: MEETING WITH UNOFFICIAL AMERICAN VISITORS OCTOBER 23, RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV DESCRIBED RUSSIA AND UKRAINE AS "NATURAL ALLIES" AND THE CORE OF THE UNION. KOZYREV WONDERED WHETHER THE UKRAINIANS' OPPOSITION IS TO A CENTRALLY-GOVERNED SOVIET UNION, OR TO RUSSIA. KOZYREV SAID HE WANTS TO TRY TO KEEP THE BLACK SEA FLEET UNDER SOVIET CONTROL, BUT IS OBLIGED TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVES. KOZYREV'S AIDE VLADIMIR KOZIN TOLD THE VISITORS THAT RUSSIA WILL BE PUSHING FOR DE-NUCLEARIZATION OF THE BLACK SEA, AND "WOULD BE OBLIGED TO SHARE" THE BLACK SEA FLEET WITH THE UKRAINIANS IN THE EVENT OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE. KOZIN SAID THAT THE UKRAINIANS ARE TRYING TO PLACE THEIR NATIONALS IN SOVIET NUCLEAR CONTROL CENTERS IN UKRAINE. THE USA/CANADA INSTITUTE'S SERGEY ROGOV REVIEWED WITH THE VISITORS HIS IDEA (REFTEL) OF LEVERAGING THE ELIMINATION OF SOVIET STRATEGIC WEAPONS OUTSIDE THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC WITH A U.S. SWEETENER. END SUMMARY.

3. THERE FOLLOWS A REPORT DRAFTED BY AMB. MARSHALL BREMENT (RET), FORMERLY IN CHARGE OF SOVIET AFFAIRS ON NSC STAFF, TOGETHER WITH FORMER DOD OFFICIALS ROBERT MURRAY AND HENRY GAFFNEY, ON THEIR MOSCOW MEETINGS DURING THE WEEK OF 20 OCTOBER, WITH INTER ALIA, RSFSR FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV AND USA AND CANADA INSTITUTE (ISKAN) DEPUTY DIRECTOR ROGOV. THE VISITORS, FROM THE CENTER FOR NAVAL ANALYSIS IN WASHINGTON, ARE ALSO VISITING KIEV AND ST. PETERSBURG DURING THE WEEK OF 27 OCTOBER.

4. VISITORS MET WITH RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV AND STAFF AIDE FOR DISARMAMENT AND NAVAL MATTERS VLADIMIR KOZIN IN RSFSR FOREIGN MINISTRY MORNING 23 OCTOBER. KOZYREV EXPRESSED HIS GREAT CONCERNS ABOUT RUSSIA-UKRAINE RELATIONSHIP, DANGERS IN UKRAINIAN DRIVE FOR COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE, AND UKRAINIAN MILITARY AND NAVAL AMBITIONS. KOZYREV DESCRIBED UKRAINE AND RUSSIA AS "NATURAL ALLIES," BUT IT IS NOW UNCLEAR TO RUSSIA WHETHER OR NOT UKRAINIANS SEE IT THIS WAY. OFFICIALLY, UKRAINIANS SAY THEIR OPPOSITION IS TO A CENTRALLY-GOVERNED SOVIET UNION, NOT TO RUSSIA PER SE. BUT IS THIS THEIR TRUE FEELING? "I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE UNION SHOULD BE FIRST BETWEEN THE UKRAINE AND RUSSIA, AND THEN WITH THE REST (OF THE REPUBLICS)," SAID KOZYREV. "BUT WHAT DO UKRAINIANS TRULY BELIEVE?"

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5. KOZYREV SAID HE WANTS TO TRY AND KEEP THE BLACK SEA FLEET UNDER SOVIET CONTROL, BUT HAS TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVES (IN THE EVENT OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE). "WHAT ALTERNATIVES WOULD YOU SUGGEST?" HE ASKED. VISITORS DISCUSSED THE SPECIAL IMPORTANCE OF CONTROLLING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND SOVIET OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE NPT AND START TREATIES. KOZYREV SAID HE UNDERSTOOD AND AGREED WITH THESE "INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES," BUT WHAT HE NEEDED WAS A SPECIFIC, CONCRETE WAY TO DEAL WITH THIS PROBLEM. VISITORS SAID THEY HAD NO TOP-OF-THE-HEAD SUGGESTION TO OFFER, BUT MENTIONED THAT SERGEY ROGOV OF ISKAN WAS ALSO EXPLORING THE NUCLEAR DIMENSIONS OF THIS PROBLEM.

