

See

Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

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Original OA/ID Number: 206				
Document ID: 9405904				
Row: 44	Section: 3	Shelf: 6	Position: 1	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Telephone Call to Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma. Record ID: 9405904. (2 pages)	07/21/1994	P1/b(1) KBA 5/2/2019
002. talking points	Points to be Made for Telephone Conversation with Ukrainian President Kuchma. (2 pages)	07/21/1994	P1/b(1) KBA 5/2/2019
003. report	Biography. (2 pages)	07/10/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 206

FOLDER TITLE:

9405904

2014-0874-F

vz3353

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5904

7/21

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1994

TELEPHONE CALL TO
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT LEONID KUCHMA

DATE: July 21, 1994
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 9:45 a.m.

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-m (101)
10/2/2018 K8H

I. PURPOSE

To establish personal contact with the new President of Ukraine and assure him of our continued support.

II. BACKGROUND

President Kuchma was sworn into office July 19 after defeating Leonid Kravchuk in a runoff election by a slim margin of 52-48 percent. His campaign rhetoric and statements since election have emphasized closer Ukrainian ties to Russia. In his inaugural statement, he criticized Kravchuk for "political romanticism" for trying to base policies largely on Ukrainian nationalism. Kuchma has promised to honor Ukraine's international obligations, including the trilateral accord, but he has indicated that Ukrainian ratification of the NPT will not be an overriding priority for him. He has also promised economic reform, but his commitment to true reform is untested and he will face the same recalcitrance in the Rada that made reform under Kravchuk so difficult.

Your objectives in this call:

- Congratulate Kuchma on his election and begin to establish a personal relationship with him.
- Underscore the emphasis we have placed on helping Ukraine devise and implement a workable program of economic reform, and the bilateral and multilateral economic assistance that is on offer once a reform plan is in place.
- Stress our appreciation for Kuchma's statements supporting the Trilateral Agreement and other security obligations, emphasizing our special interest in NPT.

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We are planning a series of visits to Kiev by various U.S. officials over the next several months to meet with Kuchma and members of the Ukrainian government to demonstrate our commitment to continue the priority emphasis we have placed on our relationship with Ukraine. Your phone call to Kuchma will preview some of these visits and is aimed at starting off with him on the best basis possible.

Attachments

Tab A Talking Points
Tab B Biographic Information

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KUCHMA

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.02)
10/2/2018 KBH

Introductory

- I am calling to follow up on my letter and to congratulate you on your electoral victory and swearing-in on July 19.
- Ukraine is a top priority for the United States. I want the closest possible relations between us personally and between our two governments.
- Wanted to discuss briefly today two especially important issues: economic reform and our security cooperation.

Economic Reform

- I know that you have inherited an extremely difficult economic situation. You will need strong links both to the East and West to rebuild your economy.
- You should know that there is considerable support in the West for a new economic reform effort in Ukraine.
 - At the G-7 Summit in Naples, I led the effort to commit more than \$4 billion in international financial support which will become available once Ukraine undertakes fundamental economic reforms.
 - We also agreed on an initiative to promote nuclear safety and the shutdown of the Chernobyl reactors.
- In addition, the U.S. will go forward with our \$350 million bilateral assistance program for Ukraine.
 - I have just approved the Board of a new \$150 million Enterprise Fund that I hope will help stimulate small business creation in Ukraine.
- As Ambassador Miller has mentioned to you, I would like to make available an eminent private American economist, Professor Rudi Dornbusch of MIT, to advise you and your leading officials such as Minister Roman Shpek. He can arrive by the end of this month.
- As you proceed, we should keep in close contact on economic reform. It seems to me that you have a unique opportunity in the wake of your election to move forward on reform.

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Security Issues

- I was glad to hear that the Trilateral Statement is important to you--it is also very important to me.
- The Vice President told me of the role you played in ensuring that the Rada passed the Statement last February. I appreciate your support.
- As I said to you in my letter, I am absolutely committed to implementing the Trilateral Statement--it is of paramount importance that Ukraine receive fair compensation for all of the nuclear warheads on its territory.
- I am also committed to ensuring that our \$350 million in assistance to you for dismantling the nuclear missiles in Ukraine flows smoothly.
- I know you have had some concerns about this, so I have asked our experts to go to Kiev as soon as your experts can receive them. Our team will be ready to work on resolving any problems.
- It is also time to move the last nuclear issue out of the way--Ukraine's accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).
- Lack of movement on the NPT stops progress where we want to see it most--in high-technology fields such as aerospace.
- You and I should work closely together to get this issue resolved--the sooner we can get it behind us, the better.

[If Kuchma asks for more money to resolve the NPT question (he has cited figures up to \$5 billion in the past):

- The way I see it, we are in a partnership where both countries have some work to do. That partnership over the long term will do much more to clear away the vestiges of the nuclear weapons on your territory than we can calculate today.
- We need to focus on where the real benefits are for Ukraine, especially on bringing your industries out into international markets.
- At the same time, you should know that Ukraine will continue to be a high priority for our assistance, in bilateral economic aid as well as in the Nunn-Lugar program.]

See
Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

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Original OA/ID Number: 2293				
Document ID: 9405916				
Row: 46	Section: 1	Shelf: 10	Position: 2	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. telecon	Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine on 21 July 1994. Record ID: 9405916. (3 pages)	07/22/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 2293

FOLDER TITLE:

9405916

2014-0874-F

vz3354

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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5916

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.04)
10/2/2013 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine on
21 July 1994

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Kuchma
Interpreter: Marta Zielyk
Notetaker: Nicholas Burns

DATE, TIME 21 July 1994; 9:51-10:09 (EDT)
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hello, President Kuchma. (U)

President Kuchma: Yes. (U)

The President: I am calling to follow up on my letter. I wanted to congratulate you on your victory in the election and on your swearing in July 19th. (U)

President Kuchma: Thank you very much, President Clinton. I am very pleased you have called to congratulate me on my Presidency. Thank you for confirming that Ukraine is important for the U.S. (U)

The President: Your country is a very important priority for me personally and for the United States. I hope that we will have close relations between our two governments and between us personally. I wanted to discuss today two important aspects of our relations: economic reform and security cooperation. You have inherited a difficult economic situation. You will need strong links to both the East and West to rebuild your economy. There is considerable support in the West for economic reform in Ukraine. At the G-7 summit in Naples, I led the effort to commit more than four billion dollars in international financial support which will become available as Ukraine undertakes fundamental economic reforms. We also agreed on an initiative to promote nuclear safety and the shutdown of the Chernobyl reactors. I wanted to reaffirm our intention to go forward with our \$350 million bilateral assistance program to Ukraine. I also recently approved the board of a new \$150 million Enterprise Fund which I hope will stimulate private sector development in Ukraine. I think Ambassador Miller has mentioned to you that we will make available an eminent private U.S. economist, Rudi Dornbush of the

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Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who could assist you and your leading officials, such as Minister Shpek. If you are interested in this, I know Professor Dornbush well and he could arrive by the end of the month. (S)

President Kuchma: I am grateful and would like to have him come. (S)

The President: Thank you very much. (U)

President Kuchma: Mr. President, this, our first conversation gives reasons for our closer relations with you. I hope we may have a chance to meet soon to exchange opinions on our situation. It would be even better if you could come to Ukraine. This would be of extreme importance from our point of view. I would like to take the opportunity to reconfirm that all our international commitments will be fulfilled. I am very grateful for your initiating the Western effort to give \$350 million in assistance to Ukraine. I had the chance to speak to Mr. Gore earlier and at that time he thought the U.S. would be able to initiate that assistance. And you did. I am very pleased that you keep your word. I think you are, in fact I am sure you are, aware of the grave economic situation in our country. I would like to find a mechanism to get aid flowing more quickly to solve these economic problems. I would also like to say that Ukraine will meet its obligations under the Trilateral Accord. It is possible to say that we are meeting all our agreements. Today forty silos have been dismantled. 307 nuclear warheads have been transported to Russia. But as for the steps from the U.S. side concerning your assistance, no practical steps have been taken up to now. All the removed missiles and elements are kept in wagons in the open air. Heptile fuel, a very dangerous fuel, is also kept in tanks. We pray to God, God willing, that nothing will happen. That is why I would like to ask you for a quicker solution, for quicker consideration of that issue because we may lose politically if something happens. We need to construct storehouses for the fuel and for the neutralization of the stored components. Regarding the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, I agree that this requires an urgent solution. I am not aware of all the details of the problem. When I know them, I will let you know as soon as possible. I have a three year old grandson and I don't want him to live near Chernobyl. As far as reforming the economy is concerned, I am categorically for reforms and progress. There will be no reversal. I hope we will manage and we would be glad to meet with the economic advisor you mentioned. I have invited some economic advisors from Germany and France as well so we are ready for cooperation. Today Ukraine has only two ways. The first is to become an economically powerful state. The second is the destruction of Ukraine and the path of Ukraine in this way is

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5916

only with Russia. I actually am against the second way, but the economic situation of the present day worries me. Knowing your role in sorting out the issues of the world, I would like the United States' and your personal support. (S)

The President: You will have it. We will work closely on economic and security issues. I appreciate your reaffirming your intention to keep your commitments on security matters and especially on the Trilateral Accord. The Vice President told me about your role in ensuring that the Rada passed the Accord last February and I appreciate that. I have also committed to assuring that our \$350 million of assistance to dismantle the nuclear missiles comes through without delay. I know you have some concerns about this so I have asked our experts to go to Kiev as soon as your experts are ready to receive them. Our team will be ready to work on the problems. I also hope you and I will be able to work together on the last nuclear issue, Ukraine's accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, because if we achieve progress on that, we will be able to work together on other issues like high technology and aerospace and this will be valuable to Ukraine. I hope we can solve this. Thank you very much, Mr. President. (S)

President Kuchma: Thank you for your congratulations and your attention to Ukraine. I hope to meet you. (U)

The President: Thank you. I hope to see you soon. (U)

President Kuchma: Good-bye. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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See
Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

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Document ID: 9408204				
Row: 44	Section: 4	Shelf: 6	Position: 3	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. memo~~	~~For Anthony Lake from John Deyrie. Subject: Presidential Phone Call to Ukrainian President Kuchma. Record ID: 9408204 (2 pages)~~	~~10/07/1994~~	~~P1/B(1)~~ KBH 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 481

FOLDER TITLE:

9408204

2014-0874-F

vz3358

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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8204

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 7, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: NICHOLAS BURNS *NB*

FROM: JOHN BEYRLER *JB*

SUBJECT: Presidential Phone Call to Ukrainian President Kuchma

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.05)

10/2/2013 KBH

On October 3, President Kuchma's office asked our Embassy in Kiev to arrange with the White House for Kuchma to call the President October 4 or 5. Because of the Mandela visit and the phone call from Yeltsin, we counterproposed a Kuchma phone call to the Vice President this week, and the possibility of a Presidential call the week of October 10. Kuchma said he preferred to speak with the President first.

We recommend that the President speak with Kuchma next week, ideally October 11, 12 or 13. Our main item of business with the Ukrainians continues to be winning their accession to the NPT by December. Kuchma recently submitted the Treaty to the Rada for approval, and has shown a clear commitment to pushing it through in advance of his November 29 visit to Washington. A word of encouragement from the President would count for a lot. Kuchma's talking points would likely center on his need to show the Rada, during the NPT debate, that the US is making good on its promises of support. Here, too, the President could give Kuchma some solid assurances, based on what we have already set in motion in preparation for the Kuchma visit.

The Vice President is very interested in making any follow-up calls to Kuchma that may be required in the run-up to the visit and the NPT debate. We understand he strongly supported the idea of a Clinton-Kuchma phone call next week in a discussion he had on Thursday with the President, and that the two also discussed the idea of Vice-Presidential follow-up calls. *←*

Concurrence by: Bill Wise *JB for*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached schedule request.

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*R -
this will be
tough. How hard
will you want to push.
Can it come out of
your briefing time. (yes)*

ms

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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2

Attachment

Tab I Schedule Proposal

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See

Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

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Document ID: 9408502				
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. telcon	Copy. Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine, October 13, 1994. Record ID: 9408502. (3 pages)	10/20/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 482

FOLDER TITLE:

9408502

2014-0874-F

vz3360

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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8502

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.06)
10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Kuchma of Ukraine on
October 13, 1994 (S)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
President Kuchma

George Sajewych (Translator)
John Beyrle, Anne Alexander and Thorn Turner
(Notetakers)

DATE, TIME October 13, 1994; 10:15 a.m.-10:38 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Hello? (U)

President Kuchma: Good afternoon. (U)

The President: President Kuchma? (U)

President Kuchma: Yes, speaking. (U)

The President: I'm sorry we weren't able to speak last week. I'm glad to be able to talk with you today. I want to thank you for your recent letters. I'm looking forward to your visit November 29. We are working hard to ensure a productive and successful outcome. The Vice President told me he had a very positive meeting with you in August. I have asked him to keep in touch with you on key issues before the summit. I was very pleased to hear you have submitted NPT to the Rada for a vote. I know we, and you, have a lot of work ahead to convince the Rada of the importance of this matter. We are doing all we can to be helpful. In particular, we are paying special attention to the pace of our Nunn-Lugar assistance to Ukraine. (S)

President Kuchma: Thank you. (U)

The President: By the end of this year, 130 million dollars of the 350 million dollars we promised in March will have been spent for material and training and services. You asked for my help in storing heptile fuel and we've awarded a contract to a Ukrainian firm. I also wanted to say I was

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very impressed by your speech to the Rada Tuesday on economic reform. You have shown great courage and leadership. You can count on our support. (S)

President Kuchma: Thank you. Since the first days of my administration I have felt your personal presence on these issues. I was extremely happy that Vice President Gore was the first official American to visit after the election as a personal representative of you, Mr. President. I also want to thank you for your support in Madrid for Ukrainian economic reforms. I am glad that Ukraine has taken decisive action on its economic transformation. I made this clear in my speech to the Rada. But, I'd like to address you once again for assistance in this time of hardship for us. Today I carried out a meeting with the G-7 ambassadors on the situation in our country. I had a productive discussion with Chancellor Kohl and he promised me the support of Germany, the EU and the G-7. I also talked with the Canadian Prime Minister who promised me their support. Today the estimates from the IMF and others show that Ukraine will need support by the end of this year totaling \$1 billion. We are speaking here about critical imports -- energy resources. The IMF has promised \$350 million in assistance but we need help for the rest of the total. There will be a meeting of the G-7 on October 18 in Washington and you will be discussing these issues. I ask for your support. Another issue is the credit debts of Ukraine. Our main creditors are Russia and Turkmenistan. As concerns Russia, I'd ask for your support for Russia to take part in the meeting in Canada at the end of October. Russia insists categorically on this. But keep in mind that we would like Russia to agree at the October 18 meeting to freeze our debt and extend additional credits till the end of the year. Perhaps on that basis it might be possible for them to attend the Canada meeting. (S)

I have submitted the NPT to the Rada, and I am following this process very carefully. Today the Rada is discussing this and the Foreign Affairs Committee has given its positive view of our proposal and said it intends to place this on the agenda. I will be sending a letter to the Rada speaker on the importance of NPT ratification for Ukraine. I'll do everything possible -- and even impossible -- to make sure this process is carried out in a normal way. (S)

So, I've informed you about a number of issues in a short time. I'd like to inform you, once again, that Ukraine is on the path of reform. There is no other way. I hope to confirm this to you once again in Washington. (S)

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The President: I'm looking forward to that. Let me talk a little bit about the aid issue. We intend to take a leadership role at the IMF meeting October 18 on Ukraine. We will be there prepared to commit up to 100 million dollars of our current technical assistance funds to your balance of payments need for this year. We have asked our G-7 partners to make equally substantial commitments and our information is that it will be sufficient to cover your gap this year. In addition, we will also seek G-7 agreement to help cover your 1995 financing gap. Our goal is to provide one fifth of the resources needed to cover the financing gap identified by the IMF for the next fifteen months. I believe this is more than you requested in your recent letter. We can do it and believe the other G-7 countries will help. I am happy you are talking to them about this. We will also attend the Canadian conference on Ukrainian reform in Winnipeg on October 26. I agree with you that Russia should be represented. (S)

President Kuchma: Thank you. I am extremely grateful to hear this; this is pleasant news for me. I told the Ambassadors today about the great assistance you are giving Ukraine. It is of utmost importance for today. Among the most important tasks we face is the liberalization of prices. With your assistance, we can keep social peace as we do this. I am grateful for your position on Russia. In today's conditions, we cannot avoid dealing with them. It is very important to Ukraine's economy that we can use the assistance we receive to pay for restructuring our economy. Thank you for a very informative conversation. (S)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Kuchma: Good-bye. (U)

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

-- End of Conversation --

See

Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

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Document ID: 9408577				
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001: memo	Copy: For the President from Anthony Lake and Billy Webster. Subject: Ukrainian President Kuchma's Visit. Record ID: 9408577. (2 pages)	10/20/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 482

FOLDER TITLE:

9408577

2014-0874-F
vz3361

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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8577

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓
BILLY WEBSTER

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.07)
10/2/2018 KBH

SUBJECT: Ukrainian President Kuchma's Visit to the U.S.

Purpose

To decide whether to make Ukrainian President Kuchma's visit to the U.S. on November 29 a State visit.

Background

You have invited the new Ukrainian President, Leonid Kuchma, to Washington for an official visit on November 29. The schedule calls for you to spend roughly three hours with him for a meeting, lunch and East Room press conference.

Secretary Christopher strongly recommends, and I concur, that you should now decide to make this a State visit. Doing so would necessitate spending roughly one to two additional hours with him that day compared to an official visit--a one hour arrival ceremony, one hour meeting and the State dinner. The benefits to our major foreign policy objectives with Ukraine, and here in the U.S. among the large Ukrainian-American community, argue for this change.

Whether or not we will grant Kuchma a State visit has become a hot issue in Kiev and within the Ukrainian-American community. Kuchma has let us know that he wants and needs this to bolster his position in Ukraine at a time when he is trying to begin a radical economic reform program and produce NPT accession by the time of your visit. He believes that the gesture of a State visit would demonstrate your full support for him and strengthen him in his struggles with the Ukrainian parliament. We believe that it could even possibly make the difference in whether or not he is successful in achieving progress on NPT this autumn. Your meeting with Kuchma will be among the most productive and successful of any in your time in office if Ukraine can produce an NPT agreement. For that reason, shifting to a State visit is in our clear interest.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

Following the State visit for Yeltsin, the Ukrainian-American community and its supporters in Congress are looking at this as a test of whether or not we are balanced in our relations with states in the region. They also point out that you and President Bush had official, not State, visits with former President Kravchuk since independence in 1991. They believe it is time the U.S. signaled its unqualified support for Ukrainian independence through this symbolic gesture.

Strobe Talbott will see Kuchma in Canada on October 27. It would be helpful to have a decision that Strobe could communicate to him by then.

RECOMMENDATION

That you decide to make Ukrainian President Kuchma's visit to Washington on November 29 a State visit.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

See

Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

MR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 222				
Document ID: 9409213				
Row: 44	Section: 3	Shelf: 11	Position: 2	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	The President's Meeting with Ukraine President Leonid Kuchma. (6 pages)	11/16/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 222

FOLDER TITLE:

9409213

2014-0874-F
vz3364

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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~~SECRET~~

THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH
UKRAINE PRESIDENT LEONID KUCHMA

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-m (1.08)
10/2/2013 KBH

CONTEXT OF THE MEETING

Leonid Kuchma looks to this state visit to set the tone for a new U.S.-Ukrainian relationship. We want to accommodate that and signal that we are defining a new political and economic agenda to carry the bilateral relationship into the next century, especially now that the Ukrainian Rada has approved NPT accession and put the nuclear issue behind us. This signal will be important for Ukraine and will also underscore publicly that our NIS policy treats each state independently.

Your brief one-on-one will give you an opportunity to establish a personal rapport. Kuchma needs to understand that Ukraine is important to us and that our commitment is genuine. He should come away confident in your support and knowing that we want a robust relationship. You might also briefly discuss Russia. The expanded follow-on meeting will provide an opportunity to reiterate and amplify key themes.

Ukraine is at what many fear is a dangerous crossroads. Kuchma's predecessor, Leonid Kravchuk, failed to implement any substantial reform but is credited for the high priority he placed on stability. Kuchma, by contrast, is determined to move on economic reform, recognizing that otherwise Ukraine's very viability as an independent state may be at stake.

You will want to congratulate Kuchma on the path he has chosen and for concluding a Systemic Transformation Facility program with the IMF. Kuchma is nonetheless concerned about the economic dislocation that will result from reform. Kiev will face many of the painful trade-offs associated with market transition, including unemployment and potentially significant disparities in the standard of living among various regions.

We have actively led the international community's efforts to support Ukrainian economic reform, and Kuchma should understand that we are prepared to continue to play this role. U.S. leadership with the IMF, World Bank and key Allies (particularly Germany and Canada) will be essential during the initial phases of Ukraine's transition. You will want to make clear to Kuchma, however, that the promises made at Naples, Corfu and Winnipeg cannot be fully realized unless Ukraine follows up with important additional steps. Specifically, Kuchma should understand that Ukraine must press ahead in its negotiation of a stand-by program with the IMF. This will also be critical if we are to win additional international balance of payments support for Ukraine next year.

~~SECRET~~

You will have a chance to underscore both the historic and immediate political importance of Ukraine's long-awaited accession to NPT. Kuchma will want to hear from you that the United States will continue to help ensure full implementation of the U.S.-Russian-Ukrainian Trilateral Statement. Kuchma should also understand that our intention to provide security assurances in connection with NPT ratification represents a serious commitment to Ukraine. You will want to reflect on the fundamental U.S. interests involved in the strengthening of Ukrainian independence and sovereignty.

The emergence of a truly independent Ukraine has the potential to reshape the entire security environment in Central Europe and the NIS. The consolidation of Ukrainian independence, however, remains incomplete and could falter without an intensive U.S. effort to facilitate stable Ukrainian-Russian relations, bolster Ukraine's independent posture, and enhance Ukraine's role in European security institutions. Kuchma will want your assurance that, as European structures evolve, Ukraine will not be left isolated in a no-man's land between an expanding NATO and Russia.

Later, the Vice President will meet with President Kuchma to discuss other key issues. We have recommended that he take up the question of Ukraine's agreement to shut down the Chornobyl nuclear power plant in accordance with the G-7 Action Plan negotiated at Naples. He will also discuss space cooperation and bilateral defense and security-related issues.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o In the one-on-one, establish a personal rapport, underscore our vision of a robust and expanding U.S.-Ukrainian partnership, and cite our support for good Kiev-Moscow relations.
- o Praise Kuchma's vital economic leadership and assure him that the U.S. will remain in the forefront of international efforts to support Ukraine. Note importance of further steps, such as negotiating an IMF stand-by program.
- o Congratulate Kuchma for his role in Ukraine's accession to the NPT, which allows provision of security assurances and exchange of START I instruments of ratification in Budapest.
- o Assure Kuchma that U.S. will seek to manage evolution of European institutions in a manner that enhances Ukraine's stability and security.

CORE POINTS

(ONE-ON-ONE)

- Good to meet you face-to-face; look forward to close working relationship, including by letter, phone.

- Today's meeting of historical significance; will send clear signal of U.S. support for strong, independent and reforming Ukraine and underscore changed nature of our relationship.
- Our vision of U.S.-Ukrainian partnership: robust, multi-dimensional, increasingly focused on political and economic agenda that will carry us into next century, and expanding into new areas, e.g., space cooperation.
- Can develop new agenda in large part because of your personal leadership. NPT now done, puts nuclear business behind us and sets ringing example for global non-proliferation.
- Economic reform opens prospect development of full economic relationship -- Ukraine's integration with world and European market economies.
- Want to make progress on Chernobyl closure, and West is ready to help. Vice President will discuss this in more detail later.
- Both our countries pay Russia considerable attention:
 - o We will work for close U.S.-Russia relationship and reform in Russia. Believe Yeltsin shares same goals.
 - o But have made clear to Moscow our support for strong and independent Ukraine. Will continue to do so.
 - o Your policy of building good relations with both Russia and West is exactly right. We support good Kiev-Moscow relations.
 - o How do you view future of Ukraine-Russia relations?
- Will discuss this in more detail in expanded meeting, but want to assure you that, as European institutions evolve, Ukraine's security very much on our minds.

(EXPANDED MEETING)

Economic Reform

- Applaud your recent decisions -- only bold, market-oriented reform can reverse Ukraine's economic decline.
- Congratulations on concluding systemic transformation facility with IMF; opens door to multilateral resources.
- This fiscal year U.S. will commit \$192 million in economic assistance to support Ukraine reform.
 - o Includes \$100 million in balance-of-payments support to assist energy and food needs and \$92 million in technical assistance.

- o Hope to do more if agreement reached with IMF on stand-by program.
- Committed to timely assistance delivery and being responsive to your needs -- both technical and Nunn-Lugar.
- o Rapid reform pace will facilitate rapid implementing of assistance programs.
- Intend technical assistance to focus on economic restructuring, private sector development, energy sector reform, as well as structural reform and stabilization.
- U.S. committed to leading international effort to support Ukrainian reform program.
- o We are pressing Chancellor Kohl, other EU leaders to approve balance-of-payments loan; remain confident EU will take right decision, and pressing Japan as well.
- o Have followed up with Russians and Turkmen to encourage cooperation on deferring debt payments.
- o Discussed importance of supporting Ukraine reform with Yeltsin in September. Vice President will reinforce this message with Chernomyrdin in December.
- Surest way to consolidate international support -- proceed with negotiation of stand-by program with IMF and continue push for comprehensive economic reform.
- o Strong commitment to stabilize economy, adopt structural reform, privatization necessary to address high inflation, revive economy.
- o Stand-by program will secure several billion dollars in multilateral support from IFIs.
- Prepared to lead international effort in 1995 to help cover remainder of financing gap, support implementation of stand-by program.
- o Early negotiation of stand-by critical to justify G-7 and other donor support in 1995.

Trade and Investment

- Trade and investment, not assistance, engine for growth.
- o Strong private sector, links to Western firms key to integration into world economy.
- o Enterprise Fund open for business in Kiev; enormous impact in Central Europe.

- Meeting OPIC's Harkin yesterday demonstrated U.S. interest in investment; now want OPIC-led investment missions.
- Joint Commission on Trade and Investment meeting tomorrow; should begin removing barriers to economic cooperation.
- Membership in GATT/WTO important for Ukraine's access to world economy; hope US advisor in Kiev can help.

NPT and Security Assurances

- Congratulations on NPT accession; appreciate your strong, personal leadership and hard work to make it happen.
 - o Accession positive example for world -- distinguishes Ukraine leadership in non-proliferation.
- Look forward to exchange of documents in Budapest; good venue for full recognition of Ukraine's historic step.
 - o Accession allows START I entry-into-force and provision of security assurances.
 - o Want to emphasize assurances represent powerful statement of U.S. commitment to Ukraine.
- Prepared to continue to work with you to assure full implementation of Trilateral Statement.

European Security

- Favor undivided, increasingly integrated Europe.
- As European institutions evolve, will seek to manage process to strengthen stability and security of all CSCE states; Ukraine of special concern to us.
- We expect to use December NAC meeting to call on NATO to strengthen PFP and to begin discussing expansion process.
 - o Process will be open and transparent.
 - o We have no timetable or list of states to become members; no one is excluded.
 - o Hope to have the "how," but not the "who" or "when" decided by mid-1995.
 - o Once agreed, will talk to all participants in PFP about what is involved in being NATO member.
- Adamant that evolution/expansion of NATO and other institutions not draw new lines or spheres.

- o An isolated, uneasy Ukraine caught between expanding NATO and Russia in no one's interest. Will work to build strong Western Links to Ukraine to avoid that.
- o We don't close door on possible future membership for Ukraine in NATO if Ukraine is interested.
- Ready for regular dialogue with Ukraine on European security; will ensure Kiev understands where we are going.
- Hope Ukraine will take strong advantage of PFP as means to build solid ties to NATO; prepared to assist (Warsaw initiative) to facilitate your participation.

(DEFENSIVE POINTS)

(If asked: market access:)

- Important to keep U.S. markets open to Ukraine.
- We proposed changes to make U.S. trade laws more flexible in trade disputes with transitional economies; Congress did not act on this.
 - o Intend to try again with new Congress next year.
- Hope Joint Commission on Trade and Investment can look at ways to minimize disputes under current law and ensure Ukraine enjoys access to U.S. markets.

(If asked: prospect for renewed EXIM bank financing:)

- Unfortunate EXIM had to close operations in Kiev; understand Ukraine now current on EXIM obligations
- Now reconsidering Ukraine creditworthiness; much depends on progress on reform, STF program, progress with inflation, stability and IMF stand-by agreement.
 - o EXIM prepared to conclude Project Incentive Agreement with GOU to provide funding of project with its own foreign exchange flow to cover repayments.

See
Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

MR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 483				
Document ID: 9409245 [1]				
Row: 44	Section: 4	Shelf: 7	Position: 2	Stack: v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. notecard~~	~~Talking Points for Meeting with Leonid Kuchma. (15 pages)~~	~~11/22/1994~~	~~P1/b(1) KBN 5/2/2019~~
~~002. notecard~~	~~Key Objectives for Meeting with Kuchma. (2 pages)~~	~~11/22/1994~~	~~P1/b(1) KBN 5/2/2019~~
003. memo	For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: Meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma. Record ID: 9409245. (4 pages) Partial Release - KBN 5/2/2019	11/21/1994	P1/b(1)
~~004. talking points~~	~~Talking Points for Meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma. (5 pages)~~	~~11/21/1994~~	~~P1/b(1) KBN 5/2/2019~~
005. report	Biography. (2 pages)	07/10/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 483

FOLDER TITLE:

9409245 [1]

2014-0874-F

vz3365

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Card 1 of 15
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11.22.94

TALKING POINTS
MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KUCHMA

(ONE-ON-ONE)

- GOOD TO MEET YOU; LOOK FORWARD TO CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP.
- YOUR FIRST MONTHS IN OFFICE A SUCCESS. DECISIONS TO INITIATE ECONOMIC REFORM AND CLOSE NPT DEBATE HISTORIC AND COURAGEOUS.
- ECONOMIC REFORM WILL ENSURE STRONG, INDEPENDENT UKRAINE; PERMITS DEVELOPMENT OF FULL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP -- UKRAINE'S INTEGRATION WITH WORLD AND EUROPEAN MARKET ECONOMIES.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 2 of 15

- WANT TO MAKE PROGRESS ON CHERNOBYL CLOSURE. WEST IS READY TO HELP. VICE PRESIDENT WILL DISCUSS THIS IN MORE DETAIL LATER. IMPORTANT THAT YOU SIGNAL YOUR COMMITMENT TO CLOSURE AND THAT G-7 DEVELOP A GOOD ECONOMIC PACKAGE.
- RUSSIA IS IMPORTANT. WANT CLOSE U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONSHIP AND SUPPORT YELTSIN AND REFORM. ALSO SUPPORT STRONG AND INDEPENDENT UKRAINE.
- YOUR POLICY OF BUILDING GOOD RELATIONS WITH BOTH RUSSIA AND WEST EXACTLY RIGHT. HOW DO YOU VIEW FUTURE IN RUSSIA? YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH YELTSIN?
- UKRAINE'S SECURITY ALSO VERY MUCH ON OUR MINDS AS CSCE AND NATO EVOLVE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Card 3 of 15

(EXPANDED MEETING)

ECONOMIC REFORM

- WELCOME. VISIT UNDERSCORES CHANGED NATURE OF U.S.-UKRAINE RELATIONSHIP.
- APPLAUD YOUR EFFORT TO REFORM ECONOMY. ONLY BOLD MARKET-ORIENTED STEPS CAN REVERSE UKRAINE'S ECONOMIC DECLINE.
- WILL SUPPORT YOUR REFORMS. WILL PROVIDE \$350 MILLION IN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 4 of 15

- WILL ADD \$200 MILLION IN NEW FUNDING OVER NEXT 12 MONTHS.
 - o \$100 MILLION IN BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS SUPPORT YOU REQUESTED AND ANNOUNCED IN WINNIPEG.
 - o \$100 MILLION IN NEW TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FUNDS.
- SINCE LAST MARCH WE HAVE COMMITTED OVER HALF A BILLION DOLLARS TO UKRAINE.
- COMMITTED TO TIMELY AID DELIVERY AND BEING RESPONSIVE TO YOUR NEEDS -- BOTH ECONOMIC AND ON NUCLEAR DISMANTLEMENT.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 5 of 15

- ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WILL FOCUS ON STRUCTURAL REFORM AND STABILIZATION, PRIVATIZATION, PRIVATE SECTOR DEVELOPMENT AND ENERGY SECTOR REFORM.

-- U.S. WILL LEAD INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO SUPPORT REFORM PROGRAM.

- PRESSING FRANCE, GERMANY, UK TO APPROVE BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS LOAN. CONFIDENT EU WILL TAKE RIGHT DECISION; ENCOURAGING JAPAN AS WELL.
- HAVE FOLLOWED UP WITH RUSSIA, TURKMENISTAN TO ENCOURAGE COOPERATION ON DEFERRING DEBT PAYMENTS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 6 of 15

- DISCUSSED SUPPORT FOR UKRAINIAN REFORM WITH YELTSIN IN SEPTEMBER. VICE PRESIDENT WILL GIVE SAME MESSAGE TO CHERNOMYRDIN.

-- TO CONSOLIDATE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT, YOU SHOULD COMPLETE STAND-BY PROGRAM WITH IMF.

- THIS WILL SECURE SEVERAL BILLION DOLLARS IN SUPPORT FROM IFIS AND SPUR INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT INTEREST.
- EARLY NEGOTIATION OF STAND-BY CRITICAL TO JUSTIFY ADDITIONAL G-7 AND OTHER DONOR SUPPORT IN 1995.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 7 of 15

- PREPARED TO LEAD INTERNATIONAL EFFORT IN 1995 TO HELP WITH FINANCING GAP, SUPPORT IMPLEMENTATION OF STAND-BY PROGRAM.

TRADE AND INVESTMENT

- TRADE AND INVESTMENT, NOT ASSISTANCE, ENGINE FOR GROWTH. WILL WORK TO DEVELOP PRIVATE SECTOR LINKS TO WESTERN FIRMS.
- ECONOMIC REFORMS AND NONPROLIFERATION POLICY ALLOW YOUR HIGH-TECHNOLOGY INDUSTRIES TO PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL MARKETS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 8 of 15

- o ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT FOR AEROSPACE FIRMS, CAN MAKE A BIG CONTRIBUTION AS UKRAINE UNDERGOES TRANSITION TO MARKET.
- U.S.-UKRAINE ENTERPRISE FUND NOW OPEN FOR BUSINESS IN KIEV; FUND WILL LEND TO YOUR NEW SMALL BUSINESSES. SUCH FUNDS HAVE STRONG IMPACT IN CENTRAL EUROPE.
- YOU MET WITH OPIC YESTERDAY, WANT TO FOLLOW UP WITH OPIC-LED INVESTMENT MISSION TO UKRAINE.
- JOINT COMMISSION ON TRADE AND INVESTMENT LED BY RON BROWN AND MINISTER OSYKA MEETING TOMORROW; CAN BEGIN REMOVING BARRIERS TO TRADE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 9 of 15

- SUPPORT YOUR MEMBERSHIP IN GATT/WTO.
- EXIM CURRENTLY HAS UNDER REVIEW AN IMPORTANT PROJECT TO IMPROVE YOUR AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL SYSTEM; INCENTIVE AGREEMENT EXIM HAS OFFERED IS A PREREQUISITE FOR IMPLEMENTING THIS PROJECT.

