

XVII.9a

ENVELOPE

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HEADER

O 252002Z OCT 91
FM JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC
INFO RUEADWD/OCSA WASHINGTON DC
RUEWAAA/CNO WASHINGTON DC
RUEAHQA/CSAF WASHINGTON DC
RUEADWD/PTC WASH DC
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUFGAID/USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
RHLBAAA/USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM
RUEAADW/OSIA WASHINGTON DC
RUEADWA/DNA WASHINGTON DC//OPAC/OPNA//
RUCIAEA/FTD WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH//SCIR//
RUEOACC/CDRPSYOP GP FT BRAGG NC//ASOF-POG-SB//
RUCBSAA/USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA//J2//
RUEATAC/CDRUSAITAC WASHINGTON DC//KT//
RUWSMXI/MAC INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
RUCQVAB/USCINCSOC INTEL OPS CEN MACDILL AFB FL
RUEALGX/SAFE

RUEADDS/DITDS

O 251919Z OCT 91
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9655
RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
BT

CONTROLS

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 MOSCOW 30769

~~E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR~~

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PARM, PREL, PGOV, MNUC, UR
SUBJECT: NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN UKRAINE: HYSTERIA THREATENS
- TO UNDERMINE REASONABLE SOLUTIONS

REF: MOSCOW 30509

1. ~~SECRET~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

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2. SOME RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS IN MOSCOW AND KIEV ARE ATTEMPTING TO WORK OUT SAFE, ORDERLY AND REASONABLE APPROACHES TOWARD MANAGING FORTHCOMING NUCLEAR WEAPONS REDUCTIONS MANDATED BY THE START TREATY, THE BUSH/GORBACHEV NUCLEAR INITIATIVES, AND UKRAINE'S INTENDED NON-NUCLEAR STATUS. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER,

CIA HAS NO OBJECTION TO
DECLASSIFICATION AND/OR
RELEASE OF THIS DOCUMENT.
DATE: 21-Feb-2014

NO OBJECTION TO FULL
RELEASE

REVIEWED AND RETURNED TO
DOD

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Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: MAR 07 2016

Office of the Secretary of Defense ^{U.S. 43552}
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS
Date: 07 MAR 2016 Authority: EO 13526
Declassify: _____ Deny in Full: _____
Declassify in Part: X
Reason: 3.3(b)(6)
MDR: 13-M-3507

#108

13-M-3507

IRRESPONSIBLE STATEMENTS MISCHARACTERIZING BOTH SIDES' INTENTIONS ARE RAISING TEMPER. FOR EXAMPLE, A MISLEADING OCTOBER 24 MOSCOW NEWS HEADLINE TRUMPETS A REPORT, DENIED TO US BY ██████████ THAT YEL'TSIN DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY OF A NUCLEAR ATTACK ON UKRAINE WITH MILITARY OFFICIALS. A USSR MOD SPOKESMAN TOLD US RADIO REPORTS OF AN MOD WARNING TO UKRAINE WERE UNTRUE. RSFSR MOD ROBETS AND PM KOZYREV PLAN A MISSION TO KIEV EARLY NEXT WEEK TO NEUTRALIZE UKRAINIAN ANXIETIES.

OSD 3.3(b)(6)

3. APART FROM THE WILDER ACCUSATIONS AND DISTORTIONS, SUBSTANTIVE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN UKRAINE AND THE CENTER SEEMS TO BE DEVELOPING OVER TWO ISSUES: WHO WILL COMMAND THE FORCES THAT GUARD NUCLEAR WEAPONS LOCATED IN UKRAINE PRIOR TO THE TIME OF THEIR ELIMINATION (OR REMOVAL), AND WHETHER TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL BE TRANSFERRED OUT OF THE REPUBLIC OR DESTROYED ON UKRAINIAN SOIL.

END SUMMARY.
UKRAINE'S OFFICIAL POSITION
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4. CONGEN KIEV REPORTS THAT ON OCTOBER 24, 300 UKRAINIAN SUPREME SOVIET DEPUTIES (OF A TOTAL 360 PRESENT) PASSED A DECLARATION OF UKRAINE'S NUCLEAR POLICY, INCLUDING THE FOLLOWING SEVEN POINTS:

ONE: THE PRESENCE ON UKRAINIAN TERRITORY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BELONGING TO THE FORMER USSR IS TEMPORARY.