6. VLADIMIR KOZIN (WHO WILL BE ATTENDING UPCOMING BROWN UNIVERSITY MEETING WITH USN OFFICERS), AFTER KOZYREV HAD LEFT MEETING, SAID RUSSIA WILL BE PUSHING FOR DE-NUCLEARIZATION OF BLACK SEA (AND PERHAPS BALTIC SEA AS WELL). HE SAID HE HAD DRAFTED SUCH A PROPOSAL WHICH IS CIRCULATING UNOFFICIALLY. KOZIN SAID HE UNDERSTOOD NEED OF UKRAINIANS FOR A NAVY, AND THAT "WE WOULD BE OBLIGED TO SHARE THE (BLACK SEA) FLEET WITH THEM IF THEY LEAVE THE UNION -- WHICH I BT

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THINK THEY WILL IN DECEMBER." BUT FOR THE PRESENT, KOZIN SAID, UKRAINIANS ARE PRESSING IN VARIOUS WAYS FOR GREATER AUTHORITY OVER NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE MENTIONED THAT UKRAINIANS ARE NOW TRYING TO PLACE THEIR OWN NATIONALS IN (SOVIET) NUCLEAR CONTROL CENTERS IN UKRAINE. KOZIN SAID STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN UKRAINE ARE UNDER FIRM SOVIET CONTROL BY GORBACHEV, MINISTER OF DEFENSE SHAPOSHNIKOV AND CHIEF OF STAFF LOBOV. BUT THE TACTICAL WEAPONS ARE UNDER CONTROL OF THE LOCAL COMMANDERS, AND THEY ARE A DANGER. "WE ARE SEEKING COMPLETE DESTRUCTION, WORLD-WIDE, OF THE TACTICAL WEAPONS," HE SAID. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE STRESSED OCTOBER 8 OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH CALLED FOR INTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS AFTER START IS SIGNED FOR RADICAL REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS BY TWO-THIRDS, RATHER THAN THE FIFTY PER CENT PROPOSED BY GORBACHEV.

7. ON SOMEWHAT RELATED MATTER, VISITORS MET WITH SERGEY ROGOV ON OCTOBER 22ND AND AGAIN ON OCTOBER 25TH. ON FIRST OCCASION ROGOV MENTIONED HE HAD BEEN DEVELOPING A PROPOSAL WHOSE REAL PURPOSE WAS TO ELIMINATE ALL SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS OUTSIDE THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC, AND WHICH WOULD ALSO FURTHER LIMIT DESTABILIZING NUCLEAR WEAPONS NOW IN SOVIET AND AMERICAN ARSENALS (SEE REFTEL). IN SECOND MEETING, HE DISCUSSED DETAILS OF HIS PROPOSAL:

A. THERE WOULD BE EITHER A COMPLETE BAN ON US-USSR MIRVED ICBMS; OR, IF THIS NOT ACHIEVABLE, WHICH HE SAID HAD ENGENDERED GREAT INTEREST AT HIGHEST LEVELS OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT, A BAN OF 75 PERCENT ON SUCH MISSILES. BECAUSE SUCH A BAN WOULD DISPROPORTIONATELY FAVOR THE U.S., THE U.S. WOULD ALSO:

B. LIMIT U.S. D-5 MISSILE DEPLOYMENTS AS FOLLOWS: SUBMARINES ALREADY EQUIPPED WITH C-4 MISSILES WOULD NOT BE BACK-LOADED WITH D-5S, AND NEW SUBMARINES NOT EQUIPPED YET WITH D-5S WOULD INSTEAD BE EQUIPPED EITHER WITH C-4S OR D-5S WITH W-76 (VICE W-88)

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WARHEADS. ALSO, EITHER BY LIMITING NUMBER OF TUBES IN EACH NEW SUBMARINE (E.G., 16 VICE 24), OR BY DOWN-LOADING MISSILES IN SOME OR ALL SUBMARINES, SLBM WARHEADS WOULD BE LIMITED TO TOTAL OF 2800 VICE 3500 (I.E., THE NUMBER OF SOVIET SLBM WARHEADS).

