

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 135262016-0122-M (1.32)
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 March 4, 1994, 11:45 a.m. - 12:20 p.m.
AND PLACE: 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)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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. (C)

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

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. (C)

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)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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)