TWO: AT THIS TIME, NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN UKRAINE ARE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE CORRESPONDING STRUCTURES OF THE FORMER USSR. UKRAINE DEMANDS THE RIGHT TO CONTROL THE NON-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON ITS TERRITORY. (AS EXPLAINED TO CONGENOFF BY A UKRAINIAN OFFICIAL, THIS MEANS THAT, WHILE MOSCOW MAY RETAIN A "START" BUTTON, UKRAINE IS NOT SEEKING ONE; RATHER, UKRAINE WANTS A "STOP" BUTTON -- I.E., THE POWER TO VETO USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS LOCATED ON UKRAINIAN SOIL.)

THREE: UKRAINE'S POLICY IS COMPLETE ELIMINATION AND LIQUIDATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THEIR COMPONENTS LOCATED ON UKRAINIAN TERRITORY. UKRAINE INTENDS TO ACHIEVE THIS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, BASED ON LEGAL, TECHNICAL, FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE POSSIBILITIES AND ECOLOGICAL SAFETY.

FOUR: AS ONE OF THE SUCCESSOR STATES OF THE FORMER USSR, UKRAINE WILL OBSERVE THE ARTICLES OF THE 1991 U.S.-SOVIET START TREATY, IN PARTICULAR THOSE PROVISIONS DEALING WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS LOCATED IN UKRAINE. UKRAINE IS PREPARED TO BEGIN TALKS WITH BELORUSSIA, KAZAKHSTAN, RUSSIA, AND

THE CORRESPONDING STRUCTURES OF THE FORMER USSR REGARDING THE DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH ARE SUBJECT TO THE START TREATY.

FIVE: UKRAINE WILL TAKE MEASURES FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF ALL OTHER NUCLEAR WEAPONS LOCATED ON ITS TERRITORY. IF NECESSARY, UKRAINE IS PREPARED TO TAKE PART IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH ALL INTERESTED PARTIES, INCLUDING EXISTING MULTILATERAL MECHANISMS AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE AREA OF DISARMAMENT.

SIX: UKRAINE WILL UNDERTAKE ALL APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO ENSURE THE PHYSICAL SECURITY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS LOCATED

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/
ON ITS TERRITORY THROUGH THE TIME THEY ARE COMPLETELY ELIMINATED.

SEVEN: UKRAINE INTENDS TO JOIN THE NPT AS A NON-NUCLEAR POWER AND TO SIGN WITH THE IAEA A CORRESPONDING AGREEMENT ON GUARANTEES.

SOME UKRAINIAN STATEMENTS REASSURING

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5. SOME UKRAINIAN STATEMENTS SERVE TO REINFORCE THE REASSURING ASPECTS OF THE OCTOBER 24 DECLARATION. FOR EXAMPLE, ON OCTOBER 24 USSR MOD SPOKESMAN MANILOV QUOTED UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK'S STATEMENT THAT "NUCLEAR STRATEGIC FORCES SHOULD BE CONTROLLED BY ONE AUTHORITY, AND UKRAINE DOES NOT CLAIM THIS." MANILOV SAID THIS ATTITUDE OF THE REPUBLIC WAS CONFIRMED DURING CONSULTATIVE MEETINGS AT THE USSR MOD; NUCLEAR WEAPONS SHOULD REMAIN UNDER SINGLE CONTROL.

6. [REDACTED] ASKED BY POLOFF ON OCTOBER 25 ABOUT A BBC REPORT THAT THE USSR MOD HAD ISSUED A WARNING TO UKRAINE CONCERNING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, DENIED THERE HAD BEEN ANY SUCH WARNING. [REDACTED] ASSERTED THAT THERE WERE NO PROBLEMS WITH ANY OF THE REPUBLICS OVER CENTRAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS JURISDICTION; THE REPUBLICS HAD ONLY ASKED TO BE INFORMED OF WHERE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WERE LOCATED ON THEIR RESPECTIVE TERRITORIES.

7. [REDACTED] IN [REDACTED] MEETING WITH DATT (SEPTEL), SEEMED TO BE ADOPTING A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD COOPERATION WITH THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS ISSUES. HE CONFIRMED THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD UKRAINE EVER SEEK THE AUTHORITY TO GAIN OPERATIONAL CONTROL OVER THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE PROPOSED THAT LEADERS OF ALL FOUR REPUBLICS ON WHOSE TERRITORIES STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS WERE BASED (UKRAINE, RUSSIA, KAZAKHSTAN AND BELORUSSIA) BE REQUIRED TO AGREE BEFORE ANY NUCLEAR WEAPONS COULD BE