NPT AND SECURITY ASSURANCES

- CONGRATULATIONS ON NPT ACCESSION; YOUR STRONG, PERSONAL LEADERSHIP AND HARD WORK MADE IT HAPPEN. SPOTLIGHTS UKRAINIAN LEADERSHIP IN NON-PROLIFERATION.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 10 of 15

- LOOK FORWARD TO EXCHANGE OF DOCUMENTS WITH YOU, YELTSIN, MAJOR IN BUDAPEST; GOOD VENUE FOR FULL RECOGNITION OF UKRAINE'S HISTORIC STEP.
- ACCESSION ALLOWS START I ENTRY-INTO-FORCE AND PROVISION OF SECURITY ASSURANCES. WILL WORK WITH YOU TO ASSURE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF TRILATERAL STATEMENT.
- TRILATERAL PROCESS HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE. COMMITTED TO CONTINUE WHEN YOU AND RUSSIA WANT OUR HELP.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 11 of 15

EUROPEAN SECURITY

- WANT TO WORK WITH YOU CLOSELY ON NATO AND CSCE FUTURE. FAVOR UNDIVIDED, INCREASINGLY INTEGRATED EUROPE.
- AS EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS EVOLVE, WILL SEEK TO STRENGTHEN STABILITY AND SECURITY OF ALL CSCE STATES.
- WANT DECEMBER NAC MEETING TO CALL ON NATO TO STRENGTHEN PFP AND TO BEGIN DISCUSSING OPEN AND TRANSPARENT EXPANSION.
- NO TIMETABLE OR LIST OF STATES TO BECOME MEMBERS; NO ONE EXCLUDED.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 12 of 15

- HOPE TO HAVE THE "HOW," BUT NOT THE "WHO" OR "WHEN" DECIDED BY MID-1995. ONCE AGREED, WILL TALK TO ALL PARTICIPANTS IN PFP ABOUT WHAT IS INVOLVED IN BEING NATO MEMBER.
- ADAMANT THAT EVOLUTION/EXPANSION OF NATO AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS NOT DRAW NEW LINES OR CREATE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE.
- UKRAINE CAUGHT BETWEEN EXPANDING NATO AND RUSSIA IN NO ONE'S INTEREST. WANT STRONG WESTERN LINKS TO UKRAINE TO AVOID THAT.
- DON'T CLOSE DOOR ON POSSIBLE FUTURE NATO MEMBERSHIP FOR UKRAINE IF INTERESTED.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 13 of 15

- READY FOR REGULAR DIALOGUE WITH YOU ON EUROPEAN SECURITY; WILL ENSURE YOU UNDERSTAND WHERE WE ARE GOING.
- HOPE UKRAINE WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PFP TO BUILD TIES TO NATO. PREPARED TO HELP FACILITATE YOUR PARTICIPATION.

(DEFENSIVE POINTS)

(IF ASKED: MARKET ACCESS:

- IMPORTANT TO KEEP U.S. MARKETS OPEN TO UKRAINE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 14 of 15

- WANT U.S. TRADE LAWS TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE IN TRADE DISPUTES WITH TRANSITIONAL ECONOMIES. WILL TRY AGAIN WITH NEW CONGRESS NEXT YEAR.
 - HOPE JOINT COMMISSION ON TRADE AND INVESTMENT CAN LOOK AT WAYS TO MINIMIZE DISPUTES.
- (IF ASKED: FOR ADDITIONAL U.S. HELP WITH BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS ASSISTANCE IN 1995:
- COMMITTED TO PROVIDE SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONAL BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS SUPPORT IN 1995. WILL CONTRIBUTE A FIFTH OF FINANCIAL GAP PROJECTED BY IMF.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 15 of 15

- ASSISTANCE MAINLY EXPORT AND AGRICULTURAL CREDITS
TO MEET CRITICAL IMPORT NEEDS.)

(IF ASKED: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO LAUNCH GLOBAL
STAR SATELLITES ON TWO ZENIT ROCKETS:

- GLAD THAT YOU HAVE STARTED TO CONFER WITH U.S.
TRADE REPRESENTATIVE ON COMMERCIAL LAUNCH ISSUE.
- UNDERSTAND JOINT UNDERSTANDING OF PROSPECTS FOR
ZENIT LIKELY SOON.
- YOUR CLEAR COMMITMENT TO NONPROLIFERATION REGIME
-- NPT, MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME --
IMPORTANT STEP FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THESE
MARKETS.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-m (1.10)

10/2/2018 KBH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 1 of 2

KEY OBJECTIVES FOR MEETING WITH KUCHMA

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-22-94

- IN THE ONE-ON-ONE, ESTABLISH A PERSONAL RAPPORT;
STRESS OUR VISION OF A STRONG AND EXPANDING
U.S.-UKRAINIAN PARTNERSHIP; CITE OUR SUPPORT FOR
GOOD KIEV-MOSCOW RELATIONS.
- PRAISE KUCHMA'S VITAL ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP AND
ASSURE HIM THAT THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO LEAD
INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO SUPPORT UKRAINE. NOTE
IMPORTANCE OF NEGOTIATING AN IMF STAND-BY PROGRAM.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 2 of 2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- CONGRATULATE KUCHMA FOR HIS ROLE IN UKRAINE'S NPT
ACCESSION, AND PREVIEW EXCHANGE OF DOCUMENTS IN
BUDAPEST: SECURITY ASSURANCES FOR UKRAINE, ITS
FORMAL NPT ACCESSION AND ENTRY INTO FORCE OF START.
- ASSURE KUCHMA THAT U.S. WILL SEEK TO MANAGE
EVOLUTION OF NATO AND CSCE IN A MANNER THAT
ENHANCES UKRAINE'S STABILITY AND SECURITY.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.11)
10/2/2018 KBH

November 21, 1994

MEETING WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KUCHMA

DATE: November 22, 1994
LOCATION: Oval Office and Cabinet Room
TIME: 11:45am - 1:10pm

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *TL*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11.22.94

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.11)
10/2/2018 KBH

I. PURPOSE

To strengthen U.S.-Ukrainian ties and demonstrate support for Kuchma's denuclearization and economic reform agenda.

II. BACKGROUND

You and Leonid Kuchma can look to this state visit to set the tone for a new U.S.-Ukraine relationship. During the five short months since his election, you and Kuchma have vastly improved our relations. This has been made possible by Kuchma's historic and dramatic decision to embark on a clear reform course. The State Visit will be a celebration of a major policy success for both countries.

We want to signal that we are defining an ambitious political and economic agenda to carry the bilateral relationship into the next century, especially now that the Ukrainian Rada has approved NPT accession and put the nuclear issue behind us and Kuchma has begun to implement a reform economic program. This signal is important for Ukraine, but it also highlights our support for the independence of the all NIS countries and dampens the perception that our policy is Russocentric.

KEY OBJECTIVES

- o In the one-on-one, establish a personal rapport; stress our vision of a strong and expanding U.S.-Ukrainian partnership; cite our support for good Kiev-Moscow relations.
- o Praise Kuchma's vital economic leadership and assure him that the U.S. will continue to lead international efforts to support Ukraine. Note importance of negotiating an IMF stand-by program.

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- o Congratulate Kuchma for his role in Ukraine's NPT accession, and preview exchange of documents in Budapest: security assurances for Ukraine, its formal NPT accession and entry into force of START.
- o Assure Kuchma that U.S. will seek to manage evolution of NATO and CSCE in a manner that enhances Ukraine's stability and security.

Ukraine is at an important and potentially dangerous crossroads. Kuchma's predecessor Leonid Kravchuk brought political stability and progress on nuclear issues but failed to implement any substantial reform. Kuchma, by contrast, has moved forward decisively on economic reform and achieved accession to the NPT. He seems genuinely to recognize that any other path will compromise Ukraine's viability as an independent state. Nonetheless, Kuchma is concerned about the economic dislocation that will result from reform. Kiev will face many of the painful trade-offs associated with market transition, including unemployment and potentially significant disparities in the standard of living among various regions.

You have led the international community's efforts to support Ukrainian economic reform, and Kuchma understands that we will continue to play this role. U.S. leadership with the IMF, World Bank and key Allies (particularly Germany and Canada) has been critically important during the initial phases of Ukraine's transition. Our quick agreement to extend \$100 million in balance of payments support last month will help to provide stability as the reforms are begun. Kuchma must understand, however, that our promises of support cannot be fully realized unless Ukraine follows up with important additional steps. Specifically, we hope that Kuchma will press ahead in negotiation of a stand-by program with the IMF. This will permit additional international balance of payments support for Ukraine next year.

The Kuchma visit offers a chance to underscore the immediate political importance of Ukraine's long-awaited accession to NPT on November 17. This step caps your two-year effort to eliminate nuclear weapons from Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus in a way that gives them fair compensation and recognition for their historic decision to become non-nuclear weapon states.

Kuchma is looking for reassurance that the United States will continue to help ensure full implementation of the U.S.-Russian-Ukrainian Trilateral Statement and provide balance and support in its dealings with Russia. In this regard, Kuchma should understand that our intention to provide

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security assurances at the CSCE summit represents a serious commitment to Ukraine.

The emergence of a truly independent Ukraine has the potential to reshape the entire security environment in Central Europe and the NIS. The consolidation of Ukrainian independence, however, remains incomplete. The effort could falter without an intensive U.S. effort to facilitate stable Ukrainian-Russian relations, bolster Ukraine's independent posture and enhance Ukraine's role in European security institutions. Kuchma will want your assurance that, as European structures evolve, Ukraine will not be left isolated in a no-man's land between an expanding NATO and Russia.

The Vice President will meet with President Kuchma later in the afternoon to discuss other key issues. We have recommended that he take up the question of Ukraine's agreement to shut down the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in accordance with the G-7 Action Plan negotiated at Naples. He will also discuss space cooperation and bilateral defense and security-related issues.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Oval Office Meeting

U.S.

The President
Nick Burns (notetaker)
Interpreter

Ukraine

President Kuchma
Notetaker TBD
Interpreter

Expanded Meeting, Cabinet Room

U.S.

The President
Vice President
Secretary Christopher
Secretary Bentsen
Secretary Perry
Samuel R. Berger
Ambassador Bill Miller
Gen. Shalikashvili
Leon Fuerth
Jim Collins
Nick Burns, notetaker
Interpreter

Ukraine

President Kuchma
TBD

IV. PRESS PLAN

Oval Office: Pool Spray

Cabinet Room: Official Photographer only

V. SEQUENCE

Following the Official Arrival Ceremony and greeting of the Welcoming Committee, you will escort President Kuchma to the Oval Office for a one-on-one meeting of approximately 25 minutes, preceded by a pool spray. At the end of that meeting, you will escort President Kuchma to the Cabinet Room for an expanded one-hour session. You will meet Kuchma again at the end of the afternoon for a signing ceremony and joint press conference.

Attachments

Tab A Talking Points

Tab B EO 13526 1.4c

Tab C Sequence for Press Availability

Tab D Q's and A's

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Talking Point
Cards will be
forwarded

TALKING POINTS
MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KUCHMA

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.12)
10/2/2018 KBH

(ONE-ON-ONE)

- Good to meet you face-to-face at last; look forward to close working relationship, including by letter, phone.
- All Americans appreciate the respect you showed President Kennedy by your visit to his grave this morning.
- Congratulations on a most successful first five months in office. Your decisions to initiate economic reform and bring the NPT debate to a close are historic and courageous.
- Today's meeting sends clear signal of U.S. support for strong, independent, reforming Ukraine. Underscores changed nature of relationship.
- Our vision of U.S.-Ukrainian partnership: strong support for your reforms and expanding cooperation to new areas, e.g., space cooperation.
- Can develop new agenda because of your personal leadership. NPT now done: puts nuclear business behind us, sets example for global non-proliferation.
- Economic reform helps ensure a strong, independent Ukraine; permits development of full economic relationship -- Ukraine's integration with world and European market economies.
- Want to make progress on Chernobyl closure. West is ready to help. Vice President will discuss this in more detail later. Important that you signal your commitment to closure and that G-7 develop a good package that makes economic sense.
- We both pay considerable attention to Russia. I want a close U.S.-Russia relationship and support Yeltsin and reform.
- But have made clear to Moscow our support for strong and independent Ukraine. Will continue to do so.
- Your policy of building good relations with both Russia and West is exactly right. We support good Kiev-Moscow relations.
- How do you view future in Russia? Your relationship with Yeltsin?

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- Will discuss this in more detail in expanded meeting, but want to assure you that, as NATO and CSCE evolve, Ukraine's security very much on our minds.

(EXPANDED MEETING)

Economic Reform

- Welcome to you and delegation. As I said in Oval Office, this visit underscores changed nature of U.S.-Ukraine relationship.
- Applaud your historic action on economic reform. Only bold, market-oriented steps can reverse Ukraine's economic decline.
- We will support your reforms. Specifically, will meet our commitment to provide \$350 million in economic assistance.
- In addition, we intend to add \$200 million in new funding over the next 12 months.
 - o Includes \$100 million in balance-of-payments support you requested and we announced in Winnipeg.
 - o We will add \$100 million in new technical assistance funds.
 - o This means that since last March we have committed over half a billion dollars to assist Ukraine.
 - o Committed to timely assistance delivery and being responsive to your needs -- both economic and on nuclear dismantlement.
 - o Economic assistance will focus on structural reform and stabilization, privatization, private sector development and energy sector reform.
- U.S. also committed to leading international effort to support Ukrainian reform program.
 - o We are pressing France, Germany, UK to approve balance-of-payments loan. Confident EU will take right decision; encouraging Japan as well.
 - o Have followed up with Russia, Turkmenistan to encourage cooperation on deferring your debt payments.
 - o Discussed importance of supporting Ukrainian reform with Yeltsin in September. Vice President will reinforce this message with Chernomyrdin in December.

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3

- Surest way to consolidate international support: proceed with negotiation of stand-by program with IMF; continue push for comprehensive economic reform.
 - o Strong commitment to stabilize economy, adopt structural reform, spur privatization all necessary to address high inflation, revive economy.
 - o Stand-by program will secure several billion dollars in multilateral support from IFIs and attract greater international trade and investment interest.
- Prepared to lead international effort in 1995 to help cover remainder of financing gap, support implementation of stand-by program.
 - o Early negotiation of stand-by critical to justify additional G-7 and other donor support in 1995.

Trade and Investment

- Ultimately, trade and investment, not assistance, engine for growth.
- Want to work with you to develop strong private sector links to Western firms, foster trade liberalization. All are key to integration into world economy.
- Your economic reforms and nonproliferation policy are laying groundwork for your high-technology industries to participate in international markets.
 - o Especially important for your aerospace firms, which can make a big contribution as Ukraine undergoes transition to market.
- U.S.-Ukraine Enterprise Fund now open for business in Kiev; these funds have had tremendous impact in Central Europe. Fund will lend to your new small businesses.
- Your meeting at OPIC yesterday demonstrated U.S. interest in investment. Want to follow up with OPIC-led investment mission to Ukraine.
- Joint Commission on Trade and Investment led by Ron Brown and Minister Osyka meeting tomorrow; should begin removing barriers to trade.

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- Support your membership in GATT/WTO: important for Ukraine's access to world economy. Hope U.S. advisor in Kiev can help.
- EXIM currently has under review an important project to improve your air traffic control system; project incentive agreement EXIM has offered a prerequisite for implementing this project.

NPT and Security Assurances

- Congratulations on NPT accession; your strong, personal leadership and hard work made it happen.
- A positive example for world -- spotlights Ukrainian leadership in non-proliferation.
- Look forward to exchange of documents with you, Yeltsin, Major in Budapest; good venue for full recognition of Ukraine's historic step.
- Accession allows START I entry-into-force and provision of security assurances.
- Want to emphasize assurances represent powerful statement of U.S. commitment to Ukraine.
- Prepared to continue to work with you to assure full implementation of Trilateral Statement.
- Trilateral process has been effective way to work through problems; committed to continue when we can be of help -- as long as you and Russia are both looking for it.

European Security

- Want to work with you closely on NATO and CSCE future.
- Favor undivided, increasingly integrated Europe.
- As European institutions evolve, will seek to manage process to strengthen stability and security of all CSCE states; Ukraine of special concern to us.
- We expect to use December NAC meeting to call on NATO to strengthen PFP and to begin discussing expansion process.
- Process will be open and transparent.
- No timetable or list of states to become members; no one is excluded.

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5

- Hope to have the "how," but not the "who" or "when" decided by mid-1995.
- Once agreed, will talk to all participants in PFP about what is involved in being NATO member.
- Adamant that evolution/expansion of NATO and other institutions not draw new lines or create spheres of influence.
- Ukraine caught between expanding NATO and Russia is in no one's interest. Will work to build strong Western links to Ukraine to avoid that.
- We don't close door on possible future membership for Ukraine in NATO if Ukraine is interested.
- Ready for regular dialogue with Ukraine on European security; will ensure you understand where we are going.
- Hope Ukraine will take strong advantage of PFP as means to build solid ties to NATO. Prepared to make available some funds to facilitate your participation.

(DEFENSIVE POINTS)

(If asked: market access:

- Important to keep U.S. markets open to Ukraine.
- We proposed changes to make U.S. trade laws more flexible in trade disputes with transitional economies. Congress did not act on this; intend to try again with new Congress next year.
- Hope Joint Commission on Trade and Investment can look at ways to minimize disputes under current law and ensure Ukraine enjoys access to U.S. markets.)

(If asked: for additional U.S. help with balance-of-payments assistance in 1995:

- We have committed to provide substantial additional balance-of-payments support in 1995. Intend to contribute roughly a fifth of the financial gap currently projected by the IMF.
- Most of assistance likely in form of export and agricultural credits to help meet Ukraine's critical import needs.
- Important that other countries also share this burden.)

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See
Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

MR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 483				
Document ID: 9409245 [2]				
Row: 44	Section: 4	Shelf: 7	Position: 2	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. talking points	Copy. Notecards. Duplicate of vz3365_002. (2 pages)	11/22/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
002. talking points	Copy. Notecards. Duplicate of vz3365_001. (15 pages)	11/22/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 483

FOLDER TITLE:

9409245 [2]

2014-0874-F

vz3366

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Card 1 of 2

KEY OBJECTIVES FOR MEETING WITH KUCHMA

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-22-99

- IN THE ONE-ON-ONE, ESTABLISH A PERSONAL RAPPORT;
STRESS OUR VISION OF A STRONG AND EXPANDING
U.S.-UKRAINIAN PARTNERSHIP; CITE OUR SUPPORT FOR
GOOD KIEV-MOSCOW RELATIONS.

- PRAISE KUCHMA'S VITAL ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP AND
ASSURE HIM THAT THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO LEAD
INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO SUPPORT UKRAINE. NOTE
IMPORTANCE OF NEGOTIATING AN IMF STAND-BY PROGRAM.

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PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.14)
10/2/2018 KBH

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Card 2 of 2

- CONGRATULATE KUCHMA FOR HIS ROLE IN UKRAINE'S NPT
ACCESSION, AND PREVIEW EXCHANGE OF DOCUMENTS IN
BUDAPEST: SECURITY ASSURANCES FOR UKRAINE, ITS
FORMAL NPT ACCESSION AND ENTRY INTO FORCE OF START.

- ASSURE KUCHMA THAT U.S. WILL SEEK TO MANAGE
EVOLUTION OF NATO AND CSCE IN A MANNER THAT
ENHANCES UKRAINE'S STABILITY AND SECURITY.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 1 of 15
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11.22.94

TALKING POINTS
MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KUCHMA

(ONE-ON-ONE)

- GOOD TO MEET YOU; LOOK FORWARD TO CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP.
- YOUR FIRST MONTHS IN OFFICE A SUCCESS. DECISIONS TO INITIATE ECONOMIC REFORM AND CLOSE NPT DEBATE HISTORIC AND COURAGEOUS.
- ECONOMIC REFORM WILL ENSURE STRONG, INDEPENDENT UKRAINE; PERMITS DEVELOPMENT OF FULL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP -- UKRAINE'S INTEGRATION WITH WORLD AND EUROPEAN MARKET ECONOMIES.

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2016-0123-M (1.15)
10/2/2018 KBH

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Card 2 of 15

- WANT TO MAKE PROGRESS ON CHERNOBYL CLOSURE. WEST IS READY TO HELP. VICE PRESIDENT WILL DISCUSS THIS IN MORE DETAIL LATER. IMPORTANT THAT YOU SIGNAL YOUR COMMITMENT TO CLOSURE AND THAT G-7 DEVELOP A GOOD ECONOMIC PACKAGE.
- RUSSIA IS IMPORTANT. WANT CLOSE U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONSHIP AND SUPPORT YELTSIN AND REFORM. ALSO SUPPORT STRONG AND INDEPENDENT UKRAINE.
- YOUR POLICY OF BUILDING GOOD RELATIONS WITH BOTH RUSSIA AND WEST EXACTLY RIGHT. HOW DO YOU VIEW FUTURE IN RUSSIA? YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH YELTSIN?
- UKRAINE'S SECURITY ALSO VERY MUCH ON OUR MINDS AS CSCE AND NATO EVOLVE.

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Card 3 of 15

(EXPANDED MEETING)

ECONOMIC REFORM

- WELCOME. VISIT UNDERSCORES CHANGED NATURE OF U.S.-UKRAINE RELATIONSHIP.
- APPLAUD YOUR EFFORT TO REFORM ECONOMY. ONLY BOLD MARKET-ORIENTED STEPS CAN REVERSE UKRAINE'S ECONOMIC DECLINE.
- WILL SUPPORT YOUR REFORMS. WILL PROVIDE \$350 MILLION IN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 4 of 15

-- WILL ADD \$200 MILLION IN NEW FUNDING OVER NEXT 12 MONTHS.

- o \$100 MILLION IN BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS SUPPORT YOU REQUESTED AND ANNOUNCED IN WINNIPEG.
- o \$100 MILLION IN NEW TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FUNDS.

-- SINCE LAST MARCH WE HAVE COMMITTED OVER HALF A BILLION DOLLARS TO UKRAINE.

-- COMMITTED TO TIMELY AID DELIVERY AND BEING RESPONSIVE TO YOUR NEEDS -- BOTH ECONOMIC AND ON NUCLEAR DISMANTLEMENT.

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Card 5 of 15

- ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WILL FOCUS ON STRUCTURAL REFORM AND STABILIZATION, PRIVATIZATION, PRIVATE SECTOR DEVELOPMENT AND ENERGY SECTOR REFORM.

-- U.S. WILL LEAD INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO SUPPORT REFORM PROGRAM.

- PRESSING FRANCE, GERMANY, UK TO APPROVE BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS LOAN. CONFIDENT EU WILL TAKE RIGHT DECISION; ENCOURAGING JAPAN AS WELL.
- HAVE FOLLOWED UP WITH RUSSIA, TURKMENISTAN TO ENCOURAGE COOPERATION ON DEFERRING DEBT PAYMENTS.

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Card 6 of 15

- DISCUSSED SUPPORT FOR UKRAINIAN REFORM WITH YELTSIN IN SEPTEMBER. VICE PRESIDENT WILL GIVE SAME MESSAGE TO CHERNOMYRDIN.
- TO CONSOLIDATE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT, YOU SHOULD COMPLETE STAND-BY PROGRAM WITH IMF.
- THIS WILL SECURE SEVERAL BILLION DOLLARS IN SUPPORT FROM IFIS AND SPUR INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT INTEREST.
- EARLY NEGOTIATION OF STAND-BY CRITICAL TO JUSTIFY ADDITIONAL G-7 AND OTHER DONOR SUPPORT IN 1995.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 7 of 15

- PREPARED TO LEAD INTERNATIONAL EFFORT IN 1995 TO HELP WITH FINANCING GAP, SUPPORT IMPLEMENTATION OF STAND-BY PROGRAM.

TRADE AND INVESTMENT

- TRADE AND INVESTMENT, NOT ASSISTANCE, ENGINE FOR GROWTH. WILL WORK TO DEVELOP PRIVATE SECTOR LINKS TO WESTERN FIRMS.
- ECONOMIC REFORMS AND NONPROLIFERATION POLICY ALLOW YOUR HIGH-TECHNOLOGY INDUSTRIES TO PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL MARKETS.

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Card 8 of 15

- ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT FOR AEROSPACE FIRMS,
CAN MAKE A BIG CONTRIBUTION AS UKRAINE
UNDERGOES TRANSITION TO MARKET.
- U.S.-UKRAINE ENTERPRISE FUND NOW OPEN FOR BUSINESS
IN KIEV; FUND WILL LEND TO YOUR NEW SMALL
BUSINESSES. SUCH FUNDS HAVE STRONG IMPACT IN
CENTRAL EUROPE.
- YOU MET WITH OPIC YESTERDAY, WANT TO FOLLOW UP
WITH OPIC-LED INVESTMENT MISSION TO UKRAINE.
- JOINT COMMISSION ON TRADE AND INVESTMENT LED BY
RON BROWN AND MINISTER OSYKA MEETING TOMORROW; CAN
BEGIN REMOVING BARRIERS TO TRADE.

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Card 9 of 15

- SUPPORT YOUR MEMBERSHIP IN GATT/WTO.
- EXIM CURRENTLY HAS UNDER REVIEW AN IMPORTANT PROJECT TO IMPROVE YOUR AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL SYSTEM; INCENTIVE AGREEMENT EXIM HAS OFFERED IS A PREREQUISITE FOR IMPLEMENTING THIS PROJECT.

NPT AND SECURITY ASSURANCES

- CONGRATULATIONS ON NPT ACCESSION; YOUR STRONG, PERSONAL LEADERSHIP AND HARD WORK MADE IT HAPPEN. SPOTLIGHTS UKRAINIAN LEADERSHIP IN NON-PROLIFERATION.

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Card 10 of 15

- LOOK FORWARD TO EXCHANGE OF DOCUMENTS WITH YOU, YELTSIN, MAJOR IN BUDAPEST; GOOD VENUE FOR FULL RECOGNITION OF UKRAINE'S HISTORIC STEP.
- ACCESSION ALLOWS START I ENTRY-INTO-FORCE AND PROVISION OF SECURITY ASSURANCES. WILL WORK WITH YOU TO ASSURE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF TRILATERAL STATEMENT.
- TRILATERAL PROCESS HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE. COMMITTED TO CONTINUE WHEN YOU AND RUSSIA WANT OUR HELP.

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Card 11 of 15

EUROPEAN SECURITY

- WANT TO WORK WITH YOU CLOSELY ON NATO AND CSCE FUTURE. FAVOR UNDIVIDED, INCREASINGLY INTEGRATED EUROPE.
- AS EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS EVOLVE, WILL SEEK TO STRENGTHEN STABILITY AND SECURITY OF ALL CSCE STATES.
- WANT DECEMBER NAC MEETING TO CALL ON NATO TO STRENGTHEN PFP AND TO BEGIN DISCUSSING OPEN AND TRANSPARENT EXPANSION.
- NO TIMETABLE OR LIST OF STATES TO BECOME MEMBERS; NO ONE EXCLUDED.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 12 of 15

- HOPE TO HAVE THE "HOW," BUT NOT THE "WHO" OR "WHEN" DECIDED BY MID-1995. ONCE AGREED, WILL TALK TO ALL PARTICIPANTS IN PFP ABOUT WHAT IS INVOLVED IN BEING NATO MEMBER.
- ADAMANT THAT EVOLUTION/EXPANSION OF NATO AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS NOT DRAW NEW LINES OR CREATE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE.
- UKRAINE CAUGHT BETWEEN EXPANDING NATO AND RUSSIA IN NO ONE'S INTEREST. WANT STRONG WESTERN LINKS TO UKRAINE TO AVOID THAT.
- DON'T CLOSE DOOR ON POSSIBLE FUTURE NATO MEMBERSHIP FOR UKRAINE IF INTERESTED.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 13 of 15

- READY FOR REGULAR DIALOGUE WITH YOU ON EUROPEAN SECURITY; WILL ENSURE YOU UNDERSTAND WHERE WE ARE GOING.
- HOPE UKRAINE WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PFP TO BUILD TIES TO NATO. PREPARED TO HELP FACILITATE YOUR PARTICIPATION.

(DEFENSIVE POINTS)

(IF ASKED: MARKET ACCESS:

- IMPORTANT TO KEEP U.S. MARKETS OPEN TO UKRAINE.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 14 of 15

-- WANT U.S. TRADE LAWS TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE IN TRADE
DISPUTES WITH TRANSITIONAL ECONOMIES. WILL TRY
AGAIN WITH NEW CONGRESS NEXT YEAR.

-- HOPE JOINT COMMISSION ON TRADE AND INVESTMENT CAN
LOOK AT WAYS TO MINIMIZE DISPUTES.

(IF ASKED: FOR ADDITIONAL U.S. HELP WITH BALANCE-OF-
PAYMENTS ASSISTANCE IN 1995:

-- COMMITTED TO PROVIDE SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONAL
BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS SUPPORT IN 1995. WILL
CONTRIBUTE A FIFTH OF FINANCIAL GAP PROJECTED BY
IMF.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 15 of 15

-- ASSISTANCE MAINLY EXPORT AND AGRICULTURAL CREDITS
TO MEET CRITICAL IMPORT NEEDS.)

(IF ASKED: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO LAUNCH GLOBAL
STAR SATELLITES ON TWO ZENIT ROCKETS:

-- GLAD THAT YOU HAVE STARTED TO CONFER WITH U.S.
TRADE REPRESENTATIVE ON COMMERCIAL LAUNCH ISSUE.

-- UNDERSTAND JOINT UNDERSTANDING OF PROSPECTS FOR
ZENIT LIKELY SOON.

-- YOUR CLEAR COMMITMENT TO NONPROLIFERATION REGIME
-- NPT, MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME --
IMPORTANT STEP FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THESE
MARKETS.)

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Case Number: 2016-0123-M

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Original OA/ID Number: 483				
Document ID: 9409296				
Row: 44	Section: 4	Shelf: 7	Position: 2	Stack: v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Evolution of European Security (1 page)	11/18/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
002. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
003. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 002 (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
004. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	11/16/1994	P1/b(1)
005. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
006. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 005 (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
007. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
008. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page) Partial Release - KBH 9/8/2017	11/07/1994	P1/b(1)
009. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
010. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 009 (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
011. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
012. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 011 (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
013. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page) Partial Release - KBH 9/8/2017	11/01/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Kuchma])
OA/Box Number: 483

FOLDER TITLE:

9409296

2016-0123-M

kh1766

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
014. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	10/11/1994	P1/b(1)
015. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 014 (1 page)	10/11/1994	P1/b(1)
016. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
017. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 016 (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
018. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
019. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
020. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 019 (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
021. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)
022. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 021 (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)

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~~SECRET~~
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9409296
RECEIVED: 19 NOV 94 10

TO: ITOH

FROM: BRILL, K

DOC DATE: 18 NOV 94
SOURCE REF: 9426316

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE

AP

PERSONS: KUCHMA, LEONID

SUBJECT: BIOGRAPHIC & BACKGROUND MATERIALS FOR PRES MTG W PRES KUCHMA 22 NOV

ACTION: NFAR PER BEYRLE

DUE DATE: 23 NOV 94 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BURNS
EXECSEC
GOTTEMOELLER

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY JP DATE 11/25 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMBN

CLOSED BY: NSGP

DOC 1 OF 1

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KBH NARA, Date 10/2/2018
2016-0123-M

~~SECRET~~

RECORD ID: 9409296

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BURNS
001

Z 94111910 PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE
X 94112516 NFAR PER BEYRLE

~~SECRET~~



S/S 9426316

9296

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 18, 1994

UNCLASSIFIED

(With ~~SECRET~~/NOFORN/WNINTEL Attachment)

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Subject: Biographic materials and an additional background
paper for the President's meeting with Ukrainian
President Leonid Kuchma

Attached are biographic materials and one additional
background paper for the President's meeting with Leonid Kuchma
on November 22, 1994.

Kenneth C. Brill
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

As stated

UNCLASSIFIED (With ~~SECRET~~/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EVOLUTION OF EUROPEAN SECURITY

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.16)
10/2/2018 KGH

One of the most important tasks facing the Euro-Atlantic community is the continuing development of security structures which address the needs of all concerned parties. Much progress has already been made, especially at the January NATO Summit. We now have an important opportunity at this December's NATO, CSCE and EU meetings to advance the evolution of European security across a broad front. We are proposing a series of specific steps, including NATO expansion, the strengthening of PFP, and the development of the CSCE. We want an integrative and inclusive structure, creating no new lines of division or zones of insecurity. We also see eventual NATO expansion as embedded in the broad context of an evolving security structure in Europe.

NATO

The January Summit affirmed that the Alliance remains open to new members able to contribute to security. Expansion, when it occurs, will be managed in a way which strengthens stability in Europe, benefitting members and non-members alike. We want to focus now on the "how and why" of expansion, and the practical requirements and implications for prospective new members. We will pursue this within the Alliance first, and then with partners. These issues will need to be addressed before we take up the questions of "who and when."

NATO has agreed that a key objective is to contribute to stability by fostering new patterns of political and military cooperation, and helping to bolster democracy and reform. Partnership for Peace (PFP) was established at the Summit, and has become a key element of the European security structure in its own right, and will remain so after expansion. It is the best mechanism for partners to develop the capabilities required to operate with NATO.

CSCE

We have also come to the conclusion that the evolution of European security must include an effort to expand a "second track" of building security which is inclusive and based on shared values and objectives. One key aspect of this will be the development of the CSCE as a more effective organization, and we will pursue that objective at the CSCE Summit in Budapest. Efforts by the European Union to forge closer links to the countries to its east represent a key basis for engagement on important economic and political issues.

We believe that a multi-dimensional, flexible approach to security cooperation will provide the context for both the enlargement of Europe's core institutions (NATO and the EU) and the integration of countries throughout the region into an overall European structure.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:OADR

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Kuchma])
OA/Box Number: 483

FOLDER TITLE:

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003. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 002 (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)

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3.5c

Ihor Oleksandrovych MITYUKOV
(Phonetic: *mihtooKOFF*)

UKRAINE

Deputy Prime Minister
(since September 1994)

Addressed as: Mr. Minister

Economist Ihor Mityukov, who has oversight of Ukraine's financial and banking sector, is strongly proreform, and his appointment is part of President Leonid Kuchma's effort to shape a more reform-oriented economic decisionmaking team,

1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

An ethnic Ukrainian, Mityukov was born in Kiev in 1952. He graduated from Kiev State University. Mityukov later earned an advanced degree in economics. He has worked as an engineer and a researcher at an economics institute. Mityukov then served on the board of Ukrayina, a joint-stock bank. In early 1994, he became deputy chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine. 3.5c

Mityukov is married and has a daughter.

1.4c, 1.4d Mityukov speaks
fluent English. 3.5c

LDA M 94-16861
7 November 1994

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

3.5c

2016-0123-M (1.23)
2/27/2017 KBH

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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009. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
011. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Kuchma])
OA/Box Number: 483

FOLDER TITLE:

9409296

2016-0123-M
kh1766

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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012. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 011 (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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013. report	U.S. Government Report [partial] (1 page)	11/01/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Kuchma])
OA/Box Number: 483

FOLDER TITLE:

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2016-0123-M
kh1766

RESTRICTION CODES

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Serhiy Hryhorovych OSYKA
(Phonetic: ohSEEkah)

UKRAINE

Minister of External Economic Relations
(since August 1994)

Addressed as: Mr. Minister

Former First Deputy Minister of External Economic Relations Serhiy Osyka probably received his most recent promotion because of his proreform credentials, political connections, and professional experience. Osyka belongs to [redacted]

[redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d an impressive team of economic experts that President Leonid Kuchma has assembled to work toward comprehensive economic reform. Osyka has said

[redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d to local press reporters that he is fully committed to opening up Ukraine's economy. In particular, he has been an outspoken advocate of his country's accession to GATT, arguing that Ukraine's laws should correspond to GATT demands for intellectual property right guarantees and strict anti-dumping regulations. Osyka first worked for the President in 1992, when he served as then Prime Minister Kuchma's adviser on trade issues. A specialist in economic law, Osyka has helped draft numerous laws and resolutions—many related to economic reform—and has served as his country's special representative to GATT since 1993 [redacted]

3.5c

An ethnic Ukrainian, Osyka was born on 27 March 1955 in Kiev. He graduated from Kiev State University with a degree in international relations in 1977. Osyka later earned a law degree from the same institution. He subsequently worked as an assistant professor. Osyka served as a consultant to the Supreme Rada (parliament) during 1991-92. He was also a member of the Coordination Committee for Issues of Economic Reform under the Council of Ministers. From late 1993 until his current appointment, he was a Deputy Minister and then First Deputy Minister of External Economic Relations. He also served on a commission dealing with Ukraine's cooperation with the European Union. In March 1994, Osyka ran unsuccessfully for a seat in the Supreme Rada.