C. AGREE TO A CEILING OF ABOUT 30 TO 40 B-2 BOMBERS, OR A BAN ON ALL B-2S AND FURTHER BOMBER MODERNIZATION (WHICH WOULD AVOID "WASTEFUL" DEFENSE SPENDING ON BOTH SIDES, INCLUDING AIR DEFENSES ON THE SOVIET SIDE, HE SUGGESTED).

8. ROGOV ACKNOWLEDGED THAT A 75 PERCENT BAN WOULD NOT NECESSARILY ENSURE REMOVAL OF ALL STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THE OTHER REPUBLICS, AND THEREFORE EXPECTED U.S. TO PRESS FOR A COMPLETE BAN; BUT HE SAID 75 PERCENT WOULD BE EASIER TO NEGOTIATE WITH SOVIET MILITARY. ROGOV AGREED THAT B AND C WERE ILLUSTRATIVE -- "IF AMERICANS CAN INVENT BETTER COMPENSATION PROPOSALS, SOVIETS WOULD LISTEN, ROGOV CLAIMED. MAIN THING IS TO OFFER SUFFICIENT COMPENSATION SO THAT PROPOSAL COULD BE SOLD TO MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. ROGOV ALSO SAID, ALTHOUGH HE HIMSELF WAS OPPOSED TO IT, SOME ON SOVIET SIDE (AND SPECIFICALLY DEFENSE MINISTER SHAPOSHNIKOV) WERE WILLING TO ENTERTAIN GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON SDI THAN HAS BEEN THE CASE HERETOFORE. HE ALSO SUGGESTED SOVIETS MIGHT BE WILLING TO AGREE TO PLACE SS-25S IN SILOS, A PROPOSAL BEING DEBATED IN ANY CASE AS A UNILATERAL MEASURE TO SAVE MONEY.

9. ROGOV EMPHASIZED THAT THERE WAS A NEED TO REACH QUICK AGREEMENT, SINCE THE REAL AIM OF HIS PROPOSAL WAS TO ENABLE THE WITHDRAWAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM BT

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THE UKRAINE AND KAZAKHSTAN IN A POLITICALLY FEASIBLE WAY AND EVENTS WERE MOVING RAPIDLY HERE. ALSO, SINCE THIS WAS THE AIM, THE PROPOSAL HAD TO COME FROM THE U.S. SIDE, AND ITS TRUE PURPOSE MUST REMAIN UNSTATED PUBLICLY. IT SHOULD BE SEEN AS A NORMAL FOLLOW-ON TO THE START TREATY AND TO THE RECENT INITIATIVE BY PRESIDENT BUSH.

10. ROGOV SAID HE HAD PERSONALLY DISCUSSED THIS PROPOSAL WITH DEFENSE MINISTER SHAPOSHNIKOV (WHO IS VERY WORRIED ABOUT UKRAINIAN NUKES AND IS THEREFORE "WILDLY ENTHUSIASTIC"), YELT'SIN, SHEVARDNADE, BAKATIN, AND PRIMAKOV, AND THEY ALL SUPPORTED IT. IT HAS NOT BEEN DISCUSSED WITH GENERAL LOBOV (CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF), BUT HE WILL "SURELY OPPOSE IT," AS WILL MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. PROPOSAL HAS BEEN GIVEN TO GORBACHEV, WHO HAS NOT YET REVIEWED IT HIMSELF BUT WHO HAS AUTHORIZED ITS "CONTINUATION."

11. VISITORS SAID THEY WOULD PASS ROGOV'S PROPOSAL AND COMMENTS TO THE USG. ROGOV AGAIN EMPHASIZED THE URGENCY OF DOING SOMETHING ABOUT UKRAINIAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE, AND THE NECESSITY OF THE FIRST STEP BEING TAKEN BY THE U.S. SIDE, HOPEFULLY AT UPCOMING SUMMIT MEETING.

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