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USED IN ANY SITUATION.
OTHER UKRAINIAN STATEMENTS INDICATE POTENTIAL PROBLEMS
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8. OTHER UKRAINIAN STATEMENTS, HOWEVER, ARE LESS REASSURING. ██████████ TOLD DATT ON OCTOBER 24 THAT THE PHYSICAL GUARDING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS LOCATED IN UKRAINE WOULD BECOME A UKRAINIAN RESPONSIBILITY. HE ALSO SAID UKRAINE WOULD NOT PERMIT THESE WEAPONS TO BE TRANSFERRED OUT OF UKRAINIAN TERRITORY, CALLING SUCH TRANSFER "UNREALISTIC (NEREAL'NO)." AN OCTOBER 23 DRAFT DEBATED IN THE UKRAINIAN SUPREME SOVIET (THOUGH NOT INCLUDED IN THE OCTOBER 24 DECLARATION) STATED UKRAINE'S OPPOSITION TO THE TRANSFER TO OTHER REPUBLICS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON UKRAINIAN TERRITORY. THIS, LIKE ██████████ ASSERTION, RUNS DIRECTLY COUNTER TO USSR MOD SHAPOSHNIKOV'S OCTOBER 24 STATEMENT TO VISITING MEMBERS OF THE DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE THAT, IN CONNECTION WITH THE GORBACHEV NUCLEAR INITIATIVE, ALL THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES WOULD BE REMOVED FROM UKRAINE TO RUSSIAN TERRITORY WITHIN NINE MONTHS TO A YEAR.

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9. ANOTHER ITEM DEBATED BY THE UKRAINIAN SUPREME SOVIET ON OCTOBER 23 BUT NOT INCLUDED IN THE OCTOBER 24 DECLARATION STATED THAT UKRAINE WOULD DESTROY NUCLEAR ARSENALS ON ITS TERRITORY UNDER INTERNATIONAL VERIFICATION, AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF AGREEMENTS REGARDING MUTUAL REDUCTIONS WITH NATO AND OTHER FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS POSSESSING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THIS, LIKE POINTS FOUR AND FIVE OF THE OCTOBER 24 UKRAINIAN SUPREME SOVIET STATEMENT, IMPLIES UKRAINE MAY PRESS FOR AN INDEPENDENT NEGOTIATING ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL FORA THAT ADDRESS NUCLEAR WEAPONS ISSUES. WERE UKRAINE TO INSIST ON SUCH NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE CARRYING OUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS DESTRUCTION OR INSPECTION ACTIVITIES, THIS WOULD CERTAINLY THROW A WRENCH INTO THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS.

MOSCOW MEDIA ON UKRAINIAN INTENTIONS
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/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 003 *****/

10. ON OCTOBER 24 THE CONSERVATIVE MILITARY NEWSPAPER "RED STAR" CARRIED A PAGE-ONE COMMENTARY ASSERTING (CONTRARY TO THE CHARACTERIZATION IN REF B) THAT THE UKRAINE'S DRAFT DEFENSE LAWS ENVISIONED, IN PART, THE TRANSFER OF ALL-UNION STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES DEPLOYED IN UKRAINE TO THE CONTROL OF THE UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT. THE ARTICLE WENT ON TO CLAIM THAT REFERENCES TO "NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLES" BY THE UKRAINIAN LEGISLATORS COULD NOT HIDE THE FACT THAT THIS WAS AN ATTEMPT TO RUPTURE THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER OF THE HIGHLY IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL TREATY ON NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION. THE ARTICLE'S AUTHOR THREATENED THE MOST SERIOUS

INTERNATIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF THIS ACTION, CITING FOREIGN SOURCES TO BOLSTER HIS CASE. FOR EXAMPLE, HE QUOTES BRITISH MP HOWELL AS CALLING THE UKRAINIAN MOVE A "SERIOUS THREAT TO PEACE."

11. IN A SIMILAR VEIN, THE LEAD ARTICLE IN THE OCTOBER 24 "IZVESTIYA" IS CRITICAL OF UKRAINE'S ALLEGED INTENT TO TAKE CONTROL OVER USSR ARMED FORCES ON ITS TERRITORY. "IZVESTIYA" QUOTES STATE DEPARTMENT DEPUTY SPOKESMAN BOUCHER AS SAYING PLANS FOR CREATION OF A LARGE UKRAINIAN ARMY "APPEAR TO CONTRADICT EFFORTS BY ALL THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA TO REDUCE THEIR ARMED FORCES AND STRENGTHEN STABILITY." NEVERTHELESS, "IZVESTIYA" DOES SEEM TO ACCEPT UKRAINE'S NON-NUCLEAR INTENTIONS AS SINCERE, QUOTING FOREIGN STATEMENTS APPROVING THAT STANCE.