3.5c

Osyka and his wife, who is a Ukrainian language teacher, have a son. Osyka has visited the United States. We do not know Osyka's English-language capability. [redacted]

3.5c

Occupational Hazard?

In September, attackers stabbed and seriously wounded a man whom they mistook for Osyka, according to Western and local press reports. Dmytro Tabachnyk, President Kuchma's chief of staff, publicly speculated that the attack was carried out by organized crime elements, who were angered by what Tabachnyk described as Osyka's tough initiatives against dumping and other illegal export activities [redacted]

3.5c

LDA M 94-16660
1 November 1994

3.5c

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PER E. O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.28)
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
014. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	10/11/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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015. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 014 (1 page)	10/11/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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OA/Box Number: 483

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016. report	U.S. Government Report [partial] (2 pages)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)

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Yuriy Mykolayovych SHCHERBAK
(Phonetic: shcherBAHK)

UKRAINE

Ambassador-Nominee to the United States

Addressed as: Mr. Ambassador

Yuriy Shcherbak—a physician, writer, and environmental activist—brings limited diplomatic experience to his job in Washington. His only other diplomatic posting was as Ambassador to Israel from October 1992 until his most recent appointment. Shcherbak has told Ukrainian reporters, however, that he amassed “enormous experience” during that brief, yet high-profile, tour. Ukrainian press reports credit him with fostering warm relations between Kiev and Tel Aviv in spite of potentially divisive issues, such as the controversial trial of John Demjanjuk, a Ukrainian-American and alleged Nazi war criminal. 1.4c, 1.4d
press reports also suggest that Shcherbak, who does not appear to have strong political ties to President Leonid Kuchma, may have received his current assignment because of his favorable reputation both inside Ukraine and abroad as an environmental activist. 3.5c

Spokesman for the Environment

Shcherbak's reputation as a prominent writer and spokesman for environmental causes precedes him to the West. His listing in the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*—a Canadian publication—highlights his literary works, including several articles on the Chernobyl' nuclear plant disaster. In 1992 a US magazine ran a lengthy profile of Shcherbak, detailing his growing disillusionment with the Soviet system and his emergence as a prominent environmentalist in the wake of the Chernobyl' incident. According to press reports, he visited the site just a week after the accident and wrote a documentary novel describing the event's impact on the environment and decrying what he cited as an “official coverup.” A physician for more than 30 years, Shcherbak told an interviewer that he was especially attuned to the grave health problems resulting from the accident. 3.5c



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2/27/2017 KBH

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Shcherbak subsequently held political and governmental posts related to environmental issues. From 1989 until late 1991 he chaired the nuclear energy subcommittee under the USSR Supreme Soviet's Ecology Committee. In 1989 he became head of the environmental movement, Green World; he later led its successor, the Green Party, and in September 1991 the party nominated Shcherbak as its presidential candidate. He served as Minister of Environment during 1991-92 under then Prime Minister Vitol'd Fokin and was a member of Ukraine's National Security Council during the same period. 3.5c

In addition to his activism on environmental issues, Shcherbak has played a major role in Ukrainian efforts to assert a national identity, according to 1.4c, 1.4d press reporting

1.4c, 1.4d

In early 1992 Shcherbak openly characterized the relationship between the Commonwealth states as similar to “a friendly agreement among prison escapees who are still fettered together by a chain.” He also has outspokenly promoted the use of the Ukrainian language; Shcherbak has noted with pride that his first novel was published in Ukrainian—not Russian. 3.5c

3.5c

Career and Personal Background

Shcherbak was born on 12 October 1934 in Kiev. His family was repeatedly harassed by Soviet security organizations in the 1930s and 1940s; in 1948 his brother was arrested and imprisoned for alleged ties to nationalist groups, according to Western press reporting. Shcherbak graduated from the Kiev Medical Institute in 1958. He worked in Kiev's Scientific Research Institute of Epidemiology, Microbiology, and Parasitology until the late 1980s, when he turned exclusively to writing and politics.

3.5c

Shcherbak is married; his wife, Mariya, is Polish.

b. 2 d

Shcherbak

has two children and at least one grandchild. In addition to Ukrainian and Russian, Shcherbak speaks English and Polish.

3.5c

17 November 1994

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
017. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 016 [partial] (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
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OA/Box Number: 483

FOLDER TITLE:

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RESTRICTION CODES

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3.5c

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3.5c

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018. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)

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020. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 019 (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)

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021. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)

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- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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022. report	U.S. Government Report; incomplete duplicate of 021 (1 page)	11/17/1994	P1/b(1)

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Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON THE ENERGY SECTOR

During their meetings today, President Clinton and President Kuchma discussed the status and plans for the future development of the Ukrainian energy sector. They noted the critical importance of the energy sector for the economic vitality of Ukraine and for the well-being of all Ukrainians.

President Clinton praised President Kuchma for Ukraine's bold steps in reforming and restructuring its energy sector. He noted that such reform and restructuring were essential to attract domestic and foreign investment. Such investment, in turn, will lead to the stabilization and further development of Ukraine's energy sector.

The Parties discussed the following aspects of further cooperation between the United States and Ukraine in the energy sector:

1. An agreement was signed for the provision of a grant by the United States to facilitate the availability of energy supplies needed by Ukraine for the upcoming winter. Ukraine agreed to hasten reform of the energy sector by corporatizing the electric power sector, reforming prices for electricity, gas, and coal; initiating work on a wholesale electricity market; and establishing a national energy regulatory commission. These steps will allow mobilization of resources from international financial institutions and will help create the conditions necessary to attract foreign investment capital.
2. The parties recognize that Ukraine requires cooperation with its neighbors and the international community to deal with transformation of its energy sector during a period of transition. They acknowledged the importance of Ukraine's efforts to reschedule its energy debts and external financing in supporting this transition.
3. It was noted that stability of Ukraine's energy sector will depend on the efficient utilization of energy resources and on diversity of energy supply options including gas, oil, coal, nuclear energy, hydropower, etc. Only this approach can help Ukraine resolve long-term issues such as improving energy efficiency, the safety and reliability of reactors, and reducing dependence on costly imported fuels.
4. It was agreed to take steps to accelerate and expand cooperation in the energy sector by undertaking cooperative programs in a variety of technical areas, including demand-side and supply-side energy efficiency, coal, oil and gas development, and nuclear safety. This cooperation will focus on development of least cost options for given

energy objectives. The United States is continuing to work with international financial institutions, the G-7, and with other donor nations to mobilize resources for appropriate technical options, such as the World Bank loan for the hydropower rehabilitation project.

5. The Presidents agreed to continue to work together for the full implementation of the G-7 Naples Action Plan for Ukraine's Energy Sector. President Clinton drew attention to the significant resource commitments made at Naples, Corfu and Winnipeg and to the importance of receiving early assurances that the Chornobyl reactors would be shut down. President Kuchma assured President Clinton that Ukraine takes seriously the international community's concerns about the continued operation of the Chornobyl nuclear power plant. He reaffirmed Ukraine's commitment to the G-7 Action Plan, noting that its successful implementation is connected with a series of measures, including preparing the closure of the nuclear reactors, minimizing the social impact on the plant's personnel, and ensuring that sufficient economically-priced electricity is available to meet Ukraine's domestic needs. He also stressed the importance that Ukraine places on improving the stability of the shelter installed over the damaged reactor. Both Presidents agreed on the need for further close work in the G-7/Ukraine Task Force to ensure the future closure of Chornobyl, as envisioned in the G-7 Action Plan, as an integral part of a comprehensive solution to Ukraine's energy problems. The Task Force, including international financial institutions, will meet in Kiev in the coming days to set milestones for completing the implementation of the immediate objectives and to initiate discussions on the remainder of the Action Plan. Ukraine, in coordination with the G-7, will work intensively to implement the objectives enumerated in the Action Plan's section on immediate tasks. Substantial progress has already been made by the G-7 on the immediate tasks. In addition, in response to concerns registered by the Ukrainian side, the United States will work closely with the European Union to address the related issue of social problems.
6. The Parties emphasized the importance of assuring the highest levels of safety in their nuclear programs and the value of enhanced cooperation in achieving that objective. They took positive note of the international Convention on Nuclear Safety which Ukraine and the United States both signed in September 1994; and pledged to seek early ratification of the Convention by their respective legislative bodies. In particular, they noted the Convention's obligation to maintain a strong and independent nuclear regulatory capability. The United States pledged to continue and strengthen its program of cooperation and assistance with the State Committee of Ukraine for Nuclear and Radiation Safety.

7. Ukraine informed the United States of steps currently being taken to adopt other legislation affecting the energy sector, including the ratification of the Framework Convention on Climate Change, the Vienna Convention on Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage as well as legislation on nuclear power regulation, energy efficiency, and oil and gas development. If desired, the U.S. will make available appropriate expertise on these legislative topics.
8. As evidence of its commitment to nuclear safety in Ukraine, the United States will deliver to Ukraine a nuclear power plant simulator for the Khmelnytsky nuclear facility and training center. The United States committed to the simulator as part of the Lisbon Initiative for improving the safety of Soviet-designed nuclear reactors. Brookhaven National Laboratory, the Department of Energy's operating contractor for this project, awarded an \$11 million contract to S-3 Technologies of Columbia, Maryland. This project was funded through the Department of Defense Cooperative Threat Reduction program. The simulator is a full-scope, computerized duplication of a nuclear plant control room, providing operators with an opportunity for additional training under normal and emergency conditions. The parties envision this simulator project as the foundation for a regional training center that will be available to operators at other VVER-1000 plants.

JOINT STATEMENT
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AND
THE PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE
ON
COOPERATION IN PROMOTING THE RULE OF LAW
AND
COMBATTING CRIME

President William Clinton and President Leonid Kuchma, during their meeting in Washington on November 22, reaffirmed the fundamental importance of the rule of law in safeguarding the civil and human rights of citizens in a democratic society. The two Presidents agreed that the establishment and maintenance of sound legal and judicial institutions are essential to fulfilling the promise of democracy and a market economy.

The two Presidents discussed the threat which crime poses to American and Ukrainian societies and to the international community. Of particular concern to the Presidents was the rise in nuclear materials smuggling, organized crime, financial crime, and drug trafficking. They agreed that bilateral and international cooperative efforts would be necessary to combat this growing threat to international peace and prosperity and to reform in the New Independent States. The Presidents noted that bilateral legal and law enforcement agreements could help to address the problem of crime and agreed to explore the possibility of negotiating such agreements between the United States and Ukraine.

President Clinton also announced the intention of the United States to offer an expanded program of assistance to help Ukraine in its transition to a society based upon the rule of law and in its fight against the forces of crime. The two Presidents agreed that the program should include technical assistance and training to support criminal justice reform and law enforcement cooperation.

November 21, 1994

JOINT STATEMENT ON FUTURE AEROSPACE COOPERATION BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES AND UKRAINE

President Clinton and President Kuchma underscored the important role that cooperation in civil and commercial aerospace activities can play in furthering scientific, technical and economic ties between the United States and Ukraine. As a first significant step in this cooperation, the two Presidents signed an agreement on cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes that will expand joint efforts in space communications, space technology, life and microgravity sciences applications, remote sensing and earth sciences, space sciences and telecommunications.

The two Presidents agreed that future joint activities should be explored. Both Presidents recognized that the Ukrainian aerospace industry can make a valuable contribution to Ukraine's economic reform and development as it undertakes the transition to a market economy. They resolved to work together to consider prospects for Ukrainian access to international aerospace markets. Noting that a preliminary dialogue addressing the potential for commercial space opportunities between the United States and Ukraine had already begun, they agreed to hold further talks on commercial launches and the scope of these activities, consistent with current international agreements and obligations of the two countries.

President Clinton and President Kuchma also directed the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Ukrainian National Space Agency to identify potential experiments and payloads which could qualify for flight on the Space Shuttle and also to create an opportunity for a Ukrainian Payload Specialist to fly on the Space Shuttle. Both agencies will jointly report their recommendations for such a mission by March 31, 1995.

JOINT STATEMENT
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AND THE PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE
ON ENCOURAGING ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL EXCHANGES
AND CONTACTS

During their meeting in Washington on November 22, 1994, President William Clinton and President Leonid Kuchma reaffirmed the fundamental importance of academic and professional exchanges and contacts as a means of increasing cooperation and mutual understanding between the United States of America and Ukraine.

The Presidents agreed to continue a wide range of academic and professional U.S.-Ukrainian exchange programs, and to encourage direct contacts between students, scholars and professionals in the two countries, as well as between communities, schools and other academic institutions, and professional associations.

The Presidents acknowledged the long-term benefits of academic and professional exchanges, and urged participants to maintain contacts with their host institutions after returning to their home country. The Presidents expressed the firm belief that these contacts would strengthen even further the friendly relations between the United States of America and Ukraine.

D R A F T

JOINT STATEMENT
BY
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WILLIAM J. CLINTON
AND
PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE LEONID D. KUCHMA

On the occasion of his State visit to the United States on November 21-23, 1994, Leonid D. Kuchma, President of Ukraine, met with William J. Clinton, President of the United States, to open a qualitatively new stage in the growing U.S.-Ukrainian partnership aimed at furthering bilateral and multilateral cooperation on a broad range of issues between the two countries.

The Presidents renewed their shared commitment to broaden the bilateral democratic partnership into which the two countries have entered. President Clinton underscored the importance the United States attaches to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. In this context, President Clinton assured President Kuchma that the United States will continue to give high priority to supporting Ukraine in its efforts to achieve genuine economic independence, its transition to a market economy and its integration into the global economic system.

Bilateral Relations

In keeping with their commitment to strengthen bilateral relations, President Clinton and President Kuchma signed the Charter of American-Ukrainian Partnership, Friendship and Cooperation. The Presidents praised the Charter as the framework for developing closer relations over the coming years. President Clinton noted in particular Ukraine's valuable contribution to this new framework by its historic decision to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which is an important step forward on the road toward strengthening the international nuclear weapons nonproliferation regime and global security and stability.

The Presidents inaugurated this new framework of bilateral relations by signing an Agreement on Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes and agreed to work closely to explore additional bilateral cooperative space-related opportunities in the future. They noted that this process had begun with a U.S.-Ukraine discussion of Ukraine's interest in the commercial launch market.

Both Presidents expressed their determination to broaden bilateral cooperation in a range of new areas. During the visit, the two governments brought into force a bilateral customs cooperation agreement and announced their intention to conclude negotiations on a bilateral civil aviation agreement. The Presidents recognized the threat that organized crime and corruption pose for reform and expanded business activity in Ukraine, and they agreed to cooperate in combatting crime and promoting the rule of law as an essential safeguard of social stability and civil and human rights. The Presidents will encourage exchanges among Ukrainians and Americans in the fields of science, technology and education. The Presidents, noting the valuable role of culture in bringing nations closer together, voiced support for wide-ranging cultural contacts between the United States and Ukraine. Both Presidents also recognized the importance of health care for the well-being of their people, and President Clinton announced that the United States would provide Ukraine hospital equipment, medical supplies, and assistance with health programs.

The Presidents intend to maintain frequent high-level bilateral contacts to assure timely and effective implementation of activities. President Kuchma invited President Clinton to make an official return visit to Ukraine at the earliest convenient opportunity. President Clinton accepted this invitation with pleasure.

Economic Cooperation

The Presidents agreed that market-oriented economic reform provides the surest path to Ukraine's economic revival and its integration into the world economy. President Clinton reaffirmed full U.S. support for the reform policies recently adopted by President Kuchma's government and its conclusion of an IMF Systemic Transformation Facility program. President Kuchma outlined plans for accelerating the process of economic reform. These plans include intensifying structural reform efforts to encourage competition through enhanced macroeconomic stabilization and increased privatization. President Clinton commended President Kuchma for his leadership on economic reform and encouraged him to work toward early completion of negotiations with the IMF on a stand-by program. He stressed the importance of Ukraine's reform measures and the United States' readiness to support Ukraine in their implementation.

Reaffirming the U.S. commitment to support the new Ukrainian administration's economic reform efforts, President Clinton announced that the United States would provide \$200 million in new assistance to Ukraine in Fiscal Year 1995. Of this amount, \$100 million will finance technical and economic assistance activities. Furthermore, the United States will provide \$100 million in balance-of-payments support, consisting of \$72 million in an energy sector grant and \$3 million in pharmaceuticals and other commodities in 1994, and \$25 million in USDA concessional food credits in early 1995. This support is in recognition of Ukraine's major initiative to launch a comprehensive economic reform program, and is in addition to earlier commitments of economic and humanitarian assistance. The Presidents reviewed the progress made in the implementation of humanitarian and technical assistance programs for Ukraine and agreed to work together to accelerate the delivery and ensure the effectiveness of these programs. President Kuchma expressed appreciation for this assistance, particularly the prompt positive response to the Ukrainian request for balance-of-payments support.

The Presidents recognized the important contribution the private sector can make to Ukraine's economic prosperity through expanded trade and investment. President Clinton welcomed Ukraine's ratification of the bilateral investment treaty and noted that the Western NIS Enterprise Fund has now opened its offices in Kiev. President Kuchma expressed the hope that the U.S. Senate would ratify the treaty at an early date. The leaders emphasized the importance of privatization if expanded cooperation between American enterprises and an emerging private sector in Ukraine is to begin in earnest.

On November 21 President Kuchma and members of his government participated in an OPIC-sponsored business conference which reviewed investment opportunities in Ukraine. Both Presidents agreed that there was enormous potential for private sector cooperation in developing key sectors of the Ukrainian economy. They specified, in particular, agriculture and food processing; pharmaceuticals and medical equipment; energy, including fossil and environmentally sound and safe nuclear power; aerospace, consistent with international obligations; civil aviation; telecommunications; environment and defense conversion.

The two leaders noted that the first session of the Joint U.S.-Ukrainian Commission on Trade and Investment is meeting during the State visit to discuss ways of promoting business cooperation and removing barriers to expanded trade and increased investment in Ukraine. The Commission is discussing the tax, legal and regulatory changes that Ukraine will need to adopt to support private business activity. President Clinton recognized the special circumstances facing economies in transition, such as Ukraine's, which seek to expand export markets, and offered to consult with the U.S. Congress on appropriate ways of reflecting this in U.S. trade legislation. The Presidents agreed to cooperate to expand Ukraine's foreign trade, which is of particular importance to Ukrainian economic reforms.

The Presidents also agreed to work toward expanding economic cooperation within a multilateral framework and to promote Ukraine's integration into the global economy. President Clinton reaffirmed the United States' support for Ukraine's accession to the GATT/WTO, and noted that the United States is providing assistance to the Ukrainian government to support this process. The United States is also chairing the working group in Geneva overseeing Ukraine's accession.

The Presidents noted that the resolution of Ukraine's energy problems would have an important and positive impact on Ukraine's economic recovery. President Kuchma welcomed the United States' decision to provide part of its special balance of payments assistance in the form of an energy sector grant. Both leaders reviewed the progress that has been made in implementing cooperative programs aimed at the restructuring and reforming of Ukraine's energy sector and improving nuclear reactor safety. President Kuchma informed President Clinton of the recent agreement Ukraine reached with IAEA on the application of IAEA safeguards to all nuclear materials, except those for nuclear propulsion, utilized in Ukraine.

The Presidents agreed to continue to work together for the full implementation of the G-7 Naples Action Plan. President Clinton drew attention to significant resource commitments made at Naples, Corfu, and Winnipeg and to the importance of receiving assurances that the Chornobyl reactors would be shut down. President Kuchma reaffirmed Ukraine's agreement to the Plan, [including closure dates for the Chornobyl plant, and, as a sign of confidence in the Plan, agreed to instruct the Ukrainian government not to return Chornobyl's Unit Two to service] [taking into account the need to improve the safety of the Chornobyl units, the importance of the plant's staff as the main guarantee of safety and stability, and the need to strengthen the Ukrainian energy system which is now in crisis]. Both Presidents agreed on the need for further close work in the G-7 Task Force to ensure the future closure of Chornobyl, as envisioned in the G-7 Action Plan.

Defense and Security

The Presidents expressed satisfaction with the accomplishments and pace of implementation of the January 14 Trilateral Statement signed by the Presidents of the United States, Ukraine, and the Russian Federation. In addition, they renewed their commitment to international efforts to reduce sharply the threat and proliferation of nuclear weapons.

President Clinton congratulated Ukraine on its decision to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the historic renunciation of nuclear weapons which it represents and reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to provide security assurances to Ukraine in connection with its accession to the NPT by signing a Memorandum on Security Assurances on the margins of the Budapest CSCE Summit.

The Presidents look forward to early entry into force of the START-I treaty and agreed that the Lisbon Protocol Signatories should exchange instruments of ratification on the margins of the Budapest CSCE Summit. Both Presidents reiterated their views that the START-I treaty would not only serve the mutual interests of both countries, but also would serve to strengthen global peace and stability.

Both Presidents agreed to work closely to ensure the timely implementation of Nunn-Lugar programs intended to facilitate the dismantlement of strategic offensive arms and the security of nuclear weapons, achieve our joint non-proliferation objectives, and help in the conversion of Ukraine's defense industries. The Presidents agreed on the importance of identifying as soon as possible programs of assistance under the Nunn-Lugar program, using the \$75 million allocated to Ukraine out of Fiscal Year 1995 Nunn-Lugar funds. Both acknowledged the progress that had been made to date, noting in particular the utility of U.S. deactivation assistance, procurement of missile fuel storage tanks, and the imminent completion of a U.S.-Ukraine communications link. The Presidents also recognized the significant contribution of the fourteen Western countries and the European Union in providing \$234 million of dismantlement and related assistance for Ukraine.

The Presidents discussed the evolving European security structure. They agreed that this process should be managed in a manner that strengthens the stability and security of all nations of Europe. As a tangible example of Ukraine's overall importance in European security and the U.S. commitment to expanded Ukrainian cooperation with NATO, President Clinton announced that the United States would make funds available to Ukraine under the Warsaw Initiative to support Ukrainian participation in the Partnership for Peace. The funds will contribute to Ukraine's ability to promote the objectives of the Partnership.

The two leaders announced that the two countries had agreed to move forward with a \$600,000 International Military Training and Education Program to assist in the professional development of Ukraine's armed forces. The Presidents also pledged to continue to expand military and defense contact programs designed to assist Ukraine in the restructuring of its defense establishment which is now under civilian leadership for the first time. In addition, the sides announced that Ukraine will host a U.S.-Ukraine combined peacekeeping training exercise late next spring. In the area of defense industry conversion, President Clinton informed President Kuchma that the United States would continue to provide assistance to U.S.-Ukraine joint ventures and would seek new partners for the important work of defense conversion.

The Presidents noted the importance of proceeding with defense industry conversion priorities and the need to expand opportunities for trade and investment in high technology industries. They also underscored the importance of the bilateral U.S.-Ukraine Memorandum of Understanding on the Transfer of Missile Equipment and Technology signed last May 13. The Presidents also recognized the importance of broader international cooperation in ensuring reliable control over exports of sensitive materials and technology. President Clinton expressed the hope that Ukraine would become a member of the MTCR at an early date and reiterated that the U.S. would support Ukraine in achieving this goal. They agreed to work together toward Ukraine's full participation in a successor regime to COCOM. President Clinton was pleased to note that a Science and Technology Center, funded by the United States and other donors, will soon begin operations in Ukraine and that this would assist Ukraine in redirecting the work of former defense scientists and engineers to civilian purposes.

Diplomatic Endeavors

Consistent with the new stage of bilateral relations, the Presidents also underscored the importance of ensuring that the diplomatic missions of both countries be fully capable of conducting their operations without hindrance. With this in mind, the Presidents announced the exchange of diplomatic notes to lift employment restrictions on diplomatic personnel and their families. President Clinton also used this occasion to welcome Ukraine's newly appointed Ambassador to the United States, Yuriy Shcherbak, to Washington, D.C.

Question 1: Recently we have observed intense efforts to activate U.S. efforts to deepen cooperation with Ukraine, a turn to closer relations. What is the reason for these changes? To what extent are they connected with certain contradictions between U.S. and Russian foreign policies, in particular regarding the solution of Iraqi and Bosnian problems?

Answer:

The United States has worked hard over the last eighteen months to develop a broad and robust bilateral relationship with Kiev, one that firmly supports Ukraine's independence, sovereignty and existing borders. This is in the interests of the U.S., Ukraine, and the region. A democratic, market-oriented Ukraine will contribute significantly to regional and international security, and provide the Ukrainian people with the greatest opportunities for economic prosperity.

I can assure you that America's relationship with Ukraine is not a "result" of America's relations with any other country. On the contrary, our improved relations flow naturally from developments within Ukraine, such as President Kuchma's ambitious economic reform program. These reforms can help stabilize the Ukrainian economy and create conditions that will better attract American trade and investment. We also welcome the Rada's recent vote to accede to the nonproliferation treaty. The Rada's positive action allows our two nations to close the nuclear issue and focus on the political and economic issues that will carry our relationship into the next century.

The strengthening of our relationship is good for both the United States and Ukraine. I look forward to working with President Kuchma to see that we continue to make real progress.

Drafted: EUR/ISCA: MSnowden
SESOVUK 3031

Cleared: S/NIS: SPifer
EUR/ISCA: JHerbst
EUR/ISCA/WST: JPurnell
P: WLucas

Question 2: Ukraine has launched a program of radical economic changes. The United States has more than once declared its commitment to support the Ukrainian reforms. What concrete practical steps does the U.S. administration intend to make in this direction?

Answer:

Ukraine is one of the largest recipients of U.S. assistance in the world, reflecting the high priority the U.S. places on supporting Ukrainian reforms. During President Kuchma's visit, we will be concluding new agreements to support imports of energy and food, and offering increases in technical assistance to support economic restructuring, private sector development, energy sector reform, and developing the new legal foundation for a market economy. We have also worked closely with the international financial institutions to ensure that reforms are backed up with adequate external financing. Earlier this month, the IMF provided \$370 million to Ukraine to support President Kuchma's reforms. On the social front, we are suggesting ways to reform the judicial system and are providing hospital equipment and medical supplies.

Question 3: As can be expected, Ukraine has its own vision concerning both its accession to NPT, and the development of the nuclear energy sector. The U.S. positions on the issues are known too. What is a possible compromise regarding this problem from your point of view? To what extent will U.S. assistance for Ukrainian reforms be connected with the progress towards the solution of nuclear problems?

Answer:

First of all, I want to be clear that the United States does not link assistance for economic reform to progress on the nuclear issue. Second, I would like to congratulate the Supreme Rada for its vote to accede to the nonproliferation treaty. That statesmanlike decision represents a ringing victory for global nuclear nonproliferation and joins Ukraine with nearly 170 other countries who have already acceded to the NPT. I look forward to the Budapest CSCE Summit, where Ukraine will present its instrument of NPT accession and the United States, Russia, Britain and Ukraine will sign a memorandum of security assurances for Ukraine.

Not directly related to the issue of NPT, but important to Ukraine, is our cooperation in the nuclear energy sector. The Group of Seven (G-7) nations, including the United States, endorsed at our Naples Summit last July a plan to address Ukraine's needs in the energy sector as a whole. This includes both nuclear and non-nuclear power. As a result, the United States and other members of the international community have announced almost a billion dollars in grants and loans to help meet these needs. We are also working together, along with Canada and Sweden, to bring the Science and Technology Center in Ukraine into operation early in 1995. This Center, which will provide peaceful employment to scientists and engineers who were engaged in weapons work, is an important nonproliferation program. We appreciate the support the Center is receiving from the government of Ukraine. We want to continue to work with you in addressing this issue, which we know directly affects all Ukrainians.

Drafted: EUR/ISCA: MSnowden
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Cleared: S/NIS: SPifer
T: JTimbie
PM/RNP: AHarrington
EUR/ISCA: JHerbst
EUR/ISCA/WST: JPurnell

Question 4: Many Ukrainian politicians are stating that Nunn-Lugar funds are too small for solving problems, including social ones, that are connected with Ukraine's accession to non-nuclear status. Is the U.S. planning to increase its assistance for these purposes?

Answer:

Ukraine has taken a historic decision to denuclearize. That process is expensive, and the United States is assisting Ukraine with some \$350 million already committed.

According to U.S. law, Nunn-Lugar funds are for dismantling nuclear weapons, conversion of defense enterprises, and similar projects. We have other programs to assist Ukraine with the social and economic problems it is facing and to support needed economic reforms. In March 1994 we agreed to provide an additional \$350 million for economic and humanitarian assistance. During President Kuchma's visit we will announce additional grants and loans to help support imports of energy and food, and additional economic assistance.

Question 5: To what extent could the latest political events in the United States influence the amount of the U.S. assistance to Ukraine and the whole range of American-Ukrainian relations? Foremost we have in mind that Republicans have won majorities of both houses of Congress, and high ranking Republicans have talked often about reducing international aid.

Answer:

There has always been strong bipartisan support for our policy toward the new independent states, and particularly our efforts to bolster the processes of democratic and economic reform. Members of Congress from both parties have actively supported our assistance efforts in Ukraine, and I hope and expect that support will continue.

We must recognize, however, that these are tight budget times. It will be vitally important, therefore, that we make the most effective and efficient use of the assistance currently being provided, and that Ukraine continue to make progress in the areas of economic reform that will attract ever-greater private investment.

Drafted: EUR/ISCA: MSnowden
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EUR/ISCA: JHerbst
EUR/ISCA/WST: JPurnell

Question 6: The groundwork has been created today for Eastern European countries, now members of Partnership for Peace, to join NATO. What is the perspective for Ukraine in this matter? And in general, what is your vision of the world security in the near future?

Answer:

Actually, the groundwork -- as you term it -- for NATO expansion is still being laid. NATO, at its upcoming meeting of foreign ministers in Brussels, will likely begin the process of defining the "why" and "how" of NATO expansion, but without addressing the questions of "when will expansion begin" or "who will be included." At the same time, I expect NATO to call for the continued development of the Partnership for Peace. Then, when NATO has decided on the process for NATO expansion, it will brief all Partnership for Peace participants, including Ukraine, on the details. I cannot emphasize enough that this is the beginning of a process and that no state is, a priori, excluded from consideration for membership. We also see NATO as a key institution contributing to the stability and security of all of Europe.

As for my general vision of security, our goal is a stable, undivided and increasingly integrated Europe. To this end, we see the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) playing a growing role, which will be further defined at the upcoming Budapest Summit where I will see President Kuchma once again. As European institutions evolve, our aim is to ensure that the process proceeds in a manner that enhances the stability and security of all CSCE states. In this regard, Ukraine is very much at the top of our minds.

Drafted: EUR/ISCA/RUS:KAEdDins

Cleared: S/NIS: SPifer
EUR/ISCA: JHerbst
EUR/ISCA/WST:JPurnell
EUR/RPM:CWDell

JOINT STATEMENT ON EXPANSION OF TRADE AND INVESTMENT

The United States and Ukraine believe that strong and vigorous commercial ties can make a significant contribution to strengthening their relations, developing free markets, and promoting economic growth in both countries. Both countries have agreed to make the expansion of trade and investment a priority in their economic cooperation efforts, and are committed to use their best efforts to implement measures supporting trade expansion and to remove obstacles to trade development.

Both countries recognize the importance of the success of economic reform in Ukraine, including the adoption of a free-market system and the establishment of a dynamic private sector, to provide a sound basis for the rapid expansion of trade and investment. The United States welcomes Ukraine's agreement with the International Monetary Fund for a Systemic Transformation Facility as a strong first step towards comprehensive economic reform and stabilization. It commends the Government of Ukraine for its strong initial steps to implement a program of economic reform, including measures to liberalize foreign trade.

Both countries agree that Ukraine's integration into the global economy can play an important role in promoting and consolidating the economic reform process in Ukraine. The United States welcomes Ukraine's efforts to accede to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade/World Trade Organization. In this context, the United States is pleased to extend assistance to help the Government of Ukraine to reform its economy and foreign trade system consistent with international standards, by sending a special trade advisor to Ukraine last month, and stands ready to consult with Ukraine on the accession process.

The United States and Ukraine intend to build upon the strong foundation that has already been established to support the development of bilateral commerce. They note the importance of the Agreement on Trade Relations in force between the two countries in establishing the framework for normal commercial relations, and intend to carry out fully the provisions of this agreement.

They agree that the extension to Ukraine of beneficiary status under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) has contributed positively to the growth of Ukraine's exports to the United States. The United States hopes to extend the GSP program in the coming weeks.

The United States welcomes the ratification of the Bilateral Investment Treaty by Ukraine, and looks forward to U.S. Senate approval in the near future. Both sides also look forward to the expeditious ratification of the Bilateral Tax Treaty.

The United States and Ukraine agree that the level of trade and investment existing between the two countries is far below

its potential. They will place a high priority on joint efforts to develop their trade and investment relationship to its full potential.

In their efforts to expand trade, both sides will be guided by the principles of the GATT/WTO. Each country desires to provide liberal access to its market for the other's goods and services. They are committed to facilitate access consistent with fair trade practices and their respective trade laws. Recognizing that Ukraine is an economy in transition to a free market, the United States, as part of its overall effort to support Ukraine's reform process, will give priority attention to the special circumstances Ukraine faces as it continues its economic transition, and will be consulting with the U.S. Congress in the coming year on appropriate ways of reflecting this in U.S. trade legislation.

Both countries recognize that, while governments can encourage and facilitate business contacts and support entry of their firms into each others' markets, actual business decisions are made by the firms themselves. Recognizing the need to create a hospitable environment to attract and support trade and investment, Ukraine affirms its commitment to build a modern economic, legal, and regulatory infrastructure and take the necessary steps reduce trade and investment barriers.

The United States and Ukraine look forward to cooperation under the working group on intellectual property matters, established by the Agreement on Trade Relations.

They have designated the U.S.-Ukraine Joint Commission on Trade and Investment as an important forum for coordinating the efforts of the two governments to improve the conditions for trade and investment expansion and to promote and facilitate the building of commercial ties by their respective business communities. They note with satisfaction that the Commission is holding its inaugural meeting during the State visit of President Kuchma to the United States, and is developing a program of work aimed at supporting the expansion of trade and investment between the two countries. They have agreed that the Commission will seek to identify barriers to trade and investment, to identify means to improve the business climate in Ukraine, and to take practical measures to promote trade and investment.

Both countries recognize that the expansion of trade and investment is key to facilitating the reorientation of the facilities and capabilities of Ukraine's military-industrial complex to commercial purposes. In support of this effort, and working with the Departments of Defense, State, Energy, and other U.S. government agencies through the U.S.-Ukraine Committee for the Conversion of the Defense Industry, the U.S. Department of Commerce's Bureau of Export Administration (BXA) is taking steps to alert U.S. industry to the many opportunities available in converting Ukrainian defense enterprises. Through publication of

directories of Ukrainian defense enterprises, industry roundtables, and industry counselling, BXA is publicizing Ukrainian capabilities and sources of financing, such as the Department of Defense's Nunn-Lugar program, the Defense Enterprise Fund, OPIC's set-aside for defense conversion, and the Department of Energy's Industrial Partnering Program. In this regard, they recognize the need to create the conditions that will help attract private investment to converting defense enterprises and that will allow such enterprises to function in a market environment.

The United States and Ukraine, building on the strong foundation already established, support the development in Ukraine of an effective system of export controls. Recognizing the constructive linkage among export controls, U.S. private investment, and commercial development, the United States will continue to cooperate in assisting Ukraine to build such a system based in national law and consistent with international norms and practices. Both countries agree that implementation of an effective export control system is an important element in the expansion of trade and investment between them.

To facilitate trade and reduce the costs of doing business, the two countries have agreed to work together in the area of standards and conformity assessment. Working under the auspices of the U.S.-Ukraine Joint Commission on Trade and Investment, they will form a Standards Working Group to work toward standards compatibility and mutual acceptance of standards conformance measures.

In keeping with the goals of the Joint Commission, the U.S. Department of Commerce Business Information Service for the Newly Independent States (BISNIS) will continue its efforts to promote trade and investment with Ukraine, and to provide available information on investment opportunities in Ukraine to interested American firms. Through the BISNIS Search for Partners program, and other publications, BISNIS will assist Ukrainian and American companies to explore commercial opportunities.

The Department of Commerce's Special American Business Internship Training (SABIT) program has provided hands-on business training in U.S. firms to over 50 managers and scientists from Ukraine. The SABIT program looks forward to substantial participation by Ukrainian experts in two new programs to assist Ukraine in its transition to a market economy. In conjunction with the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) and the American National Standards Institute (ANSI), SABIT is implementing a new training program for Ukrainian and other standards experts from the Newly Independent States (NIS). In cooperation with the Bureau for Export Administration (BXA) and the U.S. component of the U.S.-Ukrainian Committee on Conversion of Defense Industry, the SABIT program plans to develop a new defense conversion internship training program in 1995 for Ukrainian and other NIS defense enterprise

managers, accountants, engineers, and marketing officers and selected city and oblast officials.

To facilitate and expand business between the United States and Ukraine, an American Business Center (ABC) will open in Kiev in 1995. The ABC, which will be co-located with the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service, will offer American companies a broad range of business development and facilitation services. American and Ukrainian firms will cultivate close business contacts via outreach activities of the ABC. The ABC will enhance the ability of Ukrainian firms to become viable trade and investment partners with U.S. firms through business related training, technical assistance, and use of commercial libraries. The ABC will be vital in building U.S.-Ukrainian business ties and will ultimately facilitate efforts made by the United States Government and the American business community to supply capital and technology to Ukraine as it continues its long-term reforms.

With a view to the long term development of bilateral trade and investment relations, the United States and Ukraine have agreed to consider the possibility of additional measures to expand the framework of cooperation in promoting business ties. In this context, the United States will examine Ukraine's proposal for a Joint Center for Trade and Investment Promotion.

The United States and Ukraine note the importance of commercial cooperation in the field of health care to the development of trade and investment between them and note the important contribution cooperation in this field offers for Ukraine's economic development and recovery. Recognizing the positive impact of bilateral trade development efforts conducted to date, the United States and Ukraine agree to accord a high priority to promotion of trade and investment to activities to be undertaken under the auspices of the JCTI.

Recognizing the important role that tourism can play in expanding personal, professional, and commercial ties between the two countries foreseen by the bilateral Trade Agreement, the United States and Ukraine agree to consider tourism development within the framework of the JCTI.

To support the business development efforts of American and Ukrainian enterprises, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) remains committed to increasing economic cooperation between U.S. and Ukrainian firms, particularly in crucial sectors such as agriculture/food processing, energy, defense conversion, transportation, telecommunications, and manufacturing. OPIC is pleased to note that its accomplishments in Ukraine to date include the commitment of \$25.1 million in political risk insurance coverage to companies such as Alliant Techsystems, Generation Ukraine, and Universal Research Technologies. In recognition of the importance that both nations place on trade and investment, President Kuchma addressed a group of U.S. business leaders at OPIC on November 21. In

addition, OPIC announced agreements to provide several million dollars of finance and insurance support for U.S. investments in Ukraine.

The U.S. Trade and Development Agency (TDA) has supported U.S. business development efforts by funding feasibility studies for a number of projects, including the Ukrainian Power Plant repowering, the Ukraine Aviation project, and the Zaporozhye Aluminum Smelter project. To facilitate more active TDA involvement in Ukraine, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of Ukraine has agreed to assist TDA in identifying priority Ukrainian projects.

The Export-Import Bank of the United States (Eximbank) has proposed to Ukraine a Project Incentive Agreement designed to promote and facilitate Eximbank financial support for projects in Ukraine that earn hard currency revenues. This agreement sets forth the general types of projects eligible for such financing and the conditions necessary for Eximbank to participate in them. Conclusion of this Agreement will be an important first step towards establishing a working relationship that can benefit both Ukrainian development and American exporters.

Successful implementation of an economic reform program and privatization by Ukraine will enable Eximbank to offer increased financial support for the public and private sectors.

The Government of the United States and the Government of Ukraine will cooperate to achieve the goals of the Joint Statement, which will contribute toward the success of Ukraine's reform process and the prosperity of both nations.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF UKRAINE

A CHARTER FOR AMERICAN-UKRAINIAN
PARTNERSHIP, FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION

The United States of America and Ukraine,

Working together to develop the provisions of the Joint Declaration on American-Ukrainian Relations and Building Democratic Partnership signed May 6, 1992, by the President of the United States and the President of Ukraine;

Desiring to create a solid foundation upon which to build a lasting relationship of mutual trust and respect;

Recognizing that the existence of a free, independent and sovereign Ukraine, its security and prosperity, are matters of high importance to the United States of America;

Proceeding from the deep commitment of the United States of America and Ukraine to the principles of democracy and free market economy;

Striving to make a real contribution to building a just and peaceful world order;

Recognizing the importance of broad-based, friendly bilateral relations as a basis for enhanced international security;

Bearing in mind their shared responsibility for promoting peace, mutual understanding and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world;

Acknowledging the historic step Ukraine has taken in ratifying the START I treaty and acceding to the NPT as a non-nuclear weapons state;

Recognizing the special ties forged between their two countries by the important role Americans of Ukrainian heritage have played in the development of the United States of America;

Reaffirming their commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and subsequent CSCE documents;

Have established this charter for building their relationship on the following grounds:

The United States of America and Ukraine welcome the historic opportunity afforded by the re-emergence of the Ukrainian state to replace a legacy of totalitarianism and intolerance with national independence and democratic

development. The United States of America strongly supports the efforts of Ukraine to create a society based on the rule of law and full respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all people.

1. Proceeding from their shared commitment to democratic values, the United States of America and Ukraine have expressed their determination to build a broad and durable partnership.
2. The United States of America and Ukraine agree that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Ukrainian state are fundamental to their partnership.
3. The United States of America and Ukraine seek to develop closer bilateral relations across a broad spectrum. To this end, they intend to accelerate contacts in all appropriate areas, especially in the political, security, economic, cultural and environmental fields. The two nations intend to encourage and facilitate direct contact between citizens and private organizations, based on the conviction that a true partnership cannot exist unless a sense of shared purpose extends beyond the confines of governmental cooperation.
4. The United States of America and Ukraine understand that Ukraine's strategic location in the center of Europe enables it to make a special contribution to the peace, security and stability of the region. Convinced that Ukraine cannot be secure until Europe as a whole is secure, the United States of America supports Ukrainian efforts to resolve differences with its neighbors in a peaceful and cooperative spirit, refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other state. Both the United States of America and Ukraine seek the broadest possible participation in European institutions such as the CSCE and its Forum for Security Cooperation (FSC).

The United States of America welcomes Ukraine's decision to participate in the "Partnership for Peace" with NATO and looks forward to practical cooperation between the American and Ukrainian military and defense establishments in that context. Within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program, the United States of America intends to work with Ukraine to develop cooperative Ukrainian military relations with the forces of NATO for the purpose of joint planning, training and exercises, and readiness to undertake appropriate missions.

In this context, and building on the existing Memorandum of Understanding between the United States

Department of Defense and the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense, the United States of America supports Ukraine's efforts to provide for its legitimate defense needs, including its efforts to develop sufficient conventional armed forces, consistent with the provisions of the CFE treaty. Recognizing that strong, well-trained armed forces under civilian control and oversight, dedicated to the protection of democratic principles, are vital to a democratic nation's security, the two nations intend to develop mutually profitable military cooperation and hold regular consultations on issues of international security. If in the future, an external threat to the territorial integrity, political independence or security of Ukraine should arise, the United States of America and Ukraine intend to consult and to undertake steps as appropriate to achieve a peaceful resolution consistent with international law and the principles of the CSCE.

5. Recognizing that Ukraine's foreign policy interests will require close contact with its neighboring states, the United States of America encourages efforts aimed at developing mutually productive regional relations and security policies consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act.

6. The United States of America recognizes the positive international role Ukraine has already begun to play through its participation in UN peacekeeping and CSCE preventive diplomacy missions and sanctions-enforcement efforts and looks forward to cooperative activities aimed at enhancing performance. The two nations affirm their determination to work cooperatively in all regional and international fora in pursuit of democratic and humanitarian goals.

7. The United States of America and Ukraine recognize that the spread of weapons of mass destruction represents a threat to humanity, and that all governments must work urgently to prevent the further spread of such weapons and associated technologies. To further that objective, the two nations are prepared to exchange information and expertise in the field of export control. The United States of America applauds Ukraine's far-sighted action in ratifying START I and acceding to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear weapons state. The United States of America reaffirms its determination to provide relevant financial and technical assistance to Ukraine in the safe and secure dismantlement and elimination of strategic nuclear arms which are located on the territory of Ukraine, and on the establishment of IAEA safeguards for the nuclear industry of Ukraine. The United States of America and Ukraine affirm their

determination to cooperate to assist victims of the Chornobyl disaster and help restore the affected areas and to enhance the safety of nuclear reactors in Ukraine to ensure that such a disaster is never repeated.

8. The United States of America and Ukraine note that experience has shown market mechanisms to provide the best means of enabling a nation's economy to meet the needs of its people. Both nations understand that the economic distortions arising from Ukraine's past experience of a command economy will make the transition to a market economy difficult and at times painful. Ukraine commits itself to implementing market reforms in the shortest possible time, and the United States of America affirms its readiness to provide financial and political support for steps taken by Ukraine in this direction, both bilaterally and in international financial institutions. The United States of America is also prepared to work together with Ukraine to develop further a program of technical assistance targeted on expediting reform. Both nations understand that the success of this economic transition requires private sector investment in Ukraine's economy, and Ukraine sets as one of its highest priorities the development of a legal and financial climate attractive to international investment. Under such conditions the United States of America encourages U.S. private sector business to enter the Ukrainian market.

9. The United States of America and Ukraine encourage mutually advantageous economic cooperation, including trade cooperation, which will be based on the principles of equality, non-discrimination, and mutual profitability. The two nations intend to work together in an effort to create the conditions necessary for such cooperation, taking into account such issues as protection of investments, new technologies, and copyright and patent rights. The two nations are prepared to ensure that relevant international standards for management are applied in the sphere of capital circulation and transportation of commodities and services and to conclude appropriate agreements in the sphere of economic cooperation.

10. The United States of America and Ukraine are working together to encourage mutual dissemination of information concerning each other's national heritage in the spheres of culture, science and education; promote new achievements in these areas; expand cultural and information exchange; foster cooperation among cultural institutions and organizations; and support further development of friendly relations between young generations of the two countries.

Done at....., in duplicate, this th day
of, 1994, in the English and Ukrainian
languages, each text being equally authentic.

For The United States of America

For Ukraine

A CHARTER FOR AMERICAN-UKRAINIAN
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- 5 -

Done at....., in duplicate, this th day of
....., 1994, in the English and Ukrainian languages, each text being
equally authentic.

For The United States of America

For Ukraine

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9409296
RECEIVED: 19 NOV 94 10

TO: ITOH

FROM: BRILL, K

DOC DATE: 18 NOV 94
SOURCE REF: 9426316

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE

AP

PERSONS: *Kuchma*
~~KUCAN, MILAN~~

SUBJECT: BIOGRAPHIC & BACKGROUND MATERIALS FOR PRES MTG W PRES KUCHMA 22 NOV

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 23 NOV 94 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
BURNS

FOR CONCURRENCE
GOTTEMOELLER
SODERBERG

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KRM/NARA, Date 10/2/2018
2016-0123-M

See
Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

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~~001. memcon~~	Memorandum of Conversation at the Expanded Plenary Meeting, May 11, 1995. Record ID: 9503803. ~~(6 pages)~~	05/18/1995	P1/b(1) KBN 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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[Kuchma]
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2014-0874-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (138)
10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Expanded Plenary Meeting with President
Kuchma and Ukrainian Delegation

PARTICIPANTS: U.S.

The President
Ambassador Miller
Secretary of State Christopher
Treasury Secretary Rubin
National Security Advisor Lake
Deputy Chief of Staff Bowles
Deputy Secretary of State Talbott
Treasury Under Secretary Summers
ACDA Director Holum
Commerce Counselor Kalicki
OPIC President Harkin
NIS Assistance Coordinator Morningstar
State Chief of Staff Donilon
S/NIS Senior Coordinator Collins
OSD Assistant Secretary Carter
JCS General Christman
NSC Senior Director Blacker
Treasury Deputy Under Secretary Lipton
NSC Director Pifer (Notetaker)

Ukraine

President Kuchma
Acting Prime Minister Marchuk
Acting First Deputy Prime Minister Pynzenyk
Acting Deputy Prime Minister Mityukov
Acting Deputy Prime Minister/Acting Minister
of External Economic Relations Osyka
Acting Deputy Prime Minister/Acting Defense
Minister Shmarov
National Security Council Secretary Horbulyn
Acting Foreign Minister Udovenko
Presidential Chief of Staff Tabachnyk
Acting Minister of Economics Shpek
First Deputy Foreign Minister Tarasyuk

DATE, TIME May 11, 1995, 5:15-6:00 p.m.
AND PLACE: Mariyinskyy Palace, Kiev

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Declassify on: OADR

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President Kuchma: I want to welcome the President and his distinguished delegation to Kiev. We have been awaiting your arrival. My just-concluded conversation with President Clinton confirms to me that the U.S.-Ukrainian relationship has a bright future ahead. I suggest we listen to the information developed by members of our delegations while we (the Presidents) met. (C)

President Clinton: I agree. (U)

Acting Foreign Minister Udovenko: We had fruitful discussions (with Secretary Christopher and delegation) during which we emphasized the importance of President Clinton's visit to Kiev. We discussed the state of relations between the United States and Ukraine. The Ukrainian side expressed gratitude for the political, moral and financial support extended by the United States. We dealt with various issues and emphasized the necessity of exchanging ideas regarding international problems. There may be a number of joint initiatives. (C)

We informed the American side of the current state of Ukrainian-Russian relations, including some positive developments. We also informed our counterparts of the negotiation on a treaty of friendship and cooperation and of the negotiations on the Black Sea Fleet, which have not been successful. I have the impression that the United States is interested in the further development of Ukrainian-Russian relations. (C)

We also discussed in detail issues related to European security, including the expansion of NATO. We informed our American interlocutors of our contacts with NATO and of our contacts regarding an invitation for the Ukrainian President to attend the Halifax G-7 summit. Not all of our proposals were accepted right away, but we have defined the scope of the issues and developed a mechanism for discussing them. (C)

Secretary Christopher: We worked through a number of issues, and I would make two or three points. We talked about border areas between Ukraine and its neighbors. I emphasized the point that border demarcation between Ukraine and Russia might be useful. Second, we talked about the importance of respect for minorities and about Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev's remarks (about use of force to protect Russians outside of Russia). Any action by Russia regarding Russians living abroad must be consistent with OSCE principles. (C)

We discussed the importance of Nunn-Lugar funds for dismantling nuclear facilities in Ukraine. Despite the tight budget in the United States, there remains strong support for the Nunn-Lugar program. We also discussed the support that we will try to give as Ukraine closes Chornobyl by the year 2000. (C)

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Acting First Deputy Prime Minister Pynzenyk: We had an interesting discussion (with Secretary Rubin and delegation) focused on economic reform and the problems facing Ukraine. We are satisfied that Ukraine has received a stand-by program and are very grateful for U.S. support for bilateral balance-of-payments assistance and stand-by credits. We have the impression that it is the United States, not Europe, that is Ukraine's neighbor. European promises seem to be paper; it is unclear what other conditions Europe will put forward on its assistance. (C)

The inadequate financing of the budget creates a number of problems for Ukraine. One is debts to Russia, Turkmenistan and others. We discussed cooperation in a variety of areas: taxation, budget reform, government bonds, servicing foreign debt, the banking sector and privatization. We are getting good help from the U.S. side, for example, on restructuring the energy sector. We would like further help channeled to social services and social protection. (C)

President Kuchma: I can confirm that the United States seems much closer to Ukraine than other countries. (C)

President Clinton: It is kind of you to say that. Perhaps the reason is that we came to appreciate earlier than the Europeans the strategic importance of Ukraine to all of Europe in the 21st century. If you look at the map, you can make the case that peace in a broad area depends on what happens to Ukraine and Turkey. A second reason is the large number of Ukrainian-Americans. We are pleased to have this kind of partnership. Secretary Christopher told me that the Ukrainian team is impressive and good to work with. (C)

Secretary Rubin: I agree. There is a remarkable team on the Ukrainian side that has considered in a very serious way where Ukraine has to go. We have a good relationship with the Ukrainian economic team. We can help with the World Bank and IMF and can provide technical assistance. I have raised with G-7 finance ministers the promises that have been made with respect to Ukraine and will do so again as Halifax approaches. I am impressed by the development of private and capital markets. Where we can be helpful, we will try to do so. (C)

Acting Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Osyka: We discussed trade and investment between the U.S. and Ukraine at a special working group (with Commerce Counselor Kalicki, OPIC President Harkin and NIS Assistance Coordinator Morningstar). We are satisfied by the fact that trade is up by 30 percent over 1994, and the general value of investment is up as well. Credit lines have started working, and a number of projects are now

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underway, such as the investment fund for Ukraine and agricultural trade credit insurance facility. I emphasized our gratitude to the U.S. side for its help on these. (C)

We still, however, have some problems in trade regimes and securing investment. Therefore, the working group agreed to a list of issues to discuss: the general trade regime between the two countries, issues on trade preferences and anti-dumping, issues regarding GATT/WTO accession and issues regarding lifting bilateral limits on trade. A second group of issues includes sectoral analysis of private investment and general privatization, including a study of business in the NIS. A third group of issues includes analysis of complete investment projects. We also decided to create a special working group headed by Ambassador Miller to discuss implementation and successful completion of investment projects. (C)

President Kuchma: Perhaps Mrs. Harkin would respond. (U)

OPIC President Harkin: This is my third trip to Ukraine in three months. I want to second what Minister Osyka said. There are many projects which need to be worked on a case-by-case basis. I want to thank President Kuchma for his attention to OPIC projects. It has been a pleasure to tell the American business community about the strides being made in Ukraine and the great opportunities. (C)

President Clinton: There will be a meeting on trade and investment later this year? (C)

OPIC President Harkin: Yes, this is in Mr. Kalicki's area, and it will be held in July. (U)

President Clinton: And what about next year? (U)

Commerce Counselor Kalicki: The Ukrainians will come to the United States for another conference sponsored by the Joint Commission on Trade and Investment. (U)

President Kuchma: Are there other issues we should discuss? (U)

President Clinton: Is there anything else we can do to help with your drive to energy independence? What are your options? What else could be done by the United States to assist? (C)

President Kuchma: Energy is the number one issue for us. It is a matter of survival. We are working closely with the U.S. side, which knows our needs, on several projects that involve the World Bank and EBRD. We have to breathe life into these. (C)

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National Security Council Secretary Horbulyn: We are cooperating with the United States first of all in the area of nuclear energy. We are talking with Westinghouse and AB&B and examining bids from these two companies. As regards fossil fuel, the situation is very critical. We will need U.S. expertise to find the best solution. We started talking first about Chornobyl because it is an issue of interest to the whole world. We want to be independent in getting nuclear fuel for our power plants. We have our own uranium deposits and want to use U.S. instead of Russian tools on this. (S)

President Kuchma: A number of American visitors have raised the issue of insurance. If this could be resolved, it could lead to an influx of private capital into Ukraine. (S)

OPIC Director Harkin: There is both political risk insurance and commercial insurance. I know a couple of American companies that are interested in trying to help on commercial insurance, such as AIG from New York. (S)

Acting Minister of External Economic Relations Osyka: We decided to discuss these issues. There are two groups of questions that we would like to deal with in greater depth: sectoral programs and insurance programs. (S)

President Kuchma: I told President Clinton that there are several areas where we really need investment: first, agricultural production, processing, storage and transportation, where there is no investment at the moment, and second, oil processing and the energy field. We are not talking about general insurance but priority problems. (S)

President Clinton: We have done work on these. (U)

OPIC President Harkin: Yes, we have. (U)

President Clinton: Does Ukraine have a commodity exchange yet? (S)

Acting Minister of External Economic Relations Osyka: We have a commodity exchange program and are helping to fund a financial sector. We now have a program of technical assistance and U.S. experts helping us to expand this network. (S)

Acting First Deputy Prime Minister Pynzenyk: I want to say that agricultural produce is increasingly sold through agricultural exchanges and freely exported. The volume of exported produce is increasing. Regarding energy, our balance-of-payments deficit is due to the consumption of energy. We have large gas deposits but need investment. A related issue is our dated technology, which

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makes for high energy consumption. We would like help on this. The volume of investment does not have to be large, but it could mean big gains in energy savings. We would like to form a joint investment fund for U.S. companies to participate in this. (S)

President Clinton: Ways to make progress on using energy more efficiently should be given careful thought. There are environmental benefits. U.S. private companies are investing now in energy savings and splitting the benefits with consumers. This is a very important issue. As you rebuild your economy, you can save tens of billions of dollars if you institute energy conservation. (S)

Secretary Christopher: The World Bank is very favorable on such projects. (S)

President Kuchma: Thank you. I believe at this point we should conclude. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Document ID: 9601018				
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. memo~~	~~Secretary of State Warren Christopher to President William J. Clinton re: Meeting with President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine (2 pages)~~	~~02/17/1996~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ KBH 5/2/2019
002. memo	William Burns to Andrew Sens re: Attachments (1 page) Partial Release - KBH 9/8/2017	02/16/1996	P1/b(1)
003. report	US Government Report (2 pages)	02/09/1996	P1/b(1)
004. report	US Government Report (2 pages)	12/22/1995	P1/b(1)
005. report	US Government Report (2 pages)	02/13/1996	P1/b(1)
006. report	US Government Report (2 pages)	01/31/1996	P1/b(1)
007. report	US Government Report (1 page) Partial Release - KBH 9/8/2017	09/20/1995	P1/b(1)
008. report	US Government Report (2 pages) Partial Release - KBH 9/8/2017	05/01/1995	P1/b(1)
009. report	US Government Report (1 page)	02/09/1996	P1/b(1)
~~010. paper~~	~~US-Ukraine: Overview of Bilateral Relations (2 pages)~~	~~02/13/1996~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ KBH 5/2/2019
~~011. paper~~	~~Ukraine: Domestic Political Situation (2 pages)~~	~~02/13/1996~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ KBH 5/2/2019
~~012. paper~~	~~Ukraine: Economic Reform and Privatization (2 pages)~~	~~02/13/1996~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ KBH 5/2/2019

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. paper	Ukraine. Relations with Russia/CIS (2 pages)	02/13/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
014. paper	Ukraine. Global Integration and European Security (2 pages)	02/13/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
015. paper	Ukraine. Energy Situation (2 pages)	02/13/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
016. paper	US-Ukraine. Overview of Bilateral Relations, duplicate of 010 (1 page)	02/13/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
017. talking points	Talking Points for the President (3 pages)	02/15/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
018. talking points	Talking Points for the Vice President (3 pages)	02/15/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
019. paper	Ukraine. Chernobyl and the Moscow Summit (1 page)	02/13/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
020. paper	Ukraine. Investment and Trade (1 page)	02/14/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019

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RECORD ID: 9601018
RECEIVED: 16 FEB 96 08

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: CHRISTOPHER, W

DOC DATE: 17 FEB 96
SOURCE REF: 9602243

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE
AP
ECONOMICS

ENERGY
AVP

PERSONS: KUCHMA, LEONID

SUBJECT: PRES 21 FEB MTG W/ PRES KUCHMA OF UKRAINE

ACTION: NFAR PER PASCUAL

DUE DATE: 20 FEB 96 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL

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FILES: PA

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By KBH/NARA, Date 10/2/2013
2016-0123-17

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 PASCUAL
002 PASCUAL
003 PASCUAL
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Z 96021608 PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE
Z 96021608 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
Z 96021615 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
Z 96021912 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
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DUE DATE: 20 FEB 96 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL

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RECORD ID: 9601018
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FROM: BURNS, W

DOC DATE: 16 FEB 96
SOURCE REF: 9602268

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE
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PERSONS: KUCHMA, LEONID

SUBJECT: BIOGRAPHIC RPTS FOR PRES & VP MTGS W/ UKRAINIAN PRES KUCHMA 21 FEB

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 20 FEB 96 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

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White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
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2016-0123-M

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REGORD ID: 9601018
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FROM: BURNS, W

DOC DATE: 15 FEB 96
SOURCE REF: 9602217

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE

HS

PERSONS: KUCHMA, LEONID

SUBJECT: PAPERS FOR PRES & VP MTG W/ UKRAINIAN PRES KUCHMA ON 21 FEB 96

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 20 FEB 96 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

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RECORD ID: 9601018
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FROM: BURNS, W

DOC DATE: 15 FEB 96
SOURCE REF: 9602218

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE

HS

PERSONS: KUCHMA, LEONID

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PAPERS FOR PRES & VP MTG W/ UKRAINE PRES KUCHMA ON
21 FEB 96

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 20 FEB 96 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL

LOGREF:

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2016-0123-M

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 17, 1996

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DECL:02/12/2006

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.39)

10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Warren Christopher *WC*

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Leonid Kuchma
of Ukraine

President Kuchma arrives in Washington at a time of great uncertainty in Ukraine. He will want to use his meeting with you as a tangible expression of ongoing U.S. support. You will want to reaffirm our unwavering commitment to Ukraine's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Your steadfast support for Ukraine has helped provide the confidence Kiev needs to build a pragmatic relationship with Moscow.

First and foremost, Ukraine's uncertainty is focused on Russia and recent troubling developments there, such as the growing strength of the communists, the sacking of key reform officials, and growing Russian interest in "CIS integration." Domestically, Kuchma is engrossed in a pitched battle to replace the country's Soviet-era constitution and, in the process, institutionalize enhanced powers for the presidency over the parliament (Rada). He hopes to get the job done before June elections in Russia, which could dramatically change the political landscape throughout the region.

Political problems have had their impact on economic reform as well. Kuchma has stopped short of urgently needed structural changes -- including large-scale privatization -- in part because of strong parliamentary opposition and concerns about possible large-scale unemployment. To Kuchma's credit, Ukraine's dangerous economic spiral has been halted. Without further reform, however, Ukraine could lose IMF support, see a resurgence of inflation and perhaps be more vulnerable to Russian pressure to "integrate" its economy into the CIS. On the positive side, an IMF team reached an understanding with GOU officials last week on steps to be taken to free up the fourth tranche of Ukraine's \$1.5 billion Stand-by Arrangement. The hard part will be getting the parliament to pass an appropriately tight budget next month that meets IMF targets.

Kuchma has assured us that he wants to move ahead with reform, but is worried about the social dislocation and political backlash. You will want to stress our conviction that pushing ahead with economic reform is the only way to

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generate new economic growth and guarantee Ukraine's economic security and protect its independence. Kuchma was receptive to this message in Helsinki, but cautioned us not to discount the political impact of moving ahead.

In discussing Russia and the CIS, Kuchma will likely accuse the Russians of stepping up pressure on Ukraine under the banner of "CIS integration." While the Ukrainians were generally satisfied with the mid-January CIS summit, they may express concern about such Russian tactics as discriminatory trade practices, including the imposition of excise taxes on imports from Ukraine, and Russia's recent action cutting off Ukraine from their common electrical power grid. Kuchma may also draw your attention to the fact that Yeltsin has yet to make an official visit to Kiev -- the long-delayed summit was most recently scheduled for April, but once again appears in doubt. Kuchma is likely to ask your help in ensuring that Russia meets its commitments under our 1994 Trilateral Statement to compensate Ukraine for the value of the highly-enriched uranium in tactical nuclear warheads moved to Russia in 1991-92. The Vice President and I have raised this with our Russian counterparts. You will want to assure Kuchma that we will continue to press Moscow.

You also will want to commend Kuchma for the good progress Ukraine has made in the process of global and regional integration. Ukraine, which had a visible presence in UNPROFOR, now maintains a battalion in IFOR (under French command) and a helicopter unit in Eastern Slavonia. Ukraine also has stepped up its very active engagement in PFP and is working to build an enhanced bilateral relationship with NATO. You will be able to reaffirm to Kuchma our continuing support for Ukraine's integration into Western political, economic, and security institutions, and underscore our continuing commitment to avoid drawing new dividing lines in Europe.

You will be able to report to Kuchma that, despite a very tight budget year, the U.S. continues to give high priority to assistance for Ukraine. Congress has earmarked \$225 million out of FY 1996 FREEDOM Support Act funds for Ukraine -- more than last year and more than for any other NIS country, including Russia. Assistance alone, of course, will not sustain Ukraine if the economy cannot attract major investors.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	William Burns to Andrew Sens re: Attachments [partial] (1 page)	02/16/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Kuchma])
OA/Box Number: 1086

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RESTRICTION CODES

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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S/S 9602268
United States Department of State

10(9) (4)

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 16, 1996

UNCLASSIFIED (with CONFIDENTIAL attachments)

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW D. SENS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Subject: Biographic Reports for the President's and Vice
President's Meetings with Ukrainian President Leonid
Kuchma, February 21, 1996.

Enclosed are biographic reports for the President's and
Vice President's use during their meetings with Ukraine
President Leonid Kuchma, February 21, 1996.

WJB

William J. Burns
Executive Secretary

EO 13526 1.4c

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.40)
2/27/2017 KBH

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003. report	US Government Report (2 pages)	02/09/1996	P1/b(1)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. report	US Government Report (2 pages)	12/22/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Kuchma])
OA/Box Number: 1086

FOLDER TITLE:

9601018

2016-0123-M
kh1767

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. report	US Government Report (2 pages)	02/13/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
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OA/Box Number: 1086

FOLDER TITLE:

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. report	US Government Report (2 pages)	01/31/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Kuchma])
OA/Box Number: 1086

FOLDER TITLE:

9601018

2016-0123-M
kh1767

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. report	US Government Report [partial] (1 page)	09/20/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Kuchma])
OA/Box Number: 1086

FOLDER TITLE:

9601018

2016-0123-M
kh1767

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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3.5c

Serhiy Hryhorovych OSYKA
(Phonetic: ohSEEkah)

UKRAINE

Minister of External Economic Relations and Trade (since July 1995)

Addressed as: Mr. Minister

Serhiy Osyka still plays a major role in Ukraine's economic decision making in the aftermath of the Cabinet's reshuffle in July. While Osyka lost his Deputy Prime Minister post—he held it for only six months—he retained his leadership of the Ministry of External Economic Relations, which following the reshuffle is now called the Ministry of External Economic Relations and Trade. He is [redacted] [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d a key player on a wide range of issues, including Ukraine's energy policy and defense conversion matters. In addition, Osyka is Kiev's point man on relations with GATT/WTO, according to [redacted] 1.4b, 1.4c press reporting. He is also a member of the National Security Council.

3.5c

Osyka has been portrayed as a committed economic reformer by the Ukrainian press. In June, an article grouped Osyka with proreform officials Viktor Pynzenyk and Ihor Mityukov and noted that their promarket policies were coming under fire from leftists in the Rada (parliament). [redacted]

1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted] in September 1994, attackers stabbed and seriously wounded a man whom they mistook for Osyka, according to Ukrainian and Western press accounts. [redacted] 3.5c

Osyka was born on 27 March 1955 in Kiev. He graduated from Kiev State University with a degree in international relations in 1977. He earned a law degree from that same institution in 1980 and later worked as an assistant professor there and at Ukraine's Institute of Foreign Relations. Osyka then served as a consultant to the Rada during 1991-92. He was an adviser on foreign economic relations to then Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma from 1992 until 1993. Osyka then worked as a deputy minister and first deputy minister in the Ministry of External Economic Relations until his appointment as Minister in August 1994. He also served on a commission for Ukraine's cooperation with the European Union and as Ukraine's representative to GATT. In March 1994, he ran unsuccessfully for a seat in the Rada. [redacted] 3.5c

Osyka and his wife, who is a Ukrainian language teacher, have a son. Osyka speaks fluent English,

1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

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PER E. O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.45)
2/27/2017 KBH

3.5c

LP 95-110570
20 September 1995

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. report	US Government Report [partial] (2 pages)	05/01/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Kuchma])
OA/Box Number: 1086

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2016-0123-M
kh1767

RESTRICTION CODES

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Yuriy Mykolayovych SHCHERBAK
(Phonetic: shareBAHK)

UKRAINE

*Ambassador to the United States
(since November 1994)*

Addressed as: Mr. Ambassador

Yuriy Shcherbak—a physician, writer, and environmental activist—has proved to be an able representative of his country despite his limited diplomatic experience, according to reporting from 1.4c, 1.4d the Ukrainian press. He played a major role in planning President Leonid Kuchma's November 1994 visit to the United States, which was widely viewed as a success. Shcherbak's only other diplomatic posting was as Ambassador to Israel from October 1992 until his assignment to Washington. Press reports credited him with fostering warm relations between Kiev and Tel Aviv in spite of potentially divisive issues, such as the controversial trial of John Demjanjuk, a Ukrainian-American and alleged Nazi war criminal. Shcherbak does not have strong political ties to Kuchma; he told a reporter in late 1994 that he is not a member of the President's inner circle. Press reports suggest that Shcherbak received his current job because of his favorable reputation both inside Ukraine and abroad as an environmental activist.

3.5c

Spokesman for the Environment

Shcherbak's reputation as a prominent writer and spokesman for environmental causes is already well established in the West. His listing in *The Encyclopedia of Ukraine*—a Canadian publication—highlights his literary works, including several articles on the Chernobyl nuclear plant disaster. In 1992 a US magazine ran a lengthy profile of Shcherbak, detailing his growing disillusionment with the Soviet system and his emergence as a prominent environmentalist in the wake of Chernobyl. According to press reports, he visited the site just a week after the accident and wrote a documentary novel describing the event's impact on the environment and decrying what he viewed as an "official coverup."

3.5c

3.5c



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2016-0123-M (1.4b)
2/27/2017 KBH

1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

Shcherbak has held political and governmental posts related to environmental issues. From 1989 until late 1991 he chaired the nuclear energy subcommittee under the USSR Supreme Soviet's Ecology Committee. In 1989 he became head of the environmental movement, Green World; he later led its successor, the Green Party, and in September 1991 the party nominated Shcherbak as its presidential candidate. He served as Minister of Environment during 1991-92 under then Prime Minister Vitol'd

(continued)
LP 95-104451
1 May 1995

3.5c

Fokin and was a member of Ukraine's National Security Council during the same period [redacted] 3.5c

In addition to his activism on environmental issues, Shcherbak has worked to assert a national identity for Ukraine, according to [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d press reporting. [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted] In early 1992, Shcherbak openly characterized the relationship between the Commonwealth states as similar to "a friendly agreement among prison escapees who are still fettered together by a chain." He also has promoted the use of the Ukrainian language; Shcherbak has noted with pride that his first novel was published in Ukrainian—not Russian [redacted] 3.5c

Career and Personal Background

Shcherbak, an ethnic Ukrainian, was born on 12 October 1934 in Kiev. He told an interviewer in March 1995 that he is third generation Kievan. His

family was repeatedly harassed by Soviet security organizations in the 1930s and 1940s; in 1948 his brother was arrested and imprisoned for alleged ties to nationalist groups, according to Western and Ukrainian press reporting. Shcherbak graduated from the Kiev Medical Institute in 1958. He worked in Kiev's Scientific Research Institute of Epidemiology, Microbiology, and Parasitology until the late 1980s, when he turned exclusively to writing and politics. [redacted] 3.5c

Shcherbak is married; his wife, Mariya, is Polish.

[redacted] b.2d

[redacted] Mariya is a biologist by training. The Shcherbaks have a grown son and a grown daughter and two grandchildren. Their daughter, Bohdana, accompanied them to the United States and is a student at Georgetown University, according to press reporting in March 1995. In addition to Ukrainian and Russian, Shcherbak speaks Polish and English. [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. report	US Government Report (1 page)	02/09/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Kuchma])
OA/Box Number: 1086

FOLDER TITLE:

9601018

2016-0123-M
kh1767

RESTRICTION CODES

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

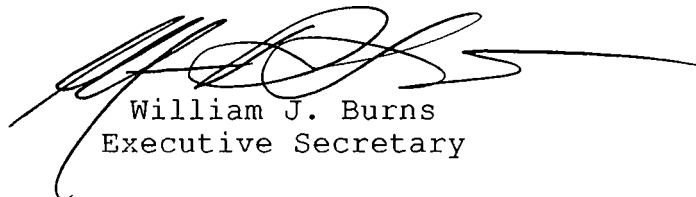
February 16, 1996

UNCLASSIFIED (with ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ attachments)

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW D. SENS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Subject: Papers for the President's and Vice President's
Meetings with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma,
February 21, 1996

Enclosed is a computer disk containing Background Papers
for the President's and Vice President's use during their
meetings with Ukraine President Leonid Kuchma, February 21,
1996. The memos themselves were initially sent on February 15.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "W. J. Burns", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

William J. Burns
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED (with ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ attachments)

Attachments:

Background Paper: Overview of US-Ukraine Relationship
Background Paper: Domestic Political Situation
Background Paper: Economic Reform and Privatization
Background Paper: Relations with Russia/CIS
Background Paper: Global Integration and European Security
Background Paper: Energy Situation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

US-UKRAINE: OVERVIEW OF BILATERAL RELATIONS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.48)
10/2/2018 KBH

The past year has been one of remarkable achievements in the US-Ukraine bilateral relationship. Your State Visit to Kiev in May provided important public recognition of the great progress Ukraine has made in introducing a genuinely democratic political process, resolving longstanding security issues, undertaking serious economic reform and respecting human rights. Prime Minister Marchuk's meeting with Vice President Gore in Washington in September helped to maintain a serious working dialogue. More recently, Secretary Perry's travel to Kiev in January and Secretary Christopher's meeting with President Kuchma earlier this month in Helsinki served to bolster US political visibility at a time when concerns about communist resurgence in Russia and winter energy stocks weighed heavily on Ukrainian minds.

As 1996 unfolds Kiev faces important challenges -- implementing a new constitution, meeting Trilateral Statement targets, coping with a burdensome energy debt to Russia and getting its IMF program back on track, to name a few. Problems with Russia, whether over the final division of Black Sea Fleet assets, CIS integration pressures, compensation for tactical nuclear warheads or other issues, will likely remain chronic. Ukraine and the G-7 will have to provide substance to the Chornobyl closure and energy market restructuring programs. Similarly, Kuchma will have to make hard political decisions quickly on the most critical reform elements -- including privatization -- if he is to sustain any political momentum for reform or maintain credibility among international donors. This will not make the job of reform any easier.

The challenge for the US this year is to bolster Ukraine in its efforts and demonstrate that we remain committed to an active political dialogue. At the same time, our fundamental message should stress that Ukraine must follow through on its commitments. This means tough decisions -- there is no viable alternative if Ukraine is to make the transformation to a market-based economy. If Ukraine does follow through, we must be prepared to respond quickly to ensure that its efforts bear fruit in a timely fashion. Delivering on a promise of continued assistance (\$225 million in FY96 funds) will help to demonstrate our commitment.

Kuchma should leave Washington confident that the decisive action he must take will have a positive impact on the economy and will serve to strengthen Ukrainian statehood, both in terms of its economic security and its overall survivability as a nation. He must understand that inaction will only serve to erode Ukraine's few tangible economic gains to date and isolate Ukraine from the international donor community.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:02/12/2006

POTUS/Kuchma: Background/Overview of Bilateral Relations

Draft:EUR/WST:EJSalazar

02/13/96 SESOVUP 767 x7-8696

CLEAR:S/NIS:DSpeckhard

EUR/WST:JPurnell

P:JKlekas

S/P:AWeiss

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UKRAINE: DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.49)
10/2/2018 KBH

President Kuchma faces several significant domestic challenges in 1996. Chief among these are the adoption of a new, post-Soviet constitution and the acceleration of comprehensive economic reforms. Kuchma's ability to meet these challenges will have a most profound impact on Ukraine's development.

The "constitutional accord" between Kuchma and the Rada helped to avert a major constitutional confrontation between the executive and the legislature by granting Kuchma extraordinary executive powers for one year, pending the adoption of a new constitution. As the June deadline for the accord approaches, debate over the constitution will begin to dominate the political agenda. Major differences have already surfaced. The Rada will fight Kuchma's desire to preserve most of his enhanced powers in the new constitution. Kuchma also is backing the creation of a bicameral parliament -- a change which could further dilute the power of the unicameral Rada. Another obstacle to timely adoption will be the ratification mechanism itself, which requires constitutional issues to be decided by a two-thirds majority in the Rada -- a tough hurdle even under the best of circumstances. Kuchma may try to circumvent this process by taking the constitution directly to the people for approval via referendum.

No less important on the Rada's agenda is the budget. Despite recent progress in finalizing draft appropriations, the budget has become highly politicized by leftists currying favor with public demands for increased deficit spending. Powerful state industries and politically strong trade unions also clamor for continued subsidies. Complicating the debate is the government's obligation to adopt a budget consistent with IMF priorities, without which a fourth tranche of IMF funds cannot be made available.

The Kuchma administration has vowed to hold the line on expenditures, as evidenced by the government's refusal to cave in to striking coal miners earlier this month. This newly found austerity is being driven not only by the IMF's requirements, but also by the realization, both within government circles and a growing portion of the public at large, that delaying reform further is no longer an option. Indeed, one of the pluses that emerged from the strike is the understanding that faster, not slower reforms, could have alleviated the sharp payments crisis in the coal industry.

Fortunately, Ukraine's overall human rights picture is not an issue complicating the domestic political scene. Despite recent, apparently isolated, incidents involving government interference with the news media, widespread human rights abuses continue to be virtually absent in Ukraine.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL:02/12/2006

POTUS/Kuchma:Background/Domestic Political Situation

Draft:INR/RUE:EFishel;EUR/WST:EJSalazar
02/13/96 SESOVUP 768 x7-8696

CLEAR:S/NIS:DSpeckhard
EUR/WST:JPurnell
P:JKlekas
S/P:AWeiss

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.50)
10/2/2018 KGH

UKRAINE: ECONOMIC REFORM AND PRIVATIZATION

Ukraine has made some progress on economic reform, despite the lack of major structural reform to date. Yet the situation remains precarious, as evidenced by the IMF's decision to hold up additional loans to Ukraine because of concerns over the 1996 budget and Kiev's difficulty in paying foreign obligations.

In not much more than a year, the Kuchma government has created a rough economic order out of chaos. By controlling the budget deficit at 4% of gross domestic product (GDP), down from 8.6% in 1994, it reduced inflation from 400% in 1994 to 180%. The government also liberalized the foreign exchange regime, freed most prices, and went a long way toward freeing trade. The result was not only macroeconomic stabilization but some measure of progress for the population and the economy. Also in 1995, the GDP declined 13% (from 23% in 1994), but the social impact is limited by Ukraine's policy of continuing to pay workers even when enterprises stop producing. Exports increased 4.5% in 1995, and by 40% to non-NIS countries. Agricultural output declined just 3%.

Yet Ukraine's position is still precarious. The IMF has not decided yet whether to release the \$700 million remaining in the \$1.5 billion Stand-by Arrangement, and several large World Bank loans also are contingent on Fund action. International reserves equal only four weeks of imports, far below the 12 weeks considered minimal. A financial panic could quickly exhaust foreign currency reserves and force the central bank to impose exchange controls. Kiev would find it even more difficult to pay for Russian energy.

Ukraine needs economic growth to stop living on the edge financially, and growth requires investment. Structural reforms, such as privatization, tax reform and a stable foreign investment regime, are critical to investor confidence. Ukraine's comprehensive reform program -- including privatization -- began late in 1994. Since then small-scale privatization has made considerable progress, but technical and political snags have slowed implementation of the medium and large-enterprise program. Strong parliamentary opposition, has hampered efforts to speed up privatization.

During his September 1995 meeting with Prime Minister Marchuk, the Vice President emphasized the importance of moving privatization forward. Since then, Ukraine has made some progress but is still well behind the initial target of privatizing 8,000 medium and large-scale enterprises by the end of 1995. Some 1,400 have sold more than half their shares; negotiations continue on a realistic target for end of 1996.

While our discussions with Ukraine are continuing on steps Ukraine must take to accelerate medium and large-scale privatization, it will be important for you to underscore what needs to be done, and that we will continue to work with Ukraine to ensure successful implementation.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL: 2/14/2006

POTUS/Kuchma:Background:Economic Reform/Privatization

Drafter: EUR/WST:MBocchetti:S/NIS/C:SDwyer
SESOVUP 771 6-4443 2/13/96

Clearance(s):S/NIS:DSpeckhard
EUR/WST:EJSalazar
EUR/WST:JPurnell
S/NIS/C:SDwyer
EB/IFD/OMA:LKubiske
AID/ENI:SGrossman
S/P:AWeiss
P:JKlekas

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UKRAINE: RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA/CIS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.51)
10/2/2012 KGH

Ukraine's relationship with Russia remains difficult. Kiev is worried by what it sees as growing uncertainties in Russia's political development -- Yeltsin's recent personnel changes, the strong showing of the communists in the December Duma elections, recent CIS "integration" pressures, etc. You will want to use any discussion of Russia and the CIS to underscore our desire for a productive bilateral relationship.

On bilateral issues the two sides are on schedule in dividing Black Sea Fleet support facilities, but progress on the status of the main Fleet base in Sevastopol -- the main stumbling block -- remains elusive. Similarly, despite Russia's having acknowledged its obligation in 1994, Ukraine has yet to be compensated for tactical nuclear weapons removed to Russia in 1991-92. In the meantime, several new problems have emerged, such as differences over oil transportation tariffs and an increase in excise taxes on Ukrainian goods imported to Russia. More importantly, the Russians continue to link signature of the long-delayed "Friendship Treaty" to a final BSF agreement.

Despite upbeat press play, Ukrainian officials are publicly skeptical that the April 4-5 Yeltsin visit to Kiev to sign the long-delayed Friendship Treaty will take place. They argue that the visit itself will serve as the best indicator of Russia's sincerity in seeking, as it maintains, a genuine partnership with Kiev based on respect for Ukraine's independence and sovereignty. Kiev's attitude is intended to put Moscow on notice that it is looking for actions, not words, but few in Kiev expect Moscow's policy to change for the better. Indeed, there is a growing feeling that the coming months will see a "full court press" by Russia to reverse Ukraine's perceived "drift" toward the West.

During his visit to Kiev earlier this month Russian Foreign Minister Primakov reportedly pressed Ukraine to integrate more closely with the CIS "in all spheres" and warned of the consequences of NATO's expansion eastward. Primakov has made clear that one of his top priorities will be Russia's relations with the other NIS.

Ukraine opposes any moves aimed at giving the CIS a supra-national character. Kiev's posture at the mid-January CIS summit underscored its policy of using CIS structures as a brake on Russian ambitions without compromising Ukraine's sovereignty. President Kuchma reiterated that Ukraine's national interests will continue to dictate the scope of its participation in the organization. Indeed, the Ukrainian delegation did not participate in discussion of military issues, including membership in the CIS Collective Security arrangement, and again declined to sign on to agreements forming customs or payments unions.

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DECL:02/13/2006

POTUS/Kuchma:Background/Relations with Russia/CIS

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02/13/96 SESOVUP 769 x7-8696

CLEAR:S/NIS:DSpeckhard
EUR/WT:JPurnell
P:JKlekas
S/P:AWeiss
EUR/RUS:TLynch
EUR/RPM:DCagan
PM/SPN:PDolliff (info)

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UKRAINE: GLOBAL INTEGRATION AND EUROPEAN SECURITY

Since its commitment to adhere to the terms of the 1994 Trilateral Statement, Ukraine has become increasingly prominent in international -- and especially European -- fora that have a bearing on regional security. Ratification of START and accession to the NPT further enhanced Ukraine's stature. Ukraine also was the first NIS country to sign up for NATO's PFP and maintained a battalion of Ukrainian troops in UNPROFOR.

Despite initial concern about meeting strict NATO certification requirements, Ukraine now maintains a battalion in IFOR (under French command). It also has contributed a helicopter unit to UNTAES (UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia, headed by an American). We have consistently and actively promoted Ukraine's participation in these organizations to underscore our view that such contributions help to enhance Ukraine's security and reliability as an international partner. Ukraine's admission to the Council of Europe in 1995 was, in part, a testament to the success of that approach. Meanwhile, Ukraine has developed a close and reliable working relationship with the OSCE, largely overcoming initial doubts about OSCE "intrusions" in sensitive areas -- like Crimea.

Despite some progress in other areas, obstacles remain to Ukraine's entry into the post-COCOM "Wassenaar Arrangement" and the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) -- both of which Ukraine considers important to security, trade and export goals. We have told Ukraine we would welcome its participation in the new Wassenaar regime once we receive its commitment to end arms-related trade for military end-uses to countries whose behavior is a cause of concern (Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea) -- a commitment we obtained from Russia and other countries we have supported for membership. Ukrainian diplomats have signalled that the assurances will be conveyed soon.

On MTCR, the principle obstacle has been Ukraine's resistance to forgoing short range missiles. We are working closely with Ukrainian diplomats to craft a mutually acceptable position. Without resolution, Ukraine could carry through with its threat not to adhere to INF limitations on medium range missiles. Ukraine's record on implementing the CFE Treaty has been good, although final action has been postponed on Treaty-limited equipment whose ownership remains in question until the Black Sea Fleet assets are divided. While START implementation is proceeding with only minor technical problems, Ukraine's first try at ratifying the Open Skies agreement failed, probably thanks to considerable confusion and poorly briefed parliamentarians. The government intends to resubmit the agreement once the members are properly briefed. Finally, Secretary Christopher underscored to President Kuchma in Helsinki earlier this month our hope to conclude agreement on a CTBT in June, and sign in September.

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DECL:02/13/2006

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POTUS/Kuchma:Background/Global Integration and European Security

Draft:EUR/WST:EJSalazar

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CLEAR:S/NIS:DSpeckhard

EUR/WST:JPurnell

P:JKlekas

S/P:AWeiss

EUR/RPM:Hess/Brown/Eddins/Kloekner/Cagan

PM/CBM:DGlassman

EUR/SCE:CHoh (info)

PM/ATEC:JNovak

PM/SPN:DAppleton

UKRAINE: ENERGY SITUATION

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10/2/2018 KSH

Ukraine has been hard pressed to meet its energy needs and is seeking to reduce its reliance on Russia -- it imports half of its energy and relies on Russia for 90% of its imports. Through 1994 Ukraine incurred over \$2.5 billion in energy debts to Russia and Turkmenistan. Under its IMF agreement, since 1995 Ukraine has had to remain current on fuel imports. Its ability to finance imports is hampered because many Ukrainian consumers do not pay their energy bills. Ukraine views stabilization of its energy sector as key to proceeding with Chornobyl closure.

Energy sector reform: The GOU has deferred implementation of an electricity sector restructuring program that would introduce market prices, citing low fuel supplies and social concerns. We are urging the GOU to implement the program because of its importance for energy efficiency, additional IFI financing, and attracting private investment. On February 7 President Kuchma issued a decree to reform the antiquated coal sector, which may close up to 100 mines. He will have World Bank support. We are preparing a program to support demand-side efficiency measures.

Current supplies: Entering the winter Ukraine had low but adequate energy stocks, comparable to last year's. Following a miners' strike in February, Ukraine's coal reserves have been depleted, although most miners have returned to work following government pledges to pay back-wages. The coal shortage has put additional pressure on fuel oil reserves.

Petroleum and Gas: At a USG-sponsored conference, U.S. companies expressed interest in rehabilitating Ukraine's old oil and gas fields and exploring for new deposits. However, companies are reluctant to invest without clearer foreign investment regulations. Symptomatic of its erratic investment climate, Ukraine has postponed its Black Sea oil exploration program three times. Ukraine's plan to build an oil terminal in Odesa to diversify oil imports has been delayed by ownership controversies and lack of financing.

Nuclear: Nuclear power accounts for almost 40% of Ukraine's electricity production. Ukraine wants to reduce its reliance on Russian fuel by building a nuclear fuel fabrication plant (currently it receives fuel rods at no cost from Russia in exchange for its nuclear warheads). While U.S. firms were interested, Ukraine conditionally awarded the contract to Russia's MINATOM. However, we question the economic viability of the plant given alternative fuel supplies and other pressing investment needs. We are considering initiating negotiations with Ukraine on a peaceful nuclear cooperation agreement. The Atomic Energy Act requires an agreement for the export of nuclear fuel and reactors.

U.S. Assistance: Ukraine is considering using up to \$100 million of an AID agricultural credit facility to buy U.S. fuel for the agricultural sector. The GOU considered using the EXIM credit program for fuel imports but determined the 180-day repayment term is too short (the AID program has 540-day terms).

POTUS/Kuchma:Background/Energy Situation

drafted:EUR/WST:DEdwards

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cleared:S/NIS:DSpeckhard

EUR/WST:JPurnell

S/NIS/C:SDwyer

EB/EPC:JSteele

PM/SC:CKessler

PM/NE:JDooley

E:MColeman

AID:Richord

Energy:JElkind

S/P:AWeiss



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

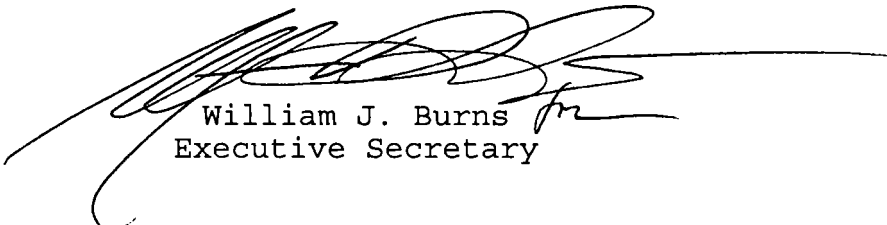
February 15, 1996

UNCLASSIFIED (with ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ attachments)

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW D. SENS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Subject: Background Papers for the President's and
Vice President's Meetings with
Ukraine President Leonid Kuchma,
February 21, 1996

Attached are background papers for the President's and Vice
President's use during their meetings with Ukraine President
Leonid Kuchma, February 21, 1996.



William J. Burns
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Clinton/Kuchma Background Papers

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US-UKRAINE: OVERVIEW OF BILATERAL RELATIONS

The past year has been one of remarkable achievements in the US-Ukraine bilateral relationship. Your State Visit to Kiev in May provided important public recognition of the great progress Ukraine has made in introducing a genuinely democratic political process, resolving longstanding security issues, undertaking serious economic reform and respecting human rights. Prime Minister Marchuk's meeting with Vice President Gore in Washington in September helped to maintain a serious working dialogue. More recently, Secretary Perry's travel to Kiev in January and Secretary Christopher's meeting with President Kuchma earlier this month in Helsinki served to bolster US political visibility at a time when concerns about communist resurgence in Russia and winter energy stocks weighed heavily on Ukrainian minds.

As 1996 unfolds Kiev faces important challenges -- implementing a new constitution, meeting Trilateral Statement targets, coping with a burdensome energy debt to Russia and getting its IMF program back on track, to name a few. Problems with Russia, whether over the final division of Black Sea Fleet assets, CIS integration pressures, compensation for tactical nuclear warheads or other issues, will likely remain chronic. Ukraine and the G-7 will have to provide substance to the Chornobyl closure and energy market restructuring programs. Similarly, Kuchma will have to make hard political decisions quickly on the most critical reform elements -- including privatization -- if he is to sustain any political momentum for reform or maintain credibility among international donors. This will not make the job of reform any easier.

The challenge for the US this year is to bolster Ukraine in its efforts and demonstrate that we remain committed to an active political dialogue. At the same time, our fundamental message should stress that Ukraine must follow through on its commitments. This means tough decisions -- there is no viable alternative if Ukraine is to make the transformation to a market-based economy. If Ukraine does follow through, we must be prepared to respond quickly to ensure that its efforts bear fruit in a timely fashion. Delivering on a promise of continued assistance (\$225 million in FY96 funds) will help to demonstrate our commitment.

Kuchma should leave Washington confident that the decisive action he must take will have a positive impact on the economy and will serve to strengthen Ukrainian statehood, both in terms of its economic security and its overall survivability as a nation. He must understand that inaction will only serve to erode Ukraine's few tangible economic gains to date and isolate Ukraine from the international donor community.

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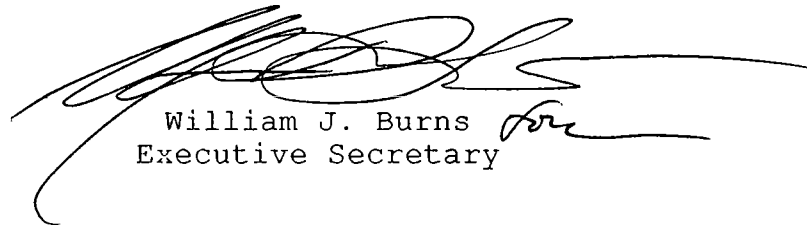
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Attached are papers for the President's and Vice
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William J. Burns
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED (with ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ attachments)

Attachments:

Clinton/Kuchma Talking Points

Clinton/Kuchma Press Release

Clinton/Kuchma Public Statement

Background Paper: Chornobyl and Nuclear Summit

Background Paper: US-Ukraine Trade and Assistance

TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT

- o Happy our schedules allowed us to meet so early in new year.
- o Secretary Christopher told me of very good meeting with you in Helsinki; also pleased you could see Secretary Perry last month.
 - Important to maintain momentum of high-level contacts; glad you will be able to see Secretary Christopher in Kiev next month.

Domestic Situation

- o Appreciate the political challenges you face this year -- and the impact your decisions will have on Ukraine's future.
- o Want to assure you that US stands with you as you work to introduce new political and economic institutions.
- o Particularly sympathetic with budget battle you face with your parliament -- my situation very similar.
- o Commend your determination to stick to austerity program in the face of severe pressure of coal miners' strike.
- o Understand public now increasingly recognizes need for urgent reform measures -- particularly in energy sector; we and G-7 prepared to help.
- o Despite tough budget year for us, Congress approved increase in assistance to Ukraine to \$225 million -- demonstrates US support for Ukraine continues to be strong.

Economic Reform

- o Commend you for Ukraine's 1995 success in bringing down inflation and stabilizing economy; recognize this was not an easy task.
- o Pleased to hear Ukraine reached an understanding with IMF last week on how to continue with IMF program -- this is key to continued success of reforms.
- o Ukraine remains high priority for US assistance, but no one can begin to replace support IMF and World Bank can provide.
- o Understand you will be seeing Secretary Rubin to discuss your progress with economic reform further; confident your meeting with him will be productive.
- o Privatization key to revitalizing economy and attracting private investment from abroad; investment will bring economic growth and jobs to Ukraine.
 - Our experts have had extensive talks on this subject over the past week.

Global Integration and European Security

- o Recognize impressive strides Ukraine made in 1995 integrating with political, economic and security institutions; believe 1996 can be banner year as well.
- o Appreciate Ukraine's participation in IFOR, and contributions to UN operations (UNTAES and UNCRO).
- o Also, Ukraine's very active participation in PFP important elements of "enhanced relations" with NATO.
- o Ukraine's actions have enhanced its political and economic security and international prestige.
- o US continues to regard independent, prosperous, secure Ukraine as critically important to European stability.
- o Overriding goal to make all European states more secure without creating new dividing lines or spheres of influence.
 - Not in US interest for Ukraine to feel isolated or uneasy about its security situation.

(If raised, Ukraine's entry into "Wassenaar Arrangement", MTCR:)

- Appreciate your eagerness to enter new "Wassenaar Arrangement" and Missile Technology Control Regime.
- Confident Ukraine can fulfill non-proliferation membership criteria.

(Time permitting, conclusion of CTBT:)

- I have made successful conclusion of CTBT a top priority this year; look forward to working with you to ensure treaty concluded in June, signed September.

Relations with Russia/CIS

- o Secretary Christopher told me of your concerns about Russia and uncertainties of political campaign there. How would you assess situation there?
- o Want to underscore US determination to stand by Ukraine despite these uncertainties.
- o We recognize importance to Ukraine of good relations with Russia; hope your scheduled meeting with President Yeltsin in April takes place.
- o We have emphasized to Russia our wariness of so-called "CIS integration".
 - Must be voluntary process from which all benefit and must be outward looking to enhance opportunities for global integration.

- o Vice President has expressed concern to Russian Prime Minister about need to resolve tactical nuclear warhead compensation issue; we want to help on this if we can.

- Do not want this to block fulfillment of Trilateral Statement; completion of accord goals can make 1996 historic year for all parties -- especially Ukraine.

(If raised, Ukraine concern about recent Russian pressures:)

- Share your concern about what appears to be unwarranted Russian economic moves against Ukraine.

- Such pressures inconsistent with spirit of free trade with its neighbors Russia claims to embrace.

TALKING POINTS FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

- o Delighted we have opportunity to meet again; President looking forward to seeing you as well.
- o Impressed with remarkable accomplishments of reform program since our last meeting, particularly success in halting dangerous downward economic spiral.
- o Still, much to do before Ukraine can begin to realize opportunities for prosperity.

Energy Situation

- o Understand Ukraine's critical energy needs and your concern on Ukraine's dependency on one supplier.
- o Hope that you will implement soon the competitive market for the electricity sector.
 - These reforms are critical to promote efficiency and attract international loans and investment.
- o Pleased we can provide Ukraine assistance to promote energy saving measures; area has tremendous potential and can lower fuel imports, improve industrial competitiveness, and reduce environmental problems.
- o Applaud your recent decree restructuring coal sector; ready to work with you and other donors to support this effort.
- o Understand Energy Department sponsored conference 3 weeks ago on Ukraine's oil and gas industry. US companies are interested, but need clearer regulations on investment.
- o In broadening your energy import options, we are also open to further discussion on facilitating Ukraine's import of nuclear materials from US and Europe.
 - We know this could have significant effect in opening up more competitive avenues for securing your nuclear fuel.
 - However, we will be limited in our ability to move forward in this area if Ukraine is cooperating with Iran in nuclear power sector.

Chornobyl/Energy Reform

- o Commend your bold decision to close Chornobyl by year 2000 and agreement with G-7 on comprehensive program to support Chornobyl closure; we take obligations in MOU seriously.
- o As you know many projects already underway for energy reform and decommissioning Chornobyl.

- o We are addressing areas needing additional support and are establishing with G-7 and Ukraine a review mechanism to monitor implementation of MOU.
- o Key step is implementation of energy market reforms -- critical to obtain additional assistance.
- o US and G-7 have taken a number of steps since MOU was signed in December.
 - Confident we can provide additional USG grant assistance for program, which we will allocate as needs identified.
 - Recognize concerns about sarcophagus -- this is one area being considered for grant financing.
 - Will urge our G-7 partners to provide additional assistance for key sectors.
 - Urged the World Bank and EBRD to support MOU program; pleased to report that presidents of both banks have shown strong support for program.
 - The EBRD indicated it would consider financing completion of two partially built nuclear plants.

Moscow Nuclear Summit

- o Pleased you will attend April 19-20 Moscow nuclear summit -- your participation will be valuable to advance summit objectives of nuclear safety and nonproliferation.
- o All can learn from Ukraine experience implementing nuclear safety measures in context of overall energy sector plan.
- o Hope at summit Ukraine can support program to combat illicit trafficking in nuclear material.
- o Nuclear summit is one week before 10th Anniversary of Chernobyl accident; we want to mark anniversary by recognizing your commitment to close Chernobyl plant.
- o However, we urge you to raise questions about implementation of Chernobyl MOU through G-7 channels, not at Moscow summit.
- o Also pleased First Lady intends to host special event with US private groups to commemorate 10th anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster calling attention to environmental consequences and human suffering.

Privatization

- o All pleased by your strong public statement of support for privatization.
- o Agree with you that privatization of Ukraine's economy is essential to rapid economic development.
- o Understand discussions with Deputy Prime Minister Shpek last week focused on steps GOU could take to create climate conducive to privatization.
 - Hope Ukraine will be able to move forward with the program as rapidly as possible.
- o With Ukraine committed to privatization, we can continue to provide substantial technical assistance.

(TIME PERMITTING, ADDITIONAL AREAS OF DISCUSSION:)

Trade and Investment

- o Your country's dramatic increase in exports to US is evidence that economic reform is working.
- o Hope more US companies will be active in investing in Ukraine as reforms proceed.
 - Ukraine should do everything it can to improve investment climate.
 - More liberal investment regime would help attract energy sector companies.

Bilateral Assistance

- o \$225 million in assistance approved by Congress for this fiscal year demonstrates US support for Ukraine continues to be strong.
- o Pleased we have been able to help Ukraine as it dismantles its nuclear weapons; Ukraine's decision to give up nuclear weapons was historic and courageous.
- o As assistance programs, like Nunn-Lugar and others, begin to achieve goals, collaboration naturally will emphasize other areas.
 - Look forward to expanding areas of exchange and cooperation, particularly in such areas as anti-crime cooperation.

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S MEETING WITH
UKRAINE PRESIDENT LEONID KUCHMA

DRAFT PRESS RELEASE

President Clinton welcomed President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma to the White House for a working meeting today, and expressed appreciation for the opportunity to return the warm welcome he received in Kiev in May. Vice President Gore also held a separate meeting with President Kuchma.

President Clinton and President Kuchma had a warm and productive meeting, during which they reviewed a broad range of issues important to the shared interests of our two countries. President Clinton reaffirmed the critical importance the United States attaches to an independent, democratic and prosperous Ukraine. The presidents welcomed the signing today of the U.S.-Ukraine Commercial Space Launch Services Agreement as an example of the expanding ties between our two nations.

The two presidents discussed the substantial progress Ukraine has made in introducing market-based economic reform and the challenges that remain to complete the economic transformation. President Kuchma reaffirmed his strong commitment to economic reform, highlighting low inflation and accelerated privatization as key conditions for renewed economic growth. President Clinton assured President Kuchma that the United States continues to give high priority to the success of Ukraine's reform process. Despite budget constraints, the United States will increase its assistance this year to Ukraine under the FREEDOM Support Act over fiscal year 1995 levels.

Both presidents expressed satisfaction with our growing cooperation on issues vital to European security. President Clinton welcomed Ukraine's continued participation in the Partnership for Peace and its progress toward enhancing its relationship with NATO. He noted the importance of an undivided Europe and developing European security policies that safeguard the security of all states. President Clinton expressed appreciation for Ukraine's battalion-size contribution to IFOR and its participation in UN peacekeeping operations in the Balkans. President Kuchma reaffirmed Ukraine's commitment to integration in regional and global institutions, a process the United States strongly supports.

President Clinton said that he looks forward to seeing President Kuchma at the April 19-20 Nuclear Summit in Moscow. He welcomed President Kuchma's participation at the summit because of the important contributions Ukraine can make towards realizing the summit's objectives of enhanced nuclear safety and nonproliferation.

During a separate meeting, Vice President Gore and President Kuchma discussed the G-7/Ukraine Memorandum of Understanding to support closure of the Chornobyl nuclear power plant by the

year 2000. The Vice President noted that considerable international assistance has already been made available for the program, and affirmed that the United States, its G-7 partners and the international financial institutions are prepared to provide additional support as new projects are identified. President Kuchma outlined the reforms Ukraine is undertaking in the electricity and coal sectors. The Vice President underscored the importance of these reforms to promote efficiency and attract international investment.

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S MEETING WITH
UKRAINE PRESIDENT LEONID KUCHMA

DRAFT PUBLIC STATEMENT

It is a pleasure to welcome President Kuchma to the White House and return the warm welcome that I received when I visited Kiev in May. I am glad that we have this opportunity to renew our discussions and review the broadening relationship embracing our two countries.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate President Kuchma on Ukraine's progress in building and strengthening democratic institutions while promoting and protecting the human rights of all people of Ukraine striving to build new lives in a profoundly changing society. Ukraine has made a strong start with the difficult task of restructuring its economy, and I am pleased that the United States has played a leading role generating international support for this effort. There are many challenges still to overcome, and I will explore with President Kuchma how the United States can best assist Ukraine to keep its bold reform program moving forward.

I also look forward to discussing with President Kuchma our growing cooperation in the area of regional security and global integration. Ukrainian peacekeepers are playing a key role in the Balkans, first with UNPROFOR and now with IFOR. The planning and exercises that Ukraine has undertaken with NATO through the Partnership for Peace are paying off as Ukrainian soldiers work effectively with their NATO counterparts on the ground in Bosnia.

A secure, prosperous, independent Ukraine is critical to regional stability. Thanks to President Kuchma's bold leadership, the sacrifices and determination of the citizens of Ukraine, and the continuing support of the international community, Ukraine's future looks very bright indeed.

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UKRAINE: CHORNOBYL AND THE MOSCOW SUMMIT

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PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.57)
10/2/2018 KSH

Chornobyl and Energy Sector Reform

President Kuchma has accepted the G-7/Ukraine program to close the Chornobyl nuclear power plant by the year 2000, although he has conditioned closure on international assistance. Vice President Gore's discussion with PM Marchuk in September and his exchange of letters with President Kuchma were instrumental in assuring the GOU that the program represents a serious commitment by the U.S. and G-7.

The U.S. has taken the lead in developing a "comprehensive program" that treats the Chornobyl closure within the context of energy sector reform. The program is summarized in an MOU signed in December and addresses energy sector reform and investment, decommissioning and other nuclear safety measures, as well as the social impact of closing Chornobyl. At our urging, the World Bank and EBRD presidents assured us of their strong support for the program. To qualify for IFI assistance, Ukraine must continue its IMF program and implement its delayed energy market reform.

Senior GOU officials continue to express skepticism that the G-7 will deliver the assistance required in the program. However, many projects are already underway, and the G-7 is establishing with Ukraine a review mechanism to monitor MOU implementation. We have set aside additional USG assistance for the "sarcophagus" over the damaged reactor and for energy efficiency projects.

The EBRD indicated that it would consider financing completion of two partially built nuclear power plants, a key component of the program. To defuse environmental critics opposed to donor financing of nuclear reactors, we are meeting with NGOs to underline our commitment to alternative solutions to Ukraine's energy needs, including demand reduction and energy efficiency.

Moscow Nuclear Summit

President Kuchma will participate in the Moscow nuclear summit, the only non P-8 head of state invited. Kuchma will be given the opportunity to join fully the discussions when he arrives for the second half of the summit. Given Ukraine's large nuclear industry, Kuchma's participation will help advance the summit's objectives of nuclear safety and non-proliferation of nuclear material and technology.

The April 19-20 summit -- one week before the 10th Anniversary of the Chornobyl accident -- will be an opportunity to commemorate the accident and Ukraine's decision to close Chornobyl. However, we have advised the GOU that it should raise questions about financing for the Chornobyl closure program through G-7 channels, not at the P-8 nuclear summit.

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DECL: 2/12/06

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UKRAINE: INVESTMENT AND TRADE

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10/2/2018 KBH

Investment in Ukraine lags behind that in Russia and Central Europe. Russia, with three times Ukraine's population, last year attracted an estimated \$1.5 billion in foreign direct investment, compared to an estimated \$120 million in Ukraine. Political uncertainty plays a role, but US businessmen in Kiev say that the slow pace of privatization has simply made it difficult to acquire failing enterprises and transform them into new ventures. The US and Ukraine signed a Bilateral Investment Treaty on March 4, 1994; it awaits Senate action.

The investment climate in Ukraine also has been clouded by government actions. For instance, tax collectors tried to collect value-added tax retroactively from Western companies that had enjoyed an exemption until the Rada revoked it in May, 1995. When President Kuchma nullified the Rada measure, the legislature vetoed his decree. Ukraine's clumsiness also has dampened investor interest in exploration rights in its Black Sea waters. The international tender was postponed three times; it appears that only three companies bid by the January deadline. (Such tenders can draw 30-40 bids.) Energy companies also complain that Ukraine does not guarantee the right to export part of the production or world prices if the production must be sold in-country. Nevertheless, US energy companies have been active in Ukraine, and our Embassy has been promoting a Marathon venture to redevelop old gas fields.

The Overseas Private Investment Corporation has provided nearly \$50 million in project financing and political risk insurance to Ukraine. An OPIC investment guaranty also backs the \$250 million New Century Capital Partners, L.P. fund, which will make long-term investments in private companies in Ukraine and seven other New Independent States (NIS). The Western NIS Enterprise Fund, created by the USG with \$150 million in start-up capital, now has committed \$12 million in equity financing to 11 private companies in Ukraine.

Ukraine's exports to the US, led by iron and steel, were up 30% in the first 11 months of 1995, to \$374.2 million, from \$289 million in 1994. This reflects Ukraine's overall success in diversifying exports outside the former Soviet Union and belies Kiev's fears that anti-dumping charges would damage its trade prospects. Despite an agreement to limit imports of women's woolen coats, US imports of apparel from Ukraine were up 47% last year. US exports to Ukraine increased only 3.9%, to \$177 million in 1995, reflecting the economic depression there.

US ExImbank provided \$213 million in short-term insurance coverage to Ukraine prior to going off cover (terminating the loan program) in December, 1993. ExImbank is currently awaiting fulfillment of documentary requirements before reopening for business there. The only deal currently in the pipeline is a \$200 million medium-term transaction for more than 1,000 John Deere combines.

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DECL: 2/14/2006

UNCLASSIFIED

COOPERATIVE THREAT REDUCTION ASSISTANCE TO UKRAINE

The US has proposed to obligate a total of \$349.2 million under the Cooperative Threat Reduction Act (Nunn-Lugar) for assistance to Ukraine. Total obligations (as of February 6) are \$272.8 million; expended or disbursed funds are \$110 million. These funds support 10 assistance projects:

- o Strategic Offensive Arms Elimination: By far the largest project (\$215 million) is aid to dismantle Ukraine's strategic offensive arms under terms of the START Treaty and the associated Trilateral Statement. These funds will enable Ukraine to deactivate the SS-19 and SS-24 ICBMs located on its territory. US assistance has funded procurement of a wide variety of heavy equipment, such as cranes, excavators, graders, emergency support equipment, intermodal containers to transport oxidizer, and support equipment for an ICBM neutralization facility.
- o Defense Conversion: The second largest project (\$50 million) supports seven joint defense conversion partnerships between US firms and Ukrainian defense firms, producing housing for demobilized Strategic Rocket Force officers, instrumentation for nuclear and conventional power plants, cellular phones, windows, and upgrade units for die casting machines.
- o Other Projects: Other assistance projects have helped Ukraine develop material control and accountability and physical protection systems to enhance security of fissile materials (\$22.5 million); provided funding for the Science and Technology Center-Ukraine (\$15 million), which will direct the skills of former Soviet weapons scientists and engineers to peaceful research; provided assistance in enhancing export control systems (\$13.26 million); and supported the multilateral nuclear safety initiative (\$11 million), nuclear infrastructure elimination (\$10 million), defense and military contacts (\$5 million), emergency response equipment/training (\$5 million), and government-to-government communications links (\$2.4 million).

The FY96 allocation of CTR funds has not yet been completed. CTR assistance for Ukraine may begin to decline as Ukraine completes elimination or return to Russia of the last of its nuclear arms. CTR assistance has clearly helped Ukraine meet its obligations under the START Treaty and Trilateral Statement, reduced the proliferation risk, and ultimately enhanced the security of both the United States and Ukraine.

Not on disk

UNCLASSIFIED

Case Number: 2016-0123-M

MR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 1086				
Document ID: 9601027				
Row: 44	Section: 6	Shelf: 9	Position: 1	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. memo~~	~~Meeting with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma (3 pages)~~	~~02/20/1996~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ KBH 5/2/2019
~~002. talking points~~	~~Points to be Made for Meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma, duplicate of 009 (4 pages)~~	~~02/20/1996~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ KBH 5/2/2019
003. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	02/09/1996	P1/b(1)
004. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	02/13/1996	P1/b(1)
005. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	09/14/1995	P1/b(1)
006. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	12/22/1995	P1/b(1)
007. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page) Partial Release - KBH 9/2/2017	09/20/1995	P1/b(1)
008. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages) Partial Release - KBH 9/2/2017	05/01/1995	P1/b(1)
~~009. talking points~~	~~Points to be Made for Meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma (7 pages)~~	~~02/21/1996~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ KBH 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([Kuchma])
OA/Box Number: 1086

FOLDER TITLE:

9601027

2016-0123-M

kh1768

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9601027
RECEIVED: 16 FEB 96 13

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: LAKE

DOC DATE: 20 FEB 96
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: UKRAINE

AP

PERSONS: KUCHMA, LEONID

SUBJECT: PRES MTG W/ UKRAINIAN PRES LEONID KUCHMA ON 21 FEB

ACTION: NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DUE DATE: 20 FEB 96 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BLACKER

NSC CHRON

PASCUAL

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGP

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DOC 2 OF 2

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KSM NARA, Date 10/2/2018
2014-0123-M

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RECORD ID: 9601027

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 LAKE
002 PRESIDENT
002

Z 96022015 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR INFORMATION
Z 96022021 FOR INFORMATION
X 96022116 NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

002 960220
002 960220
002 960220

VICE PRESIDENT
WH CHIEF OF STAFF
STEPHANOPOULOS, G

~~SECRET~~

National Security Council
The White House

rec'd 2/20

11:50

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 1027

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG 18h A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
<u>B</u> Harmon	<u>1</u>	<u>D</u>	
Dohse			
Sens			
Soderberg			
Berger	<u>2</u>	<u>sur</u>	
Lake	<u>3</u>		
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	<u>18 2/20</u>	<u>STERN</u>
Records Mgt.	<u>5</u>		<u>N</u>

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

cc: Soderberg, Sens ✓

COMMENTS: Mtg w/ Kuchma
2/21

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

~~SECRET~~

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN⁷

5121/96

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 20, 1996

MEETING WITH

UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT LEONID KUCHMA

DATE: February 21, 1996

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 11:00 a.m.

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.59)

10/2/2018 KRM

I. KEY OBJECTIVES

- Underscore support for an independent, prosperous and sovereign Ukraine;
- Stress the need to stay with reform to achieve Ukraine's aspiration of a stable polity integrated into Europe; and
- Propose a 1996 bilateral agenda focused on delivering results.

II. BACKGROUND

Kuchma's Perspective. Kuchma is in Washington to receive an award from Freedom House. He requested this meeting to seek your help as he faces growing regional and domestic tensions. Kuchma fears social dislocation will cause a political backlash at home while he faces Russian pressure to bend to CIS integration. You will be able to offer tangible support: \$330 million in grants and a trade and investment package of \$860 million. [Note: during your May '95 visit to Kiev, you committed the United States to providing \$150 million in trade investment package. Since last May we have been able to increase this commitment to the figures shown.]

Your Agenda -- Affirming Ukraine. We recommend you underscore U.S. support for Ukraine's independence and prosperity. You can praise Kuchma's success in promoting integration as key to enhancing Ukraine's security.

Reform. Kuchma needs to hear again from you that reform is fundamental to creating a stable polity and consolidating Ukraine's integration with Europe. He also needs assurance that good economics is good politics: adherence to a strong reform program will help Ukraine get through the economic contraction experienced by every post-communist regime.

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Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 2/16/06

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Easing the pace of reform would only drag out the pain and hardship that underlie Ukraine's current political malaise.

Kuchma wants to put in place a new constitution that institutionalizes a strong presidency before his extraordinary interim powers expire in June. Agrarian, labor and industrial factions, meanwhile, want Kuchma to suspend Ukraine's IMF program and threaten to hold the constitution hostage. Should the IMF program fail, Kuchma would lose \$1.2 billion from the IFIs and more from bilateral donors.

Ukraine took great strides toward economic stabilization in the first half of 1995, but performance slipped badly in the second half as Kuchma's level of engagement declined. Kuchma secured agreement with the IMF earlier this month to restart the program in April, once the Rada passes the 1996 budget.

Energy. The Vice President will focus on energy issues, but Kuchma may raise it with you as well. Severe winter cold and a just-resolved coal miners' strike plunged Ukraine into an energy crisis last week. Russia disconnected Ukraine from the joint power grid when surging Ukrainian electricity demand threatened the operational safety of nuclear plants.

Russia and the CIS. In addition to "energy politics," Kuchma will likely accuse Russia of discriminatory trade practices (e.g., excise taxes on imports from Ukraine) and complain that Yeltsin has yet to make an official visit to Kiev.

Bilateral Agenda. We recommend you propose to Kuchma a new theme for our 1996 bilateral agenda: implementation -- delivering results. The Ukrainians continue to seek new agreements as proof of our partnership. Instead, we should focus on delivering the concrete results Kuchma needs to sustain political support.

III. PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President
The Vice President
Secretary Christopher
Secretary Rubin
Anthony Lake
Leon Fuerth
Laura Tyson
William Miller

Ukraine

President Kuchma
National Security Advisor Horbulin
Vice Prime Minister Shpek
Foreign Minister Udevenko
Minister for Foreign Economic
Relations & Trade Osyaka
Ambassador Shcherbak
Interpreter

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ 3

Chip Blacker
Interpreter

IV. PRESS PLAN

Pool spray at beginning of meeting (Points at Tab B).

V. SEQUENCE

After opening with a strong affirmation of U.S. support for Ukraine, we suggest you stress that consolidating reform supports Kuchma's political aspirations: integration with Europe, economic growth at home.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Points for Pool Spray
Tab C Bios

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KUCHMA

- Delighted we could meet. Christopher told me of excellent meeting with you in Helsinki; also pleased you saw Perry last month. Important to maintain momentum of high-level contacts; glad Christopher will visit Kiev next month.
- Admire way you are guiding Ukraine through complex time. Freedom Award could not have better recipient.

European, Global Integration

- Commend impressive strides in 1995 on regional integration and making Ukraine key actor in new Europe; profoundly enhanced Ukraine's security, international prestige. Appreciate your role in Bosnia: IFOR, helicopter unit in Slavonia.
- Commitment to reform fundamental to stable political organization, consolidating Ukraine's integration with Europe.
- Know it's not easy to build democracy, market economy. Also know slowing reforms won't solve problems; strongly agree with your December letter -- there is no turning back.
 - Delay drags out pain, hardship underlying today's political anxieties.

(You might invite Kuchma to give his outlook for Ukraine)

Political, Economic Reform

- Stand with you as you introduce new political and economic institutions. Sympathetic to parliamentary budget battles -- I confront similar situation.
- Commend your success in 1995 on slowing inflation and stabilizing economy; face historic opportunity to secure these gains and build basis for sustained economic growth.
- Understanding just reached with IMF particularly critical; know this required your personal involvement. As you advance reform, will support you with IMF, World Bank, G-7.

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Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 2/16/06

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PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.40)
10/2/2018 KBH

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- Should take heart from Central Europeans who proceeded boldly, now see rapid growth. Other countries failed when transition seemed endless; hope was lost.
- Your leadership key. You can help Ukrainians see reform as empowerment -- owning land, houses, small businesses -- that can instill hope. Vision there to be communicated.

Russian Pressures, Uncertainties

- Economic prosperity key to domestic stability -- creates firewall against social disorders. Also helps Ukraine expand trade and investment with Europe and reduce dependence on traditional suppliers. U.S. committed to strong, prosperous Ukraine.

(You might invite Kuchma to comment on concerns about Russia)

- Have emphasized to Russia that CIS integration must be voluntary, based on equality; should also be outward-looking and enhance global integration.

1996 Bilateral Agenda

- Best way we can help is to ensure our bilateral relationship produces concrete results. Propose "implementation, delivering results" -- as theme for our agenda for 1996.
- Have much to build on:
 - \$330 million in grants for programs in areas such as privatization, nuclear safety, cooperative threat reduction.
 - Million in untapped trade and investment support through Ex-Im Bank, OPIC and AID.
 - Multilateral arrangements like Trilateral statement, G-7 agreement on energy and Chernobyl, PFP and NATO programs.
 - Our relationship has been one of successes. Need to build on these foundations.

Compensation for tactical nuclear weapons (If raised)

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- Vice President raised with Chernomyrdin; Christopher raised with Primakov; will continue to pursue. Hope I have your assurance to fulfill Trilateral Statement.

MTCR and Wassenaar Arrangement; complaint that Ukraine must meet tougher standards (If raised)

- Look forward to Ukraine's membership in Wassenaar Arrangement, Missile Technology Control Regime. Assure you Ukraine treated equitably. Christopher ready to discuss.

Remove Ukraine from ITAR to unblock PFP support (If raised)

- Secretary Christopher working to resolve quickly in way that ensures Ukraine treated equitably with other countries.

Financing for fuel (If raised)

- Know situation critical; will ask Rubin to raise with World Bank; doing what we can bilaterally. Know you've given some consideration to declaring humanitarian emergency; if so, would look to match EU, Japanese funding.

Bilateral energy commission (If raised)

- Fully committed to working with you on energy. Feel we've created unique vehicle with G-7, multilateral banks to address energy reform and Chornobyl; ensures Ukraine, all key funders at table. Let's make sure we don't duplicate this channel. Bilaterally, will continue promoting oil and gas investment.

Join G-7 at Lyons? (If raised)

- Know we have a tough agenda ahead of us at Lyons. Can't offer hope at this point.

Ukraine at nuclear summit? (If raised)

- Look forward to seeing you there. Supported your inclusion in context of great progress made with G-7 on Chornobyl closure. French and Russian co-chairs will be briefing you further.

U.S. support to accelerate World bank loans, secure IFI funds. (If raised)

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- Assure you our understanding holds firm: as Ukraine moves forward with reform, U.S. will continue to lead international community to mobilize support.

Rada has ratified Bilateral Investment Treaty, push for Senate ratification, support WTO accession. (If raised)

- Will continue to urge Senate to take rapid action on Bilateral Investment Treaty; extremely pleased your Rada ratified; will certainly support concrete steps Ukraine takes toward integration with global economic institutions such as WTO.

Support IFI funding for Ukraine to participate in Bosnia reconstruction. (If raised)

- Highly value Ukraine's participation in IFOR Slavonia. Major international effort underway to raise funds for reconstruction. Process at early stage; let's stay in touch as it develops but cannot make promises.

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POINTS FOR POSSIBLE USE BY PRESIDENT DURING POOL SPRAY

- Support for independent and prosperous Ukraine lies at core of U.S. policy toward new independent states. Ukraine has become key partner in promoting peace and stability.
- I congratulate President Kuchma on Ukraine's progress in building a strong democracy.
- Ukraine also has made a strong start with difficult task of restructuring its economy; pleased United States has played leading role generating international support.
- Applaud President Kuchma's leadership on reducing nuclear threat. By mid-year, all nuclear weapons left in Ukraine when Soviet Union collapsed should be removed.

If pool raises story in media of Ukraine selling planes to Colombian drug traffickers:

- Any report involving drug activity is a matter of concern. I'm sure President Kuchma shares this view. He has offered full cooperation in working with us to investigate and resolve this report.

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003. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	02/09/1996	P1/b(1)

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3.5c

Serhiy Hryhorovych OSYKA
(Phonetic: ohSEEkah)

UKRAINE

Minister of External Economic Relations and Trade (since July 1995)

Addressed as: Mr. Minister

Serhiy Osyka still plays a major role in Ukraine's economic decision making in the aftermath of the Cabinet's reshuffle in July. While Osyka lost his Deputy Prime Minister post—he held it for only six months—he retained his leadership of the Ministry of External Economic Relations, which following the reshuffle is now called the Ministry of External Economic Relations and Trade. He is [redacted] [redacted] a key player on a wide range of issues, including Ukraine's energy policy and defense conversion matters. In addition, Osyka is Kiev's point man on relations with GATT/WTO, according to [redacted] [redacted] press reporting. He is also a member of the National Security Council.

3.5c

Osyka has been portrayed as a committed economic reformer by the Ukrainian press. In June, an article grouped Osyka with proreform officials Viktor Pynzenyk and Ihor Mityukov and noted that their promarket policies were coming under fire from leftists in the Rada (parliament). [redacted]

1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted] in September 1994, attackers stabbed and seriously wounded a man whom they mistook for Osyka, according to Ukrainian and Western press accounts. [redacted] 3.5c

Osyka was born on 27 March 1955 in Kiev. He graduated from Kiev State University with a degree in international relations in 1977. He earned a law degree from that same institution in 1980 and later worked as an assistant professor there and at Ukraine's Institute of Foreign Relations. Osyka then served as a consultant to the Rada during 1991-92. He was an adviser on foreign economic relations to then Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma from 1992 until 1993. Osyka then worked as a deputy minister and first deputy minister in the Ministry of External Economic Relations until his appointment as Minister in August 1994. He also served on a commission for Ukraine's cooperation with the European Union and as Ukraine's representative to GATT. In March 1994, he ran unsuccessfully for a seat in the Rada. [redacted] 3.5c

Osyka and his wife, who is a Ukrainian language teacher, have a son. Osyka speaks fluent English.

1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.65)
2/27/2017 KBH

3.5c

LP 95-110570
20 September 1995

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kh1768

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Yuriy Mykolayovych SHCHERBAK
(Phonetic: shareBAHK)

UKRAINE

*Ambassador to the United States
(since November 1994)*

Addressed as: Mr. Ambassador

Yuriy Shcherbak—a physician, writer, and environmental activist—has proved to be an able representative of his country despite his limited diplomatic experience, according to reporting from 1.4c, 1.4d the Ukrainian press. He played a major role in planning President Leonid Kuchma's November 1994 visit to the United States, which was widely viewed as a success. Shcherbak's only other diplomatic posting was as Ambassador to Israel from October 1992 until his assignment to Washington. Press reports credited him with fostering warm relations between Kiev and Tel Aviv in spite of potentially divisive issues, such as the controversial trial of John Demjanjuk, a Ukrainian-American and alleged Nazi war criminal. Shcherbak does not have strong political ties to Kuchma; he told a reporter in late 1994 that he is not a member of the President's inner circle. Press reports suggest that Shcherbak received his current job because of his favorable reputation both inside Ukraine and abroad as an environmental activist.

3.5c

Spokesman for the Environment

Shcherbak's reputation as a prominent writer and spokesman for environmental causes is already well established in the West. His listing in *The Encyclopedia of Ukraine*—a Canadian publication—highlights his literary works, including several articles on the Chernobyl nuclear plant disaster. In 1992 a US magazine ran a lengthy profile of Shcherbak, detailing his growing disillusionment with the Soviet system and his emergence as a prominent environmentalist in the wake of Chernobyl. According to press reports, he visited the site just a week after the accident and wrote a documentary novel describing the event's impact on the environment and decrying what he viewed as an "official coverup."

3.5c

3.5c



©

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PER E. O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.66)
2/27/2017 KBH

1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

Shcherbak has held political and governmental posts related to environmental issues. From 1989 until late 1991 he chaired the nuclear energy subcommittee under the USSR Supreme Soviet's Ecology Committee. In 1989 he became head of the environmental movement, Green World; he later led its successor, the Green Party, and in September 1991 the party nominated Shcherbak as its presidential candidate. He served as Minister of Environment during 1991-92 under then Prime Minister Vitol'd

(continued)
LP 95-104451
1 May 1995

Fokin and was a member of Ukraine's National Security Council during the same period [redacted] 3.5c

In addition to his activism on environmental issues, Shcherbak has worked to assert a national identity for Ukraine, according to [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d press reporting. [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted] In early 1992, Shcherbak openly characterized the relationship between the Commonwealth states as similar to "a friendly agreement among prison escapees who are still fettered together by a chain." He also has promoted the use of the Ukrainian language; Shcherbak has noted with pride that his first novel was published in Ukrainian—not Russian [redacted] 3.5c

Career and Personal Background

Shcherbak, an ethnic Ukrainian, was born on 12 October 1934 in Kiev. He told an interviewer in March 1995 that he is third generation Kievan. His

family was repeatedly harassed by Soviet security organizations in the 1930s and 1940s; in 1948 his brother was arrested and imprisoned for alleged ties to nationalist groups, according to Western and Ukrainian press reporting. Shcherbak graduated from the Kiev Medical Institute in 1958. He worked in Kiev's Scientific Research Institute of Epidemiology, Microbiology, and Parasitology until the late 1980s, when he turned exclusively to writing and politics. [redacted] 3.5c

Shcherbak is married; his wife, Mariya, is Polish.

[redacted] 6.2d

[redacted] Mariya is a biologist by training. The Shcherbaks have a grown son and a grown daughter and two grandchildren. Their daughter, Bohdana, accompanied them to the United States and is a student at Georgetown University, according to press reporting in March 1995. In addition to Ukrainian and Russian, Shcherbak speaks Polish and English. [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

1027

February 19, 1996

ACTION

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KBNARA, Date 10/2/2018
2016 - 0123 - M

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: COIT BLACKER *CB*

FROM: CARLOS PASCUAL *CP*

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President for Meeting with
Ukrainian President Kuchma

The memorandum at Tab I conveys a briefing memo and points to be made for the President's meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma on February 21 at 11:00 a.m.

Concurrence by: Steve Pifer *SP*

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Points for Pool Spray
Tab C Bios

~~SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5 (d)
Declassify On: 2/16/06

~~SECRET~~

POINTS FOR POSSIBLE USE BY PRESIDENT DURING POOL SPRAY

• Support for independent and prosperous Ukraine lies at core of U.S. policy toward new independent states. Ukraine has become key partner in promoting peace and stability:

*Pres. K congratul. strong democ.
US helped to generate future support
- need threat reduction -> all gov. need it -
Pres K -> coop in working with -*

2

• I congratulate President Kuchma on Ukraine's progress in building a strong democracy.

• Ukraine also has made a strong start with difficult task of restructuring its economy; pleased United

3

States has played leading role generating international support.

• Applaud President Kuchma's leadership on reducing nuclear threat. By mid-year, all nuclear

4

weapons left in Ukraine when Soviet Union collapsed should be removed.

If pool raises story in media of Ukraine selling planes to Colombian drug traffickers:

• Any report involving drug activity is a matter of concern. I'm sure President Kuchma shares this view. He has offered full cooperation in working with us to investigate and resolve this report.

~~SECRET~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 21 21/96

Card 1 of 14

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KUCHMA

So, Indep. Prospects Ukraine

- DELIGHTED WE COULD MEET. CHRISTOPHER TOLD ME OF EXCELLENT MEETING WITH YOU IN HELSINKI; ALSO PLEASED YOU SAW PERRY LAST MONTH. IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM OF HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS; GLAD CHRISTOPHER WILL VISIT KIEV NEXT MONTH.
- ADMIRE WAY YOU ARE GUIDING UKRAINE THROUGH COMPLEX TIME. FREEDOM AWARD COULD NOT HAVE BETTER RECIPIENT.

• *Ty → Uln: IFOR, Helicopter Unit E Slavonia*

• *Refused to sign: Par, Congress*

~~SECRET~~ *1993 → Slow deflation, Stabilization*
→ as go forward will supply w/ 100k, W Bank, 6-7.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

~~SECRET~~

Card 2 of 14

EUROPEAN, GLOBAL INTEGRATION

- COMMEND IMPRESSIVE STRIDES IN 1995 ON REGIONAL INTEGRATION AND MAKING UKRAINE KEY ACTOR IN NEW EUROPE; PROFOUNDLY ENHANCED UKRAINE'S SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE. APPRECIATE YOUR ROLE IN BOSNIA: IFOR, HELICOPTER UNIT IN SLAVONIA.
- COMMITMENT TO REFORM FUNDAMENTAL TO STABLE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, CONSOLIDATING UKRAINE'S INTEGRATION WITH EUROPE.

~~SECRET~~

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.67)

10/2/2018 KBH

~~SECRET~~

Card 3 of 14

- KNOW IT'S NOT EASY TO BUILD DEMOCRACY, MARKET ECONOMY. ALSO KNOW SLOWING REFORMS WON'T SOLVE PROBLEMS; STRONGLY AGREE WITH YOUR DECEMBER LETTER -- THERE IS NO TURNING BACK.

- DELAY DRAGS OUT PAIN, HARDSHIP UNDERLYING TODAY'S POLITICAL ANXIETIES.

(YOU MIGHT INVITE KUCHMA TO GIVE HIS OUTLOOK FOR UKRAINE)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Card 4 of 14

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC REFORM

- STAND WITH YOU AS YOU INTRODUCE NEW POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS. SYMPATHETIC TO PARLIAMENTARY BUDGET BATTLES -- I CONFRONT SIMILAR SITUATION.
- COMMEND YOUR SUCCESS IN 1995 ON SLOWING INFLATION AND STABILIZING ECONOMY; FACE HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO SECURE THESE GAINS AND BUILD BASIS FOR SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH.

~~SECRET~~

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

~~SECRET~~

Card 5 of 14

- UNDERSTANDING JUST REACHED WITH IMF PARTICULARLY CRITICAL; KNOW THIS REQUIRED YOUR PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT. AS YOU ADVANCE REFORM, WILL SUPPORT YOU WITH IMF, WORLD BANK, G-7.
- SHOULD TAKE HEART FROM CENTRAL EUROPEANS WHO PROCEEDED BOLDLY, NOW SEE RAPID GROWTH. OTHER COUNTRIES FAILED WHEN TRANSITION SEEMED ENDLESS; HOPE WAS LOST.
- YOUR LEADERSHIP KEY. YOU CAN HELP UKRAINIANS SEE REFORM AS EMPOWERMENT -- OWNING LAND, HOUSES, SMALL BUSINESSES -- THAT CAN INSTILL HOPE. VISION THERE TO BE COMMUNICATED.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Card 6 of 14

RUSSIAN PRESSURES, UNCERTAINTIES

- ECONOMIC PROSPERITY KEY TO DOMESTIC STABILITY -- CREATES FIREWALL AGAINST SOCIAL DISORDERS. ALSO HELPS UKRAINE EXPAND TRADE AND INVESTMENT WITH EUROPE AND REDUCE DEPENDENCE ON TRADITIONAL SUPPLIERS. U.S. COMMITTED TO STRONG, PROSPEROUS UKRAINE.
- (YOU MIGHT INVITE KUCHMA TO COMMENT ON CONCERNS ABOUT RUSSIA)
- HAVE EMPHASIZED TO RUSSIA THAT CIS INTEGRATION MUST BE VOLUNTARY, BASED ON EQUALITY; SHOULD ALSO BE OUTWARD-LOOKING AND ENHANCE GLOBAL INTEGRATION.

~~SECRET~~

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

~~SECRET~~

Card 7 of 14

1996 BILATERAL AGENDA

- BEST WAY WE CAN HELP IS TO ENSURE OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP PRODUCES CONCRETE RESULTS. PROPOSE "IMPLEMENTATION, DELIVERING RESULTS" -- AS THEME FOR OUR AGENDA FOR 1996.

- HAVE MUCH TO BUILD ON:
 - \$330 MILLION IN GRANTS FOR PROGRAMS IN AREAS
* SUCH AS PRIVATIZATION, NUCLEAR SAFETY,
COOPERATIVE THREAT REDUCTION.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Card 8 of 14

- MILLION IN UNTAPPED TRADE AND INVESTMENT
SUPPORT THROUGH EX-IM BANK, OPIC ABD AID.

- MULTILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS LIKE TRILATERAL
STATEMENT, G-7 AGREEMENT ON ENERGY AND
CHORNOBYL, PFP AND NATO PROGRAMS.

- OUR RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN ONE OF SUCCESSES.
NEED TO BUILD ON THESE FOUNDATIONS.

~~SECRET~~

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

~~SECRET~~

Card 9 of 14

COMPENSATION FOR TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS (IF RAISE)

- VICE PRESIDENT RAISED WITH CHERNOMYRDIN;
CHRISTOPHER RAISED WITH PRIMAKOV; WILL CONTINUE TO
PURSU HOPE I HAVE YOUR ASSURANCE TO FULFILL
TRILATERAL STATEMENT.

MTCR AND WASSENAAR ARRANGEMENT; COMPLAINT THAT
UKRAINE MUST MEET TOUGHER STANDARDS (IF RAISED)

- LOOK FORWARD TO UKRAINE'S MEMBERSHIP IN WASSENAAR
ARRANGEMENT, MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME.
ASSURE YOU UKRAINE TREATED EQUITABLY. CHRISTOPHER
READY TO DISCUSS.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Card 10 of 14

REMOVE UKRAINE FROM ITAR TO UNBLOCK PFP SUPPORT
(IF RAISED)

- SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WORKING TO RESOLVE QUICKLY IN
WAY THAT ENSURES UKRAINE TREATED EQUITABLY WITH
OTHER COUNTRIES.

FINANCING FOR FUEL (IF RAISED)

- KNOW SITUATION CRITICAL; WILL ASK RUBIN TO RAISE
WITH WORLD BANK; DOING WHAT WE CAN BILATERALLY.
KNOW YOU'VE GIVEN SOME CONSIDERATION TO DECLARING
HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY; IF SO, WOULD LOOK TO MATCH
EU, JAPANESE FUNDING.

~~SECRET~~

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

~~SECRET~~

Card 11 of 14

BILATERAL ENERGY COMMISSION (IF RAISED)

- FULLY COMMITTED TO WORKING WITH YOU ON ENERGY.
FEEL WE'VE CREATED UNIQUE VEHICLE WITH G-7,
MULTILATERAL BANKS TO ADDRESS ENERGY REFORM AND
CHORNOBYL; ENSURES UKRAINE, ALL KEY FUNDERS AT
TABLE. LET'S MAKE SURE WE DON'T DUPLICATE THIS
CHANNEL. BILATERALLY, WILL CONTINUE PROMOTING OIL
AND GAS INVESTMENT.

JOIN G-7 AT LYONS? (IF RAISED)

- KNOW WE HAVE A TOUGH AGENDA AHEAD OF ~~US~~ AT LYONS.
CAN'T OFFER HOPE AT THIS POINT.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Card 12 of 14

UKRAINE AT NUCLEAR SUMMIT? (IF RAISED)

- LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU THERE. SUPPORTED YOUR
INCLUSION IN CONTEXT OF GREAT PROGRESS MADE WITH G-
7 ON CHORNOBYL CLOSURE. FRENCH AND RUSSIAN CO-
CHAIRS WILL BE BRIEFING YOU FURTHER.

U.S. SUPPORT TO ACCELERATE WORLD BANK LOANS, SECURE
IFI FUNDS. (IF RAISED)

- ~~ASSURE YOU OUR UNDERSTANDING HOLDS FIRM:~~ AS
UKRAINE MOVES FORWARD WITH REFORM, U.S. WILL
CONTINUE TO LEAD INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO
MOBILIZE SUPPORT.

~~SECRET~~

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

~~SECRET~~

Card 13 of 14

RADA HAS RATIFIED BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATY, PUSH
FOR SENATE RATIFICATION, SUPPORT WTO ACCESSION.
(IF RAISED)

● WILL CONTINUE TO URGE SEBATE TO TAKE RAPID ACTION
ON BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATY; EXTREMELY PLEASED
YOUR RADA RATIFIED; WILL CERTAINLY SUPPORT CONCRETE
STEPS UKRAINE TAKES TOWARD INTEGRATION WITH GLOBAL
ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS WTO.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Card 14 of 14

SUPPORT IFI FUNDING FOR UKRAINE TO PARTICIPATE IN
BOSNIA RECONSTRUCTION. (IF RAISED)

● HIGHLY VALUE UKRAINE'S PARTICIPATION IN IFOR
SLAVONIA. MAJOR INTERNATIONAL EFFORT UNDERWAY TO
RAISE FUNDS FOR RECONSTRUCTION. PROCESS AT EARLY
STAGE; LET'S STAY IN TOUCH AS IT DEVELOPS BUT
CANNOT MAKE PROMISES..

~~SECRET~~

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Sec

Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

MR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 1087				
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memcon	Meeting with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, February 21, 1996. Record ID: 9601174. (6 pages)	02/23/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 1087

FOLDER TITLE:

9601174

2014-0874-F

vz3389

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.68)
10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Ukrainian President Leonid
Kuchma (U)

PARTICIPANTS: U.S.