FUELING UKRAINIAN SUSPICIONS OF RUSSIAN INTENTIONS
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12. A SENSATIONALIST HEADLINE IN THE OCTOBER 24 "NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA" QUOTED UKRAINIAN VICE-PREMIER KONSTANTIN MASIK AS HAVING SAID RUSSIAN PRESIDENT YEL'TSIN HAD "DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY OF A NUCLEAR ATTACK ON UKRAINE WITH THE MILITARY." MASIK, INTERVIEWED BY THE NEWSPAPER, DESCRIBED A "MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI" REPORT EMANATING FROM THE "CORRIDORS OF THE RUSSIAN LEADERSHIP" THAT A PREEMPTIVE NUCLEAR STRIKE ON UKRAINE WAS POSSIBLE. MASIK SAID HE HAD ASKED BOTH GORBACHEV AND YEL'TSIN ABOUT THE REPORT. GORBACHEV DISMISSED IT, ADVISING MASIK TO READ FEWER NEWSPAPERS. YEL'TSIN, THOUGH PERHAPS INTENDING TO REASSURE MASIK BY ASSERTING THAT SUCH AN ATTACK WAS TECHNICALLY IMPOSSIBLE, ACTUALLY MADE THINGS WORSE BY ACKNOWLEDGING HE HAD DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY WITH MILITARY EXPERTS. "IF IT HAS COME TO THIS, THAT THEY ARE FRIGHTENING THE UKRAINE, WHICH HAS SUFFERED FROM CHERNOBYL, WITH THE THREAT OF A PREEMPTIVE NUCLEAR STRIKE, CAN THIS BE CALLED RELATIONS BETWEEN CIVILIZED COUNTRIES?" MASIK COMPLAINED IN THE INTERVIEW. "THEY ARE TRYING TO TERRIFY US, MAKE US OBEDIENT, AS WE WERE FOR 73 YEARS, WHEN WE SIGNED EVERYTHING THEY PUT IN FRONT OF US." IN [REDACTED] MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR (REPORTED SEPTEL), RUSSIAN [REDACTED] CAUTIONED THAT THE "NEZAVISIMAYA" REPORT WAS FALSE. HE ATTRIBUTED THE ARTICLE'S CLAIM THAT YEL'TSIN HAD DISCUSSED A NUCLEAR STRIKE ON UKRAINE TO EFFORTS BY "PRO-COMMUNIST" GROUPS TO STIR UP POPULAR PASSIONS (AN ODD COMMENT IN LIGHT OF "NEZAVISIMAYA'S" HEAVILY ANTI-COMMUNIST STANCE). LATE ON [REDACTED] RSFSR [REDACTED] TOLD VISITING EUR DAS KAUZLARICH THAT RSFSR MOD KOBETS AND FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV PLAN A MISSION TO UKRAINE EARLY NEXT WEEK TO DISCUSS BILATERAL DEFENSE CONCERNS AND TO SIGN A DOCUMENT

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WHICH, THEY HOPE, WILL NEUTRALIZE ANXIETY-PRODUCING RUMORS.

COMMENT

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13. THOUGH THE OCTOBER 24 UKRAINIAN SUPREME SOVIET DECLARATION IS REASSURING IN SOME RESPECTS, QUESTIONS IT LEAVES UNANSWERED COULD PROVE TO BE A SOURCE OF TENSION. FOR EXAMPLE, IT LEAVES AMBIGUOUS WHETHER UKRAINE WILL INSIST ON THE TRANSFER OF COMMAND OVER THE TROOPS ENSURING THE PHYSICAL SECURITY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 004 *****/
THE USSR MOD TO UKRAINIAN AUTHORITIES. SUCH A MOVE COULD PROVOKE SHARP RESISTANCE BY RUSSIA AND/OR THE CENTER. SIMILARLY, THE DISAGREEMENT OVER WHETHER TO REMOVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM UKRAINIAN TERRITORY COULD GET NASTY, GIVEN THE LEVEL OF MISTRUST ILLUSTRATED BY UKRAINIAN VICE PM MASIK'S INTERVIEW. REPORTS OF A PLANNED OCTOBER 28 YEL'TSIN MOVE TO ANNOUNCE FULL RUSSIAN SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE (SEPTEL), LEAVING THE CENTER FURTHER WEAKENED, COULD WELL FURTHER EXACERBATE CONCERNS OVER CONTROL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. STRAUSS

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