The President
The Vice President
Warren M. Christopher, Secretary of State
Robert E. Rubin, Secretary of the Treasury
Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Laura D. Tyson, Assistant to the President
for Economic Policy
William G. Miller, U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine
Coit D. Blacker, (Notetaker)
Marta Zielyk, Interpreter

Ukraine

Leonid D. Kuchma, President
Hennady Udovenko, Minister for Foreign
Affairs
Roman V. Shpek, Vice Prime Minister
Volodymyr Horbulin, Secretary of the National
Security Council
Serhiy Osyka, Minister for Foreign Economic
Relations and Trade
Yuri Shcherbak (Notetaker)
Mykhailo Skuratovsky, Interpreter

DATE, TIME February 21, 1996, 11:15 a.m.-12:10 p.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Welcome, Mr. President. I would like to spend most of our time today listening to you, but first, let me thank you for your support in Bosnia and Slavonia. I know you discussed this with Secretary Perry during his visit to Kiev in January. We appreciate your support; it means a great deal to us. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Andrew Sens
Reason: 1.5 (d)
Declassify On: 2/22/06

This morning, before the start of our meeting, I called Boris Yeltsin and urged him to support your reform efforts and your independence and stressed to him the importance of equal, even-handed relations between Russia and Ukraine. (U)

President Kuchma: Thank you for those words. I am confident, due to assurances from [Russian] Deputy Foreign Minister Ivanov and others, that President Yeltsin will visit Ukraine and that this visit will not be connected to the Black Sea Fleet issue. I'm now certain that Yeltsin will be coming to Kiev in the near future to sign the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation. This will influence positively relations between our two countries and Yeltsin's campaign for re-election. I think the majority of people in Ukraine and Russia are opposed to any aggravation of the situation between our two countries. But extremist forces in Russia are trying to use the Black Sea Fleet issue to obstruct relations and Yeltsin's visit. (U)

I appreciate your words because we know that Yeltsin has a tough time ahead. If the elections in Russia were held today, Yeltsin would lose; I think there should be no illusions about this. But he has time. I think this time can be used to galvanize the state apparatus and to secure the support of others in the former Soviet Union. It also won't help Yeltsin's campaign [for the Russians] to apply "outside" pressure on Ukraine. The expression of anti-Ukraine sentiments has resulted in the defeat of several Russian parliamentarians who espouse such views. (U)

Recognizing that our time is short, I would like to inform you about the situation in Ukraine, relations between Ukraine and Russia and the situation in the CIS. (U)

Regarding the situation in Ukraine, we evaluate it as medium -- three balls, no more. This rather mediocre mark, which we give to our domestic situation, is caused by a number of outside forces. This stands in contrast to Poland, Hungary and the Baltic states, where they evaluate their situations by reference to domestic conditions. It is different for Ukraine and Russia; this difference is connected to our histories and to our family and cultural ties. (U)

We have stabilized our own domestic situation through strict monetary control; we financed our expenses last year without hyper-inflation. We managed to liberalize our trade activities, which resulted in an influx of foreign investment. We have proposed an increase in real wages. Bank deposit rates have started to decrease. And the decline in industrial output has been cut by two-thirds. These are but the first steps on the macroeconomic level; we need to take corresponding steps on the microeconomic level. (U)

This relates also to privatization. We have managed to do a lot on this front. The government's share of the economy now stands at 62 percent. We have privatized 38,000 enterprises in the last year. But all of this will amount to zero if it is not supported by a major investment effort, starting with the energy sector. I had good talks with Mr. Gore on this issue. (U)

We need serious, long-term support for the reorganization of our agricultural and energy sectors. A joint [U.S.-Ukraine] commission is required. I'm glad that Mr. Gore supports this. I have just had an idea on this issue. This joint commission should be headed by Mr. Gore and the President of Ukraine. What do you think? (C)

The Vice President: Chernomyrdin said to President Yeltsin, when somebody proposed the creation of another Gore-Chernomyrdin-like commission, "you'll need another Chernomyrdin!" (C)

President Kuchma: You will have long breaks between Gore-Chernomyrdin sessions; so you can do this second commission. (C)

The Vice President: Let's discuss it. (U)

President Kuchma: Mr. President, why delay? Let's agree now. (C)

The President: We'll have to give this a little time. The Vice President is the most overworked Vice President in U.S. history. (C)

President Kuchma: Okay. I can be involved in your election by coming over. (C)

The Vice President: We can work out an arrangement, one that works for everyone. (U)

President Kuchma: All the problems [Ukraine confronts] should be supported in concrete ways; not just by plans and commitments. For example, we worked out the electricity economy with the World Bank. Then came the coal strike and then the suspension of mazut deliveries from Russia. And then delays in the payment of the fourth tranche from the IMF. All our efforts have been reduced to nil; confidence has been eroded. (C)

The situation in Ukraine is related to political developments in Russia. Unfortunately, the left forces in Russia are better organized than the democratic forces. It is the same in Ukraine. There are so many democratic factions that they are difficult to

organize. We have a saying in Ukraine: for every two Ukrainians, there are three hetmen [chieftains]. (C)

Even our Rada chairman has come out against the reform course, saying he had no conflict with the Communist Party of Ukraine on this issue. So you can see, this is all part of a pre-planned attack. (C)

Regarding the situation in the CIS, I am confident that all the countries will continue as independent states -- as long as Ukraine does. Thus, we feel now vigorous pressure from the Russians; they understand how important Ukraine is in this regard. We can withstand this pressure as long as Ukraine gets stronger every day economically. (U)

Any delay in our payments to Russia gives the Russians an opportunity to change their behavior toward us. And honestly, there can be no doubt that this amounts to a trade war between Ukraine and Russia. The IMF understands this. I hope Mr. Camdessus has the chance to discuss this with the Russians when he is in Moscow. (C)

The Russians use their idea of a customs union as a precondition for discussions with CIS countries -- as a kind of shield behind which they pressure others. It isn't direct political pressure because that has failed. But their support for a customs union is politically motivated. The establishment of a customs union would encourage the disappearance of internal borders and border guards and create a new external border at the frontiers of the CIS. What, then, would be the difference between this and the old Soviet Union? It would be even worse in fact; this new union would be more Russo-centric. (C)

Their behavior is quite clear. They have imposed new duties on 108 commodities that are critical to Ukraine. We are less concerned about the prices than we are about advance payments. This will turn Ukraine into an unprofitable market for Russian exporters. With his latest decree, Yeltsin has introduced new excise duties on Ukrainian imports, which will cost us \$500 million. Yeltsin won't accomplish anything with this move; it will only promote illegal trade, through Poland or someplace else. (C)

While declaring in public their friendship and love, the Russians are doing everything possible to suppress us and drive us to our knees. Any delays in our cooperation with the IMF, the World Bank and other creditors will only exacerbate our situation. The Russians provoked the strikes by Ukraine's coal miners; they sent representatives to virtually all Ukraine's mines. But then the Russian miners refused to strike. Our miners, however, were on

strike until February 19. Immediately, then, the Russians disconnected us from our joint electrical system, forcing us to use more natural gas. The frequency of our power plants dropped below 49.3 percent, which is the level needed to function. We had to shut down one-half of our enterprises. (S)

Russia wants Ukraine within the Russian control structure. Russian attitudes today are completely different from just one year ago. In fact, this change in attitude is the direct result of the Russian perspective that we are beginning to make progress on our own. (S)

On elections [in Russia and Ukraine], I would anticipate worse results than we expect to see in the United States. I can imagine that adherence to democratic principles in Ukraine could result in the return of Ukraine to the communist path of development. In Russia, it is possible that events may make it possible for Yeltsin to win. Whatever the outcome of elections, there needs to be a clear, understandable policy regulating relations between Russia and Ukraine. (S)

The Russians need urgently to solve the problem of Chechnya. The full extent of the problem is being hidden by the media. The situation of the common people, the impact of the war on their lives, is very much worse than portrayed. (S)

There are very few ways to solve this problem I have told Yeltsin. I can see only two: leave Chechnya entirely; or deport the [Chechen] population, much as Stalin did in 1943. I don't see any other way, any other solution. The whole nation is fighting there. (S)

Also on elections, I don't see any profit in building up the notion of [Russian Communist Party leader] Zyuganov as a social democrat. For example, Mr. Tikhonov, the Communist Party official responsible for CIS relations, went to Crimea last week, where he declared the absence of any problem [between Russia and Ukraine] because "Crimea belongs to Russia." He said the same about the status of the Black Sea Fleet. Should the Russian communists win [in June], they would have to settle up their campaign accounts by denationalizing or reappropriating parts of Russian industry. (S)

The President: Yeltsin said that the Black Sea Fleet issue is moving, that there will be a mutually satisfactory resolution of the issue. (S)

President Kuchma: What do you mean? (U)

The President: That the resolution would be to both sides' advantage. (U)

President Kuchma: In fact, 90 percent of the issue is settled. There is only one remaining issue: the leasing of Ukrainian territory for use by Russia's part of the fleet. We can't afford to provide this at no cost. We have decided. . . (U)

Secretary Christopher: I regret that we will have to bring this meeting to an end. We will have an opportunity to continue the discussion in Kiev in March and when the President is in Moscow in April. (U)

President Kuchma: I would like to discuss the Moscow meeting. (U)

The President: Tell me what you would like to discuss, and I'll raise it with Yeltsin when we talk again. (C)

President Kuchma: I would ask that you make Chornobyl a separate agenda item in Moscow. (C)

The President: (Nods his assent.) I'm delighted to see you. I know it's a difficult time for you. We have a list of what we might be able to do. We'll do whatever we can to help; we'll do the very best we can. Unfortunately, elections make it even harder to do things; there's even less time. (U)

President Kuchma: Let me wish you one thing, if I may: success in your election. (U)

The President: Thank you. (U)

President Kuchma: Thank you. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

See

Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

MR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 1619				
Document ID: 9703239				
Row: 45	Section: 2	Shelf: 11	Position: 2	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notecard	Points to be Made for Meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma. (8 pages)	05/16/1997	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
002. notecard	Copy. Duplicate of 001 page 1. (1 page)	05/16/1997	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
003. memo	For the President from Samuel Berger. Subject: Meeting with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma. Record ID: 9703239. (3 pages) <i>Partial Release - KBH 5/2/2019</i>	05/15/1997	P1/b(1)
004. talking points	Points to be Made for Meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma. (2 pages)	05/15/1997	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
005. report	U.S. Government Report. (3 pages)	04/29/1997	P1/b(1)
006. draft	Draft of 003. (2 pages)	05/15/1997	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
007. draft	Draft of 004. (2 pages)	05/15/1997	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
008. draft	Draft of 003. [pages 2 and 3] (2 pages) <i>Partial Release - KBH 5/2/2019</i>	05/15/1997	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 1619

FOLDER TITLE:

9703239

2014-0874-F

vz3401

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.69)
10/2/2018 KBN

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-16-97

CONFIDENTIAL

Card 1 of 8

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KUCHMA

- DELIGHTED WE COULD MEET, THAT BINATIONAL COMMISSION COULD CONVENE NOW. YOU SUGGESTED COMMISSION IN FEBRUARY 1996; CREDIT TO YOU AND VICE PRESIDENT THAT IT'S NOW A REALITY.
- KNOW THERE HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT ISSUES, BUT TIMING COULD NOT BE BETTER. ABILITY TO TACKLE TOUGH PROBLEMS, MAKE PROGRESS ARE REAL MEASURES OF STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP.

- EdRef → Inst. Priv. Secor, Anti-Corruption, Confidence
+ s: hyper, new currency. → s: notes of US cos; Ag, Energy, more
Electricity, P&G, P&G 91 → How Union Reform
GO Secor → key to help w/ NATO, currency, WTO, EU treaty.
- See → TY CFE Flamer OK; 1 FOUR, 8 FOUR, PFP.
How NATO-UP w/ NATO-Run, NATO request.
Agree no FM, follow-up '97 MAY 15 PM 8:01
Initial agreement in Port 5/30. Sign per Madrid, Ukraine to be % den.

CONFIDENTIAL

PHOTOCOPY WJC HANDWRITING

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 2 of 8

ECONOMIC REFORM

- WANTED TO COMMENT ON REFORM PLANS. CANNOT OVEREMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE OF BOLD ACTION ON ECONOMIC LEGISLATION, STRENGTHENING PRIVATE SECTOR, YOUR ANTI-CORRUPTION CAMPAIGN.
- SUCCESS ON INFLATION, NEW CURRENCY IMPORTANT VICTORIES. CHALLENGE NOW TO BUILD CONFIDENCE IN UKRAINE AT HOME AND ABROAD -- THAT IS KEY TO INVESTMENT, GROWTH AND JOB CREATION.
- PROBLEMS WITH MAJOR AMERICAN COMPANIES HURT UKRAINE IN UNITED STATES; CONGRESS EXTREMELY CONCERNED. ONLY WAY FORWARD IS TO DEMONSTRATE THROUGH ACTION UKRAINE'S COMMITMENT TO REFORM.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 3 of 8

- KNOW YOU HAVE SAID NOW IS TIME TO ACT. WITH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 1998, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN 1999, ACTIONS TODAY BEST WEAPON TO WIN VOTES FOR REFORMERS.
- STRONG ECONOMY MUST BE FOUNDATION TO EXPAND RELATIONS WITH NATO, CENTRAL EUROPEANS, JOIN WTO, INTEGRATE WITH EUROPE. KNOW THIS IS YOUR GOAL; WILL SUPPORT IT.

EURO-SECURITY

- WE ARE PLEASED UKRAINE APPROVED CFE FLANK AGREEMENT; YOUR DECISION BROUGHT AROUND OTHER STATES.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 4 of 8

- HAVE ALWAYS SAID UKRAINE KEY TO BUILDING SECURE, UNDIVIDED EUROPE. EXAMPLE YOU'VE SET IN IFOR, SFOR, PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE SHOW YOUR COMMITMENT TO INTEGRATION.
- IN PARALLEL WITH NATO ENLARGEMENT AND NATO-RUSSIA, WANT TO MOVE FORWARD ON NATO-UKRAINE RELATIONSHIP. WILL BE GOOD FOR UKRAINE, NATO AND EUROPE.
- NEXT STEP TOWARD INTEGRATION IS NATO-UKRAINE DOCUMENT. GOAL AMBITIOUS, BUT SUGGEST WE ACCELERATE TO ALLOW MINISTER UDOVENKO AND SOLANA TO INITIAL DOCUMENT AT SINTRA ON MAY 30.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 5 of 8

- IF YOU AGREE, WE ARE READY TO WORK WITH ALLIES AND ASK SOLANA TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE.

(IF RAISED -- WHEN CAN WE SIGN THE NATO-UKRAINE DOCUMENT?)

- SHOULD SIGN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, DEFINITELY BY MADRID. CAN'T GIVE FURTHER DETAILS YET AS FORMAT FOR UPCOMING EVENTS EVOLVING. FIRST PRIORITY TO FINISH DOCUMENT. MADELEINE CAN STAY IN TOUCH WITH UDOVENKO ON SIGNING.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 6 of 8

(IF RAISED -- SECURITY ASSURANCES, "AGREEMENT" IN DOCUMENT?)

- WENT LONG WAY TO ADDRESS UKRAINIAN DESIRES IN DRAFT THAT SOLANA TABLED IN KIEV ON MAY 7. BUT THERE ARE SOME LINES NATO WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CROSS. EXPERTS CAN DISCUSS.

(IF RAISED -- RUSSIAN PRESSURES ON UKRAINE)

- URGED BORIS TO MAINTAIN CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH ALL NEIGHBORS; WILL CONTINUE TO STRESS IMPORTANCE OF RESPECTING SOVEREIGNTY OF ALL STATES. LET US KNOW HOW YOUR UPCOMING MEETINGS WITH CHERNOMYRDIN AND YELTSIN PROCEED.

- *Don't win by blocking up - State can't provide for jobs, tax ref, etc*
- *Implement UP-K agreement in new way*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

G-8: no more on Chernobyl - a war.

PHOTOCOPY WJC HANDWRITING

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 7 of 8

(IF RAISED -- COMMUNISTS IN RADA BLOCKING REFORM)

- GETTING RADA TO SUPPORT REFORM ENORMOUS CHALLENGE; YOUR LEADERSHIP ESSENTIAL; RADA WINS BY BLOCKING PROGRESS; MAY MEAN YOU NEED TO TAKE CASE TO PEOPLE, CREATE PUBLIC PRESSURE FOR JOBS, TAX REFORM, PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

(IF RAISED -- MEMORANDUM TO DEFINE STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP?)

- MY INSTINCT ALWAYS TO FOCUS ON IMPLEMENTATION RATHER THAN NEW DOCUMENTS; SOUNDS LIKE YOU AND VICE PRESIDENT COVERED KEY ISSUES, SET CLEAR PRIORITIES, DEFINED ACTION AGENDA; WOULD FOCUS ON IMPLEMENTING THAT AS FIRST PRIORITY.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Card 8 of 8

(IF RAISED -- INVITATION TO DENVER?)

- MEETING PLANS ALREADY SET, BUT ASSURE YOU G-7 AGAIN READY TO MOBILIZE SUPPORT FOR CHORNOBYL.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE PRESIDENT
5-16-97

Card 1 of 8

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KUCHMA

- DELIGHTED WE COULD MEET, THAT BINATIONAL COMMISSION COULD CONVENE NOW. YOU SUGGESTED COMMISSION IN FEBRUARY 1996; CREDIT TO YOU AND VICE PRESIDENT THAT IT'S NOW A REALITY.
- KNOW THERE HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT ISSUES, BUT TIMING COULD NOT BE BETTER. ABILITY TO TACKLE TOUGH PROBLEMS, MAKE PROGRESS ARE REAL MEASURES OF STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP.
- Edge → Fight Priv. Sec. Anti-Corruption. Confidence + s. figures, new currency. → s. notes of US cos; Ag, Energy, more Electronic Pay 98, 99 → move to new system. & control GORE → key to help w/ NATO, currency, WTO, etc. duty.
- See → Ty CFE Flank OK; 1 FOU, 8 FOU, PFO. New NATO-UP w/ NATO-rem, NATO request. Agree no FM, 4000 cars. 97 MAY 15 PM 8:01. Missile agreement in Port 5/30. Sign the deal. 1. Key to the % den.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.70)
10/2/2018 KBH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with
~~SECRET~~ Attachment

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-16-97 3239

THE WHITE HOUSE

'97 MAY 15 PM7:59

WASHINGTON

May 15, 1997

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

MEETING WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT LEONID KUCHMA

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.71)

10/2/2018 KBH

DATE: May 16, 1997

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 4:15 p.m.-4:45 p.m.

2016-0123-M (1.71)

10/2/2018 KBH

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *(Signature)*

I. PURPOSE

You have two objectives: (1) urge Kuchma to take strong measures on economic reform and to combat corruption; and (2) underscore interest in a NATO-Ukraine relationship and early conclusion of a NATO-Ukraine document.

II. BACKGROUND

Setting. The ambiance in Kiev has gone from relative optimism in January (inflation down, currency stable, NATO-Ukraine document on the way) to backtracking on key foreign policy and economic reform issues. Kiev threatened to scuttle the CFE flank agreement, changing course only last week after the Vice President intervened with Kuchma. An ambitious economic reform program languished for three months before the government started to lobby for parliamentary approval last month. Several major American companies have pulled out of Ukraine, sparking news reports and Congressional hearings on corruption. There are serious questions as to whether Kuchma can control his rich and reputedly corrupt Prime Minister. The prospect of an unpleasant Washington visit most likely led to a positive turn in Ukrainian policy in recent weeks.

Binational Commission. Kuchma asked you for a Binational Commission with the Vice President in February 1996. Committees under the Commission have met since last fall; this is the first session with the principals. Kuchma comes wanting to repair Ukraine's tattered image. The Vice President will review the Eurosecurity calendar for the next two months and try to lock in commitments to end nuclear cooperation with Iran and military cooperation with rogue states. He will also seek agreement on specific steps to re-energize reform and combat corruption. Your discussion

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with
~~SECRET~~ Attachment

Reason: 1.71

Declassify On: 5/12/07

PHOTOCOPY W/IC HANDWRITING

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

with Kuchma will focus on locking in the key points covered by the Vice President.

Economics. Ukraine's languishing reform program has blocked IMF assistance; increased state control in the energy and agriculture sectors is driving away investors and could cause the IFIs to stop disbursements. Some Congressional committees have threatened to curtail aid for Ukraine. The Vice President will walk Kuchma through specific steps to get reform back on track. You should emphasize the importance of these measures for Ukraine's political prospects. Ukraine needs to act now to see signs of an economic turnaround before legislative elections in 1998 and presidential elections in 1999. Ukraine also needs to put itself on a firm economic footing if it hopes to integrate with Europe and meet the international obligations it wants to undertake in its relations with NATO, PFP and WTO. Kuchma may respond that communists in the Rada are blocking reform; the reality is that the Rada is a highly fractured body, and Kuchma's best weapon is strong leadership.

Eurosecurity. You should underscore that we are at an historic moment in creating a secure and undivided Europe and that we want Ukraine to be a partner in this process. You might note to Kuchma that approving the CFE flank agreement helped move this process forward. As a next step, we want to conclude a NATO-Ukraine document and move it in parallel with the NATO-Russia charter. You should ask Kuchma to accelerate negotiations so that his foreign minister can initial the text of a document with Solana at the PFP foreign ministers' meeting on May 30 at Sintra. If Kuchma demurs, you should stress the need to move quickly. Kuchma, as you know, will take any opportunity for a lengthy discourse on Russian pressures on Ukraine. You might jump in as soon as diplomacy allows and affirm that we will continue to raise these issues with Russia.

III. PARTICIPANTS

President
Vice President
Secretary Albright
Secretary Rubin
Samuel Berger
Strobe Talbott
Ambassador Miller
Leon Fuerth
Steve Pifer
Carlos Pascual

President Leonid Kuchma
Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko
Deputy Prime Minister
Serhiy Tyhytko
Secretary, National Security &
Defense Council Volodymyr Horbulin
Ambassador Yuri Shcherbak
Mykhaylo Skuratovsky (interpreter)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IV. PRESS PLAN

Pool spray at the beginning of meeting.

V. SEQUENCE

We suggest you open by affirming the importance of close relations to work through difficult issues. You might address economics issues before Eurosecurity matters to ensure that Kuchma hears your message on the need for concrete actions to improve the investment climate.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made

Tab B Points for Pool Spray

Tab C

EO 13526 1.4c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KUCHMA

- Delighted we could meet, that Binational Commission could convene now. You suggested Commission in February 1996; credit to you and Vice President that it's now a reality.
- Know there have been difficult issues, but timing could not be better. Ability to tackle tough problems, make progress are real measures of strength of relationship.

Economic Reform

- Wanted to comment on reform plans. Cannot overemphasize importance of bold action on economic legislation, strengthening private sector, your anti-corruption campaign.
- Success on inflation, new currency important victories. Challenge now to build confidence in Ukraine at home and abroad -- that is key to investment, growth and job creation.
- Problems with major American companies hurt Ukraine in United States; Congress extremely concerned. Only way forward is to demonstrate through action Ukraine's commitment to reform.
- Know you have said now is time to act. With parliamentary elections in 1998, presidential elections in 1999, actions today best weapon to win votes for reformers.
- Strong economy must be foundation to expand relations with NATO, Central Europeans, join WTO, integrate with Europe. Know this is your goal; will support it.

Euro-Security

- We are pleased Ukraine approved CFE flank agreement; your decision brought around other states.
- Have always said Ukraine key to building secure, undivided Europe. Example you've set in IFOR, SFOR, Partnership for Peace show your commitment to integration.
- In parallel with NATO enlargement and NATO-Russia, want to move forward on NATO-Ukraine relationship. Will be good for Ukraine, NATO and Europe.
- Next step toward integration is NATO-Ukraine document. Goal ambitious, but suggest we accelerate to allow Minister Udoenko and Solana to initial document at Sintra on May 30.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5 b,d

Declassify On: 5/12/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.72)
10/2/2018 K8H

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- If you agree, we are ready to work with Allies and ask Solana to do everything possible to make this possible.

(If raised -- when can we sign the NATO-Ukraine document?)

- Should sign as soon as possible, definitely by Madrid. Can't give further details yet as format for upcoming events evolving. First priority to finish document. Madeleine can stay in touch with Udovenko on signing.

(If raised -- security assurances, "agreement" in document?)

- Went long way to address Ukrainian desires in draft that Solana tabled in Kiev on May 7. But there are some lines NATO will not be able to cross. Experts can discuss.

(If raised -- Russian pressures on Ukraine)

- Urged Boris to maintain constructive relations with all neighbors; will continue to stress importance of respecting sovereignty of all states. Let us know how your upcoming meetings with Chernomyrdin and Yeltsin proceed.

(If raised -- communists in Rada blocking reform)

- Getting Rada to support reform enormous challenge; your leadership essential; Rada wins by blocking progress; may mean you need to take case to people, create public pressure for jobs, tax reform, private ownership.

(If raised -- memorandum to define strategic partnership?)

- My instinct always to focus on implementation rather than new documents; sounds like you and Vice President covered key issues, set clear priorities, defined action agenda; would focus on implementing that as first priority.

(If raised -- invitation to Denver?)

- Meeting plans already set, but assure you G-7 again ready to mobilize support for Chornobyl.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

File for
the RecordDECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 135262016-0123-M (1.74)
10/2/2018 KBH

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 15, 1997

MEETING WITH

UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT LEONID KUCHMA

DATE: May 16, 1997

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 4:15 p.m.-4:45 p.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER I. PURPOSE

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with Kuchma will focus on locking in the key points covered by the Vice President.

Economics. Ukraine's languishing reform program has blocked IMF assistance; increased state control in the energy and agriculture sectors is driving away investors and could cause the IFIs to stop disbursements. Some Congressional committees have threatened to curtail aid for Ukraine. The Vice President will walk Kuchma through specific steps to get reform back on track. You ~~back~~ should ~~be to~~ emphasize the importance of these measures for Ukraine's political prospects. Ukraine needs to act now to see signs of an economic turnaround before legislative elections in 1998 and presidential elections in 1999. Ukraine also needs to put itself on a firm economic footing if it hopes to integrate with Europe and meet the international obligations it wants to undertake in its relations with NATO, PFP and WTO. Kuchma may respond that communists in the Rada are blocking reform; the reality is that the Rada is highly fractured body, and Kuchma's best weapon is strong leadership.

Eurosecurity. You should underscore that we are at an historic moment in creating a secure and undivided Europe and that we want Ukraine to be a partner in this process. You might note to Kuchma that approving the CFE flank agreement helped move this process forward. As a next step, we want to conclude a NATO-Ukraine document and move it in parallel with the NATO-Russia charter. You should ask Kuchma to accelerate negotiations so that his foreign minister can initial the text of a document with Solana at the PFP foreign ministers' meeting on May 30 at Sintra. If Kuchma demurs, you should stress the need to move quickly. Kuchma, as you know, will take any opportunity for a lengthy discourse on Russian pressures on Ukraine. You might jump in as soon as diplomacy allows and affirm that we will continue to raise these issues with Russia.

III. PARTICIPANTS

President
Vice President
Samuel Berger
Secretary Albright
Leon Fuerth
Others TBD

President Kuchma
National Security Advisor Horbulin
Deputy Prime Minister Tyhypko
Foreign Minister Udovenko
Ambassador Shcherbak

IV. PRESS PLAN

Pool spray at the beginning of meeting.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT KUCHMA

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- In parallel with NATO enlargement and NATO-Russia, want to move forward on NATO-Ukraine relationship. Will be good for Ukraine, NATO and Europe.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5 b, d

Declassify On: 5/12/07

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.75)
10/2/2018 KBH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

- Next step toward integration is NATO-Ukraine document. Goal ambitious, but suggest we accelerate to allow Minister Udovenko and Solana to initial document at Sintra on May 30.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.76)
10/2/2018 KBH

with Kuchma will focus on locking in the key points covered by the Vice President.

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III. PARTICIPANTS

President
Vice President
Samuel Berger
Secretary Albright
Leon Fuerth
Others TBD

President Kuchma
National Security Advisor Horbulin
Deputy Prime Minister Tyhypko
Foreign Minister Udovenko
Ambassador Shcherbak

IV. PRESS PLAN

Pool spray at the beginning of meeting.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.76)
10/2/2018 KBH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

V. SEQUENCE

We suggest you open by affirming the importance of close relations to work through difficult issues. You might address economics issues before Eurosecurity matters to ensure that Kuchma hears your message on the need for concrete actions to improve the investment climate.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made

Tab B Points for Pool Spray

Tab C

EO 13526 1.4c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

See
Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

MR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 1622				
Document ID: 9703615				
Row: 45	Section: 3	Shelf: 1	Position: 2	Stack: v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memcon	Meeting with President Kuchma of Ukraine, May 16, 1997. Record ID: 9703615. (5 pages)	06/26/1997	P1/b(1) KBA 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 1622

FOLDER TITLE:

9703615

2014-0874-F

vz3402

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.77)
10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Kuchma of Ukraine (C)

PARTICIPANTS: U.S.

The President
The Vice President
Madeleine Albright, Secretary of State
Robert Rubin, Secretary of the Treasury
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Leon Fuerth, National Security Advisor to the
Vice President
Ambassador James Collins, Special Adviser to
the Secretary for New Independent States
William Miller, Ambassador to Ukraine
Steve Pifer, NSC
Carlos Pascual, NSC (notetaker)
Marta Zielyk, Interpreter

Ukraine

President Kuchma
Volodymyr Horbulyn, Secretary of the National
Security and Defense Council
Sergei Tyhypko, Deputy Prime Minister
Gennady Udovenko, Minister of Foreign
Affairs
Yuri Shcherbak, Ambassador to the United
States
Mykhaylo Skuratovsky, Interpreter

DATE, TIME May 16, 1997, 4:25 p.m.-5:10 p.m.
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: So, Mr. President, I am encouraged by what I am hearing. Thank you for your efforts to get reform back on track; thank you for your approval of the CFE flank agreement. I hope we can work out at least the outlines of a NATO-Ukraine document that the Secretary General and Minister Udovenko can initial at Sintra, so that we can have a signing ceremony in connection with my trip to Madrid. This will be valuable for your people to see

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Classified by: Glyn Davies

Reason: 1.5 (b) (d)

Declassify On: 5/23/07

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that Ukraine has a relationship with NATO and that we're not trying to divide Europe up. (C)

President Kuchma: Thank you. I am very pleased to have this opportunity. I appreciate the benevolent and constructive attitude you have had. But I must start with an issue that is unpleasant for me, and I think that not even your ambassador may know this. It turns out that in a recent poll in Ukraine that President Clinton came out as the most popular politician with a 69 percent rating, far ahead of me. (C) (Laughter)

The President: I'm more popular in Ukraine than in the United States. There's a part of the Christian Bible that says that three times a prophet will go without honor in his own land. (C) (Laughter)

President Kuchma: I'm looking forward to the future, although the prospects are not always pink. By this I mean our neighbors as well. We're dealing with the Russia of Boris Nikolayevich today, but there may be someone else with a completely different policy in the future. The NATO-Ukraine relationship is a warning to all. It is in the interest of Europe to have an independent Ukraine. (C)

This is why we discussed with Albert the text of a NATO-Ukraine agreement. It should not be just a mere declaration. The texts of the Russia and Ukraine agreements will be compared, and that comparison will be personified in the person of the President of Ukraine. The situation is not so quiet in Ukraine, and the contents are of utmost importance. People must understand we will be supported. I am prepared to give instructions to our foreign ministers to initial this document on May 30. (C)

CFE approval was also a hard problem to solve. It started with different interpretations of the flank agreement by the United States and Russia. Russia immediately said it had the right to deploy troops and weapons on the territory of the former Soviet Union. I am pleased we found a way out. (C)

You have another diplomat working for you, not just Secretary Albright -- you have Al as well. By hook or by crook we decided to resolve this issue. We decided to ratify the flank agreement without the parliament due to the lack of time. We are waiting for the negative reaction from the parliament. (C)

As for the domestic situation in Ukraine, it may be that the adoption of the constitution or monetary reform drew all the attention of the President and that the President did not give sufficient attention to certain economic issues. Sometimes we

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fall down in our lives. But I think we are now of the same opinion on what needs to be done. (C)

I wrote to you on fighting organized crime and the mafia. These things are hard to do alone, and I would welcome your support and practical assistance and the cooperation of your law enforcement structures. We agreed to have a subcommittee under the Commission to deal with this issue. (C)

In fact, honestly speaking, the preparation of the work of the Commission allowed us to solve a lot of problems we couldn't do at first. (C)

The President: That is a very encouraging statement. On organized crime, no one can fight alone. Criminals can take money and weapons across borders. I just took a trip to Mexico and discussed how narco-traffickers can move across borders. I told the media civilized nations need to think about this and band together to fight problems like this. (C)

You made a statement earlier about Russia and what happens if President Yeltsin is succeeded by someone with a reactionary view. If that happens and it results in the subjugation of Ukraine, not only will it be an immediate tragedy for Ukraine, but it would then be a tragedy for Russia. Not only would it bankrupt Russia to try to repress Ukraine, it would destroy their authority. Today's world is not the same place as the world of the 1950s or 1960s. (C)

Now, as you pointed out on the economy, there is no such thing as a straight line to tomorrow; you get there in fits and starts. But if you keep going in the right direction and put the pieces in place properly, you can change the way your successors will think. (C)

This may be our biggest responsibility. It may be to create a new conventional wisdom so that the young people realize that going back to the past is impossible. (C)

President Kuchma: But where is the answer to why Russia started the war in Chechnya? There is no answer. I am deeply confident that Russia will never agree to an independent Ukraine in its mentality and thinking. The only way out is a strong economy for Ukraine, and this may even serve as an example for Russia. You can only guess at the sort of talks we have in Moscow. If another crisis comes, they have a weapon -- closing the gas tap. (C)

They don't like the policies we pursue. In fact, we succeeded in changing the attitude to NATO in Ukraine even in just a year. A

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year ago 99 percent of the population was negative toward NATO. Today, the polls show that the answer to whether NATO is a factor of stability in Europe is 50/50. (S)

The NATO-Ukraine agreement is another basis to appeal to the population. This is the reason we opened on May 7 the NATO Information Office with Solana. This is a way to open information to our people and to carry out propaganda work. This trip to Madrid, the signing of the document are not important for me, but for the image of the presidency of Ukraine. (S)

The Vice President: During the last four years in my trips to Russia I have had conversations on Chechnya and Ukraine. I view the situation slightly differently. If I was a neighbor and heard that Ukraine must be subject to Russian hegemony, I would probably react the same way as you. (S)

But from the distance of thousands of miles away, it seems to me that a significant number of Russians respond that Chechnya must be part of Russia. But the majority say as far as Ukraine is concerned that it should be independent. Crimea, of course, is a special case, and you have done a masterful job of working through this issue with President Yeltsin. I think the weight of opinion in Russia is moving toward resolving the Black Sea Fleet issue and Crimea peacefully. (S)

President Kuchma: You know, I cannot help but be concerned that the Duma has taken decisions on Sevastopol, and none of the people in the top places of the Russian government had reactions. But I should admit that President Yeltsin is under the influence of some of his young advisers now and wants to resolve some of these problems -- Transdneister, Chechnya -- and he proposed to come to Kiev to sign an agreement and dot all the "i's" and cross all the "t's" on territorial claims. (S)

I also want to mention it is important to solve the Georgia-Abkhazia problem, if you could raise this with President Yeltsin next time you see him. Ukraine is doing everything possible to maintain good neighborly relations. But there are certain bounds that we cannot cross. (S)

The Vice President: Many of us are concerned that the real answer to securing Ukraine and consolidating its independence is to use the next six months to advance economic reform, put the economy on a sound footing, get investment in, and then the questions about Russia and the questions about the past will disappear. (S)

President Kuchma: OK, settled! Thank you for the diplomatic support with Romania. On the second or third of June we will

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sign the treaty and have a chance to dot the "i's" and end this long-term dispute. On May 20 we will sign a cooperation agreement with President Kwasniewski of Poland. And we achieved a breakthrough in the CIS and signed the first internal border agreement in the region with Belarus. Russia, however, doesn't want to recognize interior borders. (C)

Mr. Berger: Mr. President, I think there is a very eager press corps anxious to ask you questions. (U)

President Kuchma: Yes, we should move on. Thank you very much. (U)

The Vice President: We first need to witness the signing by Secretary Albright and Minister Udovenko of the joint statement on the CFE flank agreement. (U)

The President: It was a pleasure to see you again. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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See
Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

MR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 1630				
Document ID: 9704800				
Row: 45	Section: 3	Shelf: 4	Position: 1	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma, July 9, 1997. Record ID: 9704800. (3 pages)	07/15/1997	P1/b(1) KBN 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 1630

FOLDER TITLE:

9704800

2014-0874-F
vz3405

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.78)
10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma
(following NATO-Ukraine Charter signing):
NATO-Ukraine, Ukrainian Domestic Situation,
Chornobyl Replacement Power (U)

PARTICIPANTS: U.S.

The President
Madeleine Albright, Secretary of State
William Cohen, Secretary of Defense
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Sylvia Matthews, Deputy Chief of Staff
Mike McCurry, Press Secretary
Strobe Talbott, Deputy Secretary of State
Jim Steinberg, Deputy Assistant to the
President for National Security Affairs
Steve Pifer, NSC staff (notetaker)

Ukraine

President Kuchma
Foreign Minister Udovenko
Defense Minister Kuzmuk
National Security Advisor Horbulyn
Foreign Policy Advisor Ohryshko
Ambassador Shcherbak
Presidential Aide Litvyn
MFA Europe and Americas Director Ponomarenko

DATE, TIME July 9, 1997, 10:50-11:10 a.m.
AND PLACE: King Juan Carlos Conference Center, Madrid

The President: Welcome. This has been a good day for you.
Congratulations. (U)

President Kuchma: Thank you. My colleagues know me well and
said that they have never seen me both so worried and so happy.
It was as if I passed the highest grade of an examination. (U)

The President: This Charter is good for Ukraine and good for
Europe as well. I am very impressed with what you have done with

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Reason: 1.5 (d)

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Russia, with Romania and with Poland. It's a great credit to you. As for the NATO-Ukraine agreement, it is now important that we move to implement its spirit as well as its letter. We must do things to make it real. This is important for two reasons. First, it is the right thing for Ukraine and for NATO. Second, it will help to create a climate in Russia to change Russian attitudes in a way that they do not see a threat and that helps to secure the independence of all of our partners. (C)

President Kuchma: I fully agree. I think that Russia has made a first step. Yeltsin and Primakov have recognized the expediency of Ukraine signing this agreement with NATO. They needed to express a certain will so as to be able to deal with this in a positive way. (C)

This morning, I discussed this with Mr. Solana, and we agreed that Ukraine is taking on certain responsibilities before the Ukrainian people to get them to know that NATO is not an enemy, as they have been told to believe all these years, but it is a partner in change. This is good for the development of democracy in Ukraine and to prevent a return of a totalitarian regime. (C)

You know, the emphasis in Ukraine today is not to enhance security in a vague way but to guarantee no return to communism. Such a danger does exist today. I would appreciate your support in this respect. The communists have started what they term a final and decisive fight. This year is the 80th anniversary of the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution. And they have tried to use, with a certain amount of success, for propaganda purposes the difficult economic situation. (C)

Next March is the parliamentary election. Today's public polls show that the leftist forces, including the communists, have a nice foundation for this election. They practically have blocked the budget in parliament; I only managed to pass a budget in June. But the President has no mechanism in the constitution to dismiss the parliament -- such actions would not be understood. (C)

The absence of a budget has meant a problem with the IMF. This has resulted in a loss of assistance to us of about \$1.5 billion. But we have not violated any IMF indicators, not on the budget deficit or on inflation. But I have had to use domestic reserves to service foreign debts, which means that salaries, scholarships and the like are not being paid. (C)

We may find people in the streets marching. The communists have made two attempts to march on Kiev. The last was on June 28. They managed to get only 3000 people to Kiev, though they had

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promised 300,000. It was a failure, but we must take this into account since winter is coming. (C)

We thus badly need assistance. This is not comfortable for me to ask this, but otherwise we may pay a higher price. Europe has assisted Russia, and Yeltsin has paid wages, enabling the Russians to set up propaganda work in Ukraine asserting that things are going well in Russia. We do not need such provocative Russian attacks. (C)

The President: I want to do what we can to help with your economic reform and get money released from the World Bank, IMF and EBRD. I know the Vice President has spoken to you about sending some people to help on economic matters. We will also talk to Wolfenson at the World Bank. We want to do whatever we can to support Ukraine. I know that you have taken some difficult decisions and made some important statements on your economy. I also know that you have parliamentary elections next year and the presidential election the year after. It is important that we do what we can to qualify you for aid. We will do whatever we can. (C)

I know the new Partnership for Peace meeting is about to begin. We should join it. (U)

President Kuchma: Yes. I have just one short question. Your delegate at the EBRD during discussion of the two replacement reactors for Chornobyl has not expressed his opinion in a definitive way. The Europeans have. I would ask your support. (C)

The President: I have heard about this. We did some work in Denver on the sarcophagus for Chornobyl, and I will look into this question. Our feeling was that the EBRD must ensure a proposal that is cost-effective and environmentally responsible. But I will personally look into this and get back to you. (C)

(As party rises to leave for EAPC meeting) One last thing. I want you to know that Steve Pifer will be coming to Kiev as our next Ambassador. He may be tall, but I've told him that, when he gets there, he has to get Chornobyl resolved. Otherwise, we will relocate the Embassy to the reactor site! (laughter) (C)

-- End of Conversation --

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See
Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

MR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 1642				
Document ID: 9706523				
Row: 45	Section: 3	Shelf: 8	Position: 1	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memcon	Meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma, September 21, 1997. Record ID: 9706523. (3 pages)	10/02/1997	P1/b(1) KBN 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 1642

FOLDER TITLE:

9706523

2014-0874-F
vz3406

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONDECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 135262016-0123-M (1.79)
10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma (U)

PARTICIPANTS: U.S. Participants
The President
Secretary of State Madeleine Albright
U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations
Bill Richardson
Deputy Chief of Staff to the President,
John Podesta
National Security Advisor Sandy Berger
Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott
Deputy National Security Advisor Jim
Steinberg
Ki Fort (NSC notetaker)
Peter Sedynsky (U.S. interpreter)

Ukrainian Participants
President Leonid Kuchma
Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko
Ukrainian Ambassador to the United Nations
Anatoliy Zlenko
Ukrainian Ambassador to the United States
Yuriy Shcherbak
Presidential Foreign Policy
Advisor Volodymyr Ohryshko
Ukrainian Interpreter

DATE, TIME September 21, 1997, 7:00-7:10 p.m.

AND PLACE: Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York

The President: Very nice to see you again. (U)

President Kuchma: I am glad to see you again, too. You are the most popular president here; congratulations on your speech. If there were more Ukrainians in the United States, it would add to your popularity. (U)

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Classified by: Glyn T. Davies

Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 09/30/07

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The President: Popularity is a passing thing; it goes up and down. How are you? (U)

President Kuchma: We are more or less confident about the future, although there are more than enough problems. It will be impossible for us to solve all of them without U.S. assistance. We understand that they are our problems, but I am certain that we cannot solve them without your help. There are problems that I have discussed with you several times, and at Madrid, like the anti-dumping measures on Ukrainian steel. We need your assistance. (C)

The President: I will see what I can do. What else? We asked the international financial institutions to do as much as possible to help Ukraine. I have asked Secretary Albright to discuss this more with you. (C)

President Kuchma: I will discuss many of the details with Secretary Albright. But, suddenly, we face other problems, all new. There is not yet a cent from the IMF, although several tranches are in the works, we have not yet gotten anything. Then they criticize our reforms, as being too slow. It's all interconnected, and then something else comes along. (C)

The President: What does the IMF say - that reforms are too slow? (C)

President Kuchma: They ask about many things; we have very difficult problems, especially with debts and salary arrears. We had to increase the budget deficit, because we must choose between the dissatisfaction of our people and a larger deficit. (C)

The President: You and Secretary Albright will meet tomorrow to discuss in detail these issues. I want to minimize the burdens you face. Our influence on the international financial institutions is sometimes limited, but let's try to work through this. I do not want to see additional problems for you before your elections. (C)

President Kuchma: The main thing is not to scatter your assistance in too many areas; your aid should be targeted. There are many influential U.S. organizations all around Ukraine, but often they pursue too many different programs. (C)

Principally, what I fear is that we might have a return to the past; we must not allow a "red revanche" and the Communists to

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win in March. The government now is getting all the blame and criticism for the (economic) problems. (S)

The President: I understand. We'll talk some more about all of this. I will talk to Secretary Albright about the steel case. I was not familiar with it; we will get back to you. (S)

President Kuchma: If you take action to cut steel deliveries from 600,000 tons to 135,000, it will cut our exports down to 25 percent (of current exports). Russia will have left 60 percent of its exports. These are Ukrainian jobs. (S)

The President: I am very glad to have seen you. (U)

Foreign Minister Udovenko: We have given agreement to your new ambassador. (U)

Secretary Albright: That is very good news. (U)

The President: Pifer is a good man; has been close to me. (U)

- End of Conversation --

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See
Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

MR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 2763				
Document ID: 9908830				
Row: 46	Section: 5	Shelf: 6	Position: 1	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	For the President from Samuel Berger. Subject: Meeting with Leonid Kuchma. Record ID: 9908830. (3 pages)	12/07/1999	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
001b. talking points	Points for Meeting with Leonid Kuchma. (2 pages)	12/07/1999	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
001c. draft	Draft of 001a. (3 pages)	12/07/1999	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
001d. draft	Draft of 001b. (2 pages)	12/07/1999	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
002. talking points	Points for Meeting with Leonid Kuchma. (3 pages)	12/08/1999	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 2763

FOLDER TITLE:

9908830

2014-0874-F

vz3424

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-8-99 8830

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

99 DEC 7 PM 3:05

December 7, 1999

MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT LEONID KUCHMA
DATE: December 8, 1999
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 10:15 a.m. - 10:45 a.m.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.80)
10/2/2018 K8H

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER 

I. PURPOSE

Encourage Kuchma to accelerate and deepen economic reforms and to encourage his position on ABM/NMD.

II. BACKGROUND

Meeting context. Your meeting with Kuchma will precede his meetings with the Vice President, in which he will hear tough messages on the necessity to move faster on reform and drastically reduce corruption. You will need to take care to tee up these "tough love" messages; Kuchma has a tendency to seize on the positive and ignore constructive criticism, and a softer message from you will dilute the tough messages he hears from the Vice President.

III. AGENDA

Political context. Kuchma just won reelection to his second and final term as President, besting Ukraine's Communist Party chief in a run-off. The preelection campaign was criticized by the OSCE and others for breaking international norms. Nevertheless, the voting itself was judged to be generally free and fair, and Kuchma's 17 point victory, while likely inflated, represents the will of the people.

Since the election, Kuchma has said all the right things; in his inauguration speech, he unveiled a "100 Days" program of accelerated reforms, said he would fight corruption, and reaffirmed Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic orientation. You should commend his speech and thank him for the kind words he included about the United States.

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Indeed, good rhetoric has never been a problem with the Ukraine -- the issue is acting on their promises.

Kuchma has a unique window of opportunity to pursue these reforms. He has a strong mandate for change from the voters; a pro-government coalition in parliament is within reach; and a looming debt crisis should motivate faster reforms. You should encourage Kuchma to think about his own political legacy; if he fails to achieve results in the next few months, the remainder of his term will be much less successful than anyone would like. Success in the near term also increases our ability to help.

Reform agenda. The IMF and World Bank have conditioned their assistance to Ukraine on real results, not just promises. Key themes include drastically shrinking the size of the bureaucracy (before naming a new government); strategic privatization of major enterprises; regulatory reform; and passing a viable budget for 2000. Kuchma has the authority to achieve most of this agenda now, without action by Ukraine's fractured parliament.

Euro-Atlantic integration. Ukraine and the EU have been engaged in a dialogue of the deaf for several years now. The Europeans are looking for the kind of reforms Kuchma needs to implement now. You should draw the link between domestic reforms and European integration, noting that nobody can argue or ignore concrete results, and that our ability to encourage Ukrainian-European integration depends on Ukraine's reforms at home.

ABM/NMD. Ukraine has abstained from voting on the Russian ABM resolution both times it has come up for consideration at the UN. You sent him a message on December 3, that outlines fully our position, encourages Ukraine to stay the course, and offers to work with Ukraine on these issues in a cooperative way. You should bolster that message by thanking Kuchma and making him feel like part of the international community of leaders on nonproliferation, an area where Ukraine has excelled.

IV. PARTICIPANTS

United States

The President
The Vice President
Secretary of Treasury Summers

Deputy Secretary of State Talbott
Mr. John Podesta
Mr. Samuel Berger
Mr. Gene Sperling
Mr. Steve Pifer
Mr. Steve Sestanovich
Mr. James Steinberg
Mr. Leon Fuerth
Mr. John Tedstrom (NSC notetaker)

Ukraine

President Kuchma
Mr. Yevhen Marchuk
Mr. Sergei Tyhypko
Mr. Anatolii Orel
Mr. Oleksandr Chaliy
Mr. Anton Buteiko

V. PRESS PLAN

Stills

VI. SEQUENCE

President Kuchma is greeted in the Oval Office. Following the meeting, the Vice President escorts him to the Ceremonial Office.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Highlights of Kuchma Inauguration Speech
Tab C Economist Article

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POINTS FOR MEETING WITH LEONID KUCHMA

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.81)
10/2/2013 KBH

- Congratulations on your reelection. Second term an opportunity to build political legacy.
- Enjoyed your inauguration speech. Touched all the right themes. Appreciate the kind words about the United States.
- Next few months are critical; success now can set the stage for a brilliant second term and a personal legacy of historic significance for Ukraine.
- But if reforms don't take off now, they'll be much more difficult in the future, and our ability to help will be limited.
- Quick success creates its own momentum, especially when you're building consensus among the public and with the parliament.
- Emphasis on corruption very important. Said right things in inaugural address. Know you and Vice President will discuss details.
- Progress in these areas will strengthen your bid for integration with Europe. I keep raising Ukraine with the G-7. If you produce quick, tangible reforms, I will use this to advance your interests with Prodi, Blair, Schroeder, Chirac.
- Finally, the more you do, the more the World Bank, the IMF and others can help. The Vice President and Larry will address this in more detail.
- Wanted also to talk with you about ABM and NMD. We really appreciate Ukraine's leadership at the U.N.
- I hope you got the message I sent last Friday. I want our experts to stay in close contact as this issue evolves.

If Kuchma raises Chornobyl...

- Vice President wants to speak in more detail. But we share your goals. Need to get the reactor shut down and new capacity on line.

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/06/09

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- A lot depends on reforms in energy sector. We're prepared to help.

If Kuchma raises extradition of former PM Lazarenko..

- Understand this case is active and that there is little I can say beyond the facts that our legal experts have provided.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.82)

10/2/2018 KBH

MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT LEONID KUCHMA
DATE: December 8, 1999
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 10:15 a.m. - 10:45 a.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

EF TO encourage Kuchma to accelerate and deepen economic reforms and to encourage his position on ABM/NMD.

II. BACKGROUND

Meeting context. *g* Your meeting with Kuchma will precede his meetings with the Vice President, in which he will hear tough messages on the necessity to move faster on reform and drastically reduce corruption. You will need to take care to tee up these "tough love" messages; Kuchma has a weakness for internalizing the positive and ignoring constructive criticism, and a softer message from you will dilute the tough messages he hears from the Vice President.

III. AGENDA *Political context.* *g* Kuchma just won reelection to his second and final term as President, besting Ukraine's Communist Party chief in a runoff. The preselection campaign was criticized by the OSCE and others for breaking international norms. Nevertheless, the voting itself was judged to be generally free and fair, and Kuchma's 17 point victory, while inflated, represents the will of the people.

Since the election, Kuchma has said all the right things; in his inauguration speech, he unveiled a "100 Days" program of accelerated reforms, said he would fight corruption, and reaffirmed Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic orientation. You should commend his speech and thank him for the kind words he included about the United States. Indeed, good rhetoric has never been a problem with the Ukraine *FW* the issue is acting on their promises.

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Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 12/6/09

Kuchma has a unique window of opportunity to pursue these reforms. He has a strong mandate for change from the voters; a pro-government coalition in parliament is within reach; and a looming debt crisis should motivate faster reforms. You should encourage Kuchma to think about his own political legacy; if he fails to achieve results in the next few months, the remainder of his term will be much less successful than anyone would like. Success in the near term also increases our ability to help.

Reform agenda. The IMF and World Bank have conditioned their assistance to Ukraine on real results, not just promises. Key themes include drastically shrinking the size of the bureaucracy (before naming a new government); strategic privatization of major enterprises; regulatory reform; and passing a viable budget for 2000. Kuchma has the authority to achieve most of this agenda now, without action by Ukraine's fractured parliament.

Euro-Atlantic integration. Ukraine and the EU have been engaged in a dialogue of the deaf for several years now. The Europeans are looking for the kind of reforms Kuchma needs to implement now. You should draw the link between domestic reforms and European integration, noting that nobody can argue or ignore concrete results, and that our ability to encourage Ukrainian-European integration depends on Ukraine's reforms at home.

December 3

ABM/NMD. Ukraine has abstained from voting on the Russian ABM resolution both times it has come up for consideration at the UN. You sent him a message on [Friday last week] that outlines fully our position, encourages Ukraine to stay the course, and offers to work with Ukraine on these issues in a cooperative way. You should bolster that message by thanking Kuchma and making him feel like part of the international community of leaders on nonproliferation, an area where Ukraine has [indeed] excelled.

↑
IV. III. PARTICIPANTS
United States
S. 1111
out U.S. Side STET
U.S.
The President
The Vice President
Secretary of Treasury Summers

HB

Deputy Secretary ^{of STATE} Talbott
John Podesta

^{Samuel} ~~Sandy~~ Berger
Gene Sperling
Steve Pifer
Steve Sestanovich

^{James} ~~Jim~~ Steinberg
Leon Fuerth ^{NSC}
John Tedstrom (note taker)

Ukrainian Side

President Kuchma
Yevhen Marchuk
Sergei Tyhypko
Anatolii Orel
Oleksandr Chaliy
Anton Buteiko ?

U. IV. PRESS PLAN

Stills

VI SEQUENCE

President Kuchma is greeted in the Oval Office. Following the meeting, the Vice President escorts him to the Ceremonial Office.

Attachments

Tab A Summary points
Tab B Points to be made
Tab C Highlights of Kuchma Inauguration Speech
Tab D Economist Article

TAB E Biography

STC

SUMMARY POINTS FOR MEETING WITH LEONID KUCHMA

HB

- Congratulations on your reelection. Second term an opportunity to build political legacy.
- Enjoyed your inauguration speech. Touched all the right themes. Appreciate the kind words about the United States.
- Next few months are critical; success now can set the stage for a brilliant second term and a personal legacy of historic significance for Ukraine.
- But if reforms don't take off now, they'll be much more difficult in the future, and our ability to help will be limited. Tell me about your plans.

[Pause for response]

- First, I'd make as much progress as I can right now. Quick success creates its own momentum, especially when you're building consensus among the public and with the parliament.
- Second, I think we very much agree on key priorities; the issue is producing results that will restore confidence in Ukraine and demonstrate your seriousness. I know the Vice President wants to focus on this with you.
- Third, progress in these areas will strengthen your bid for integration with Europe. I keep raising Ukraine with the G-7. If you produce quick, tangible reforms, I will use this to advance your interests with Prodi, Blair, Schroeder, ^{and} Chirac.
- Finally, the more you do, the more the World Bank, the IMF and others can help. The Vice President and Larry will address this in more detail.
- Wanted also to talk with you about ABM and NMD. We really appreciate Ukraine's leadership at the U.N. ^{Date? ~ Dec 3 ?}
- I hope you got the message I sent ~~last Friday~~. I want our experts to stay in close contact as this issue evolves.

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PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.83)
10/2/2018 KBH

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Declassify On: 12/06/09

HB

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING ON
MEETING WITH LEONID KUCHMA

- Leonid, glad to see you back in Washington. Congratulations on your reelection. Second term a unique opportunity to make progress on critical issues and build political legacy.
- Know you're focusing on some important near-term reforms and that you'll discuss the strategy and tactics with the Vice President in more detail. We all want you to succeed.
- Your inauguration speech touched all the right themes. Appreciated kind words about our strategic partnership.
- Next few months are critical; success now can set the stage for a brilliant second term and a personal legacy of historic significance for Ukraine. Critical to act now while mandate of Ukrainian people is fresh.
- Tell me more about your plans.

[Pause for Kuchma response]

- These are the right things to focus on. Let me make a few observations.
- A couple of areas come to mind, particularly the first phase of public administration reform and anti-corruption measures. Right now you're very strong politically, and the opposition can't afford to be on the wrong side of these issues.

[Pause for response]

- Wanted also to talk with you about ABM and NMD. We really appreciate your support at the UN. Ukraine's leadership is important in this area.
- I hope you got the message I sent last Friday. Wanted you to hear from me four things:
 - I have not yet made a decision on deploying a missile defense system.
 - I want to modernize and adapt the ABM Treaty to today's threats, not weaken the Treaty.

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Declassify On: 12/06/09

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2016-0123-M (1.84)
10/2/2018 K8H

- The missile defense system we are exploring is directed at rogue states, not at Russia.
- I am committed to working cooperatively with Ukraine on these issues.
- Let's have our experts stay in close touch. Your role in the Treaty's Standing Consultative Commission to the ABM Treaty is crucial.

If Kuchma raises Chornobyl...

- Vice President wants to speak in more detail. But we share your goals. Need to get the reactor shut down and new capacity on line.
- A lot depends on reforms in energy sector. We're prepared to help.

If Kuchma complains that Rada blocking all reform...

- Understand that many of your reform priorities can be advanced without Rada action. ^HHope you move quickly on these and look to form a working coalition with the Rada on other issues.

If Kuchma raises extradition of former PM Lazarenko...

- Understand this case is active and that there is little I can say beyond the facts that our legal experts have provided.

12-8-99

8830

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POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
LEONID KUCHMA

- Congratulations on your reelection. Second term an opportunity to build political legacy.
- Enjoyed your inauguration speech. Touched all the right themes. Appreciate the kind words about the United States.
- Next few months are critical; success now can set the stage for a brilliant second term and a personal legacy of historic significance for Ukraine.
- But if reforms don't take off now, they'll be much more difficult in the future, and our ability to help will be limited.
- Quick success creates its own momentum, especially when you're building consensus among the public and with the parliament.
- Emphasis on corruption very important. Said right things in inaugural address. Know you and Vice President will discuss details.

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/06/09

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.85)
10/2/2018 KBH

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- Progress in these areas will strengthen your bid for integration with Europe. I keep raising Ukraine with the G-7. If you produce quick, tangible reforms, I will use this to advance your interests with Prodi, Blair, Schroeder, Chirac.
- Finally, the more you do, the more the World Bank, the IMF and others can help. The Vice President and Larry will address this in more detail.
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3

*If Kuchma raises extradition of
former PM Lazarenko.*

- Understand this case is active and that there is little I can say beyond the facts that our legal experts have provided.

SECRET

See
Case Number: 2014-0874-F; 2016-0123-M

MR MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 4094				
Document ID: 0003863				
Row: 47	Section: 2	Shelf: 8	Position: 1	Stack: V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memcon	Meeting with President Leonid Kuchma, June 5, 2000. Record ID: 0003863. (9 pages)	07/14/2000	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
002. memcon	Meeting with President Leonid Kuchma, June 5, 2000. Record ID: 0003863. (5 pages)	07/14/2000	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
003. draft	Draft of 001. [with marginalia] (9 pages)	07/14/2000	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
004. draft	Draft of 002. [with marginalia] (5 pages)	07/14/2000	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
005. draft	Draft of 001. [page 1 only] (1 page)	07/14/2000	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019
006. draft	Draft of 002. [page 1 only] (1 page)	07/14/2000	P1/b(1) KBH 5/2/2019

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Kuchma]
OA/Box Number: 4094

FOLDER TITLE:

0003863

2014-0874-F
vz3433

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.86)
10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Restricted Meeting with President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Ambassador Stephen Pifer
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Gene Sperling, Assistant to the President
for Economic Policy and Director of the
National Economic Council
Stephen Ricchetti, Assistant to the
President and Deputy Chief of Staff
Stephen Sestanovich, Ambassador-at-Large for
the New Independent States
John Tedstrom, Director for Russian,
Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs (notetaker)
Marta Zielyk, State Department interpreter

President Leonid Kuchma
Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko
Vladimir Lytvyn, Head of Administration
Boris Tarasyuk, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Yevhen Marchuk, Secretary of the Council of
National Security and Defense
Anatoliy Orel, Chief of Main Department on
Foreign Policy Issues
Konstantin Hryshchenko, Ukrainian Ambassador
to the United States
T.V. Yanchera, Ukrainian Interpreter

DATE, TIME June 5, 2000, 3:15 - 3:45 p.m. (local time)
AND PLACE: Maryinsky Palace, Kiev, Ukraine

President Kuchma. I am grateful that you found time during a complicated period in the United States to come to Ukraine. I know it's complicated in the United States, and we are glad to have you here in Kiev. Your visit proves that there is a high

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Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke
Reason: 1.5(b) (d)
Declassify On: 7/7/10

level of cooperation on the transition in Ukraine, and it emphasizes the strategic partnership between our two countries.

(S)

Since our meeting last December in Washington, we have seen important change in Ukraine. We have done a lot. There was a newly elected President at that time. I told you things I was going to do, and I have implemented a lot. I probably won't recall everything we've done. I know you had a good chat with Viktor in Washington. It is important to have a new government for radical reform, and they're actually doing it. (S)

The creation of a parliamentary majority allows us to solve problems together with the Government of Ukraine. There aren't successes everywhere, but even a conservative evaluation of the work of Parliament indicates that it has improved. Even minor decisions are important. The abolition of the October holiday and changing the old Soviet emblems on the Rada building are examples of these small but important changes. (S)

We are working to build up a European state with European institutions. The majority in the Rada didn't form on its own. It was the result of the referendum announced by the President. My opinion, which coincides with the public opinion, is that we are making steps toward strong government bodies. But without the political support of the Duma, we can't achieve success. We can only have success if there is cooperation with the Parliament. (S)

In the beginning, my strategy was misunderstood. But now, there is an understanding that without the referendum, we couldn't advance on reforms. European parliaments work together on the basis of coalition. So, if there is a change in coalitions within Parliament, you have to do something. You have to have support. They supported Viktor. They took responsibility for change. Now, we have the important task of implementing the amendments to the Constitution required by the referendum. We must implement these amendments to the Constitution. If we don't, then they could be changed at a later date. (S)

Land reform is another example. For the first time in history, Ukraine lives by new agricultural laws. We did this despite severe criticism from opponents who said we couldn't do it. We completed all sowing this year, but at a lower expense than before. The referendum received most active support in rural areas, in contrast to the Presidential elections. This explains why agricultural reform has the support it does. The current

situation hearkens to the early 1930s. It was difficult for one or two years. Now we're in the fourth year, and God was not with us on weather. Late frost meant lost crops, and drought continues to plague much of Ukraine. (S)

On administrative reform, we've taken first steps, but there is a lot to do yet. Reform is supported by a majority of political forces. We are eliminating internal structures that were roadblocks to reform. We decreased the size of our ministries and agencies by one-half. We reduced administrative employment by 17,000 employees. This speaks for itself. (S)

We have started a big privatization program. For the first time, Parliament adopted a privatization program. This was a big victory for everyone. There is a legislative basis for implementing privatization. We're going to start with the energy sector. I need to ask a favor of you. I hope more U.S. companies participate in every sector of privatization. We're ready to sell fully 65-70 percent of the shares. Right now, only one U.S. company is involved. (S)

Ukraine needs strategic investment. Regional energy companies were privatized and got into the hands of Ukrainians who are not interested in reinvesting and developing the sector. We also see a lot of interest in foreign direct investment. We've received over \$190 million in direct investment. (S)

The President: That's good! (U)

President Kuchma: Yes, indeed, especially against the background of our history. We seek more changes in economic and social arenas. As a result, we are seeing changes in mood and public opinion has improved. (S)

There is a strong trend toward increased productivity. For the first time in ten years, production has increased, leading to more budget revenues and the real possibility of solving social problems that have accelerated. We have started paying wages and pensions on time. That's a good sign. These processes need support. (Looks at Prime Minister Yushchenko.) I don't know if the Government of Ukraine agrees with me, but we can't do it on our own. (Laughter.) (S)

There is also the IMF-EFF program. The credits are not as important as the political decisions. Frankly, your interest is important for all of Ukraine. You selected Ukraine out of all the European countries to visit during this trip. The EFF would

be another good sign. Without EFF, no investors or banks will come to Ukraine. (S)

The National Bank of Ukraine scandal is a political scandal. I cannot exclude the possibility that the negative press has come from Ukrainians who don't want to open up the economy. I cannot rule out that Viktor might be asked to step down, but I can't let him resign. Please, Mr. President, don't leave the Government of Ukraine without the support of the United States. (S)

The President: You can't let him resign. He just got started. (S)

President Kuchma: But we need money. We need the EFF. (S)

Prime Minister Yushchenko: A few days ago, John Olding-Smee visited Ukraine and looked at five key issues. I just received a letter announcing an IMF mission in a few days time, and it will write a recommendation for the IMF Board on our EFF program. So, it seems like things are moving in the right direction. But there may be some factors or problems that come up. There will be problems at the final stage, but perhaps a detail could spoil our program. (S)

The President: What kind of detail? (U)

Prime Minister Yushchenko: There is nothing now, but something could arise at any time. (S)

President Kuchma: The Prime Minister has to say that. We don't get money, but we service our debt on time at the expense of funding for much needed science investments, social programs, and education. These problems stockpile. We can endure it for awhile, but then a critical mass forms. (S)

The President: I am impressed by the reforms you've already taken, and by the quality of government you've appointed. I had a good meeting with your Prime Minister and Mr. Berger in Washington. I think it's obvious that I want to help. The announcements we're making today will help. Chornobyl is big news. Lifting of the launch quotas should bring a lot of money to Ukraine. Obviously, I will be supportive on the IMF issue. I always try to be helpful. I need to know more about the facts. (S)

Frankly, you've already done a lot. For such a long time now, foreign investment has not come into Ukraine. That's a problem. I am glad you got almost \$190 million, but given Ukraine's size, wealth, and strategic location, you should be able to get more. I want to be helpful. After all the years of stagnation, you need to have larger growth rates. (S)

It's important for the people to believe your strong commitment to finish the reforms you've started. I come here now as a way of saying that the United States stands by Ukraine. Chornobyl shows that Ukraine can finish what it starts. Space launch shows that we trust you implicitly on proliferation. Especially in light of the problems of proliferation in neighboring areas, this should help. And I'll personally help with the IMF. (S)

The next step is to get dramatic increases in foreign direct investment. You are doing well, but you can do better. I will do everything I can to help. It shouldn't be a problem. We'll do whatever we can to show you're sending powerful signals of real change. I'll do whatever I can to help. (S)

President Kuchma: On Russia, President Putin came to Kiev before his inauguration. This sent a big signal. There are some problems, but the main thing we agreed to conduct our dialogue as equals. I wish I didn't have to say this, but the Russian Federation doesn't act within the law. It says it aspires to WTO membership, but then doesn't comply with actions toward Ukraine. Russia tries to pressure us into a free trade zone with the CIS, but doesn't treat us fairly. (S)

Prime Minister Yushchenko: Russia is pursuing two incompatible trading policies with different overtones and different taxes and tariffs. It tried to create free trade zones. In 1995, it signed a parliamentary bilateral agreement with Ukraine. However, the Russian Federation has consistently been toughest on Ukraine. Russia continued to charge value added tax on all Ukrainian products. Ukraine is the only CIS country that gets charged VAT on its production. This makes it hard to talk about competitive trade with Ukrainian commodities. (S)

On June 21, the free trade zone will be raised at the CIS Summit. Therefore, we must stress that by the end of the year, the Russian Federation must send signals to the Duma to ratify the agreement. The Vice Premier of the Russian Federation told us that bilateral negotiations will occur by the end of the year and will be sent to the Duma, but it's a complex process. (S)

Today, we're facing discrimination. Last year, 70 goods were excluded from the free trade agreement. Now, 300 Ukrainian goods are excluded. We hope for a commonsense solution to this problem. But we lost a lot last year -- maybe 30 percent in commodity trade turnover. (S)

President Kuchma: Ukraine also wants to maintain a positive trend with U.S. trade. We saw a big decrease in trade turnover. Our governments have noticed it, so this must be significant. There are two aspects of this issue. First, let me address Jackson-Vanik. There is no substantive reason for Jackson-Vanik. No one has doubts about Ukraine's fulfillment of commitments to the Jewish community here, and even the Jewish World Congress supports lifting Jackson-Vanik. (S)

The second issue to address is Ukraine's market economy status. We don't have direct bureaucratic interference today like we've had for 70 years. Administrative reform has included steps to close down ministries such that we only have functional ministries now. This step was made by Congress; we know you know how to work with Congress. (Laughter.) If the United States grants market economy status to Albania, then why not to Ukraine? Now, I met with a group of U.S. Senators who support lifting Jackson-Vanik. (S)

Ambassador Pifer: I already spoke with Ambassador Hryshchenko. Senators Hollings, Shelby, and Bryant were here. They talked about attaching a rider to the State Department appropriations bill that would require graduating Ukraine. (S)

President Kuchma: Please make sure they do. (S)

The President: I will follow up. If Hollings does it, it would be good. This would really help. It would be an historic development. You may have to make Senator Hollings an honorary citizen. He's a good man. I'll go home and work with people on the Hill. I think they'll do it. They're all friends. They will all say we're for it. (S)

President Kuchma: There is also an issue with Russia and the European Union. It is important for Ukraine to integrate into European structures. With Poland and Hungary, the borders of the EU have drawn closer to Ukraine. It is important to deepen integration so that free trade zones can lead to the beginning of negotiations with the European Union. (S)

There's also the issue of associate member status. All Central European countries have been extended this title, except for Ukraine. It would help Ukraine if you would support this important status change. Also, Mr. President, we want to complete WTO accession by the end of the year. I hope I can count on your support. (S)

Now, on to the last issue. It happens that you're here on World Environment Day. I think it's only appropriate that we now discuss Chornobyl. (S)

The President: Yes. (U)

President Kuchma: We have made a decision with regard to Chornobyl. I know Viktor told you about our decision while he was in Washington. Mr. President, let me review our position on issues that are closely related to Chornobyl. When we talk about Chornobyl, we also need to talk about changing the infrastructure of the energy sector. This reform effort will ensure Ukraine's safe existence after Chornobyl's closure. (S)

We need \$500 million. This project finances completion of three nuclear waste storage facilities. Storage facilities for liquid waste project needs practical support, especially grants from the European Union. Today, the most difficult part of the issue is what to do after we lose Chornobyl's generating capacity. Chornobyl produces one billion megawatts of electricity. This alone is Kiev's energy demand for the year. (S)

On June 1, the Russians introduced a 30 percent excise tax on gas, which will make this problem even more difficult. The important issue now is to return to the idea of completing the K2/R4 reactors. In our view, this would be a nice way to compensate for Chornobyl's closure. I ask you to help convince the Europeans to make a decision on this issue soon. (S)

The President: As you know, I just came from Lisbon. I didn't tell the Europeans for sure about Chornobyl, but I did tell them that we're close on a closure date. I told them that once a closure date is announced, we'll need to replace fuel. I got a very positive response. I will continue to work on this issue. (S)

President Kuchma: I spoke with President Chirac this morning. He is very concerned about Chornobyl. He told me to take advantage of your visit. He said that the Germans will never agree to our plan, but he proposed we start financing without

Germany's consent. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has some funds for this. (S)

Prime Minister Yushchenko: So, if Euratom gives us \$500 million; the European Union gives us \$200 million; the Russians give us \$200 million. That leaves us with \$300 million that we still need from other sources. (S)

Also, I want to inform you that the state budget is covering our part of Chornobyl. We're doing what we are supposed to do. Compensating fuel is absolutely necessary. (S)

The President: I understand. (U)

President Kuchma: Also, Mr. President, journalists are going to ask whether the President of the United States raised corruption. Because it's in the Joint Statement, I think it would be a good sign if we addressed corruption. (S)

We are very grateful that the Ukrainian parliament ratified the Criminal Cases Treaty. But Congress should ratify it as well. We need your support. There are loopholes in our legislation. There is no law on the judiciary. There is no criminal code. We are still using the old Soviet code. Life is different now. We have new issues. (S)

The President: I think this gets lots of attention in the press, but any action you take in this regard is more likely to have an impact on foreign direct investment than anything else. If you make progress, they'll think the only reason they lose money in Ukraine is like in America -- as a result of bad investments, not because of corruption. I have been disappointed with the hardship your country has faced. Now, I see a real chance to turn Ukraine around in a hurry and in a big way. (S)

Anything on corruption will go up in bright lights. There's been so many problems in the past. People are looking to what you are doing now to resolve the corruption issue. The Prime Minister is a case in point. All this is converging. Now, you have to take advantage of the benefits of people taking a new look at Ukraine. Chornobyl will help because the public relations value of the closure is important. Space launch also helps. It shows that Ukraine can be counted on to play by the rules. We want to echo these kinds of messages around the world. (S)

Prime Minister Yushchenko: There are two issues concerning corporate and private business. (Comment: Apparent reference to Land of Lakes and Pioneer business disputes. End Comment.) The Ministry of Finance confirms it has allocated the necessary funds. They have the demonstrated political will. We've had technical difficulties with this issue, but that doesn't change our desire to get it done. (S)

President Kuchma: The Kharkiv Initiative is another issue. The Bushehr project in Iran was a mutual decision. For Ukraine, it was an issue of nuclear security. We also have Secretary Richardson's support on Odessa Brody to Western Europe. This doesn't settle the main problem, but it does allow Ukraine and Poland to resolve energy problems. (S)

The day before yesterday, I met with Nazarbayev. He said that he would provide information on Kazhegeldin. We are thankful for the feasibility study which confirmed the viability of the project. (S)

Finally, Mr. President, Ukraine is a non-permanent member of the Security Council. We're having a Millennium Summit. We want a summit of the heads of state of the Security Council. (S)

The President: Let me say again how much I appreciate the reforms you have implemented thus far. I want to help make the Chornobyl announcement and the commercial space launch agreement helpful. What we're hearing from the IMF is that you need to make quick progress on energy reform, including strategic privatization, privatization in other areas that meets international standards, and progress on the budget. With these changes, Ukraine should get much more foreign direct investment. (S)

Mr. President, I think this has been a very productive discussion. Shall we move to the expanded meeting? (U)

President Kuchma: Certainly. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0123-M (1.87)
10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Expanded Meeting with President Leonid
Kuchma of Ukraine (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Ambassador Stephen Pifer
Secretary of Energy William Richardson
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Gene Sperling, Assistant to the President
for Economic Policy and Director of the
National Economic Council
Stephen Ricchetti, Assistant to the
President and Deputy Chief of Staff
James Steinberg, Deputy Assistant to the
President for National Security Affairs
Stephen Sestanovich, Ambassador-at-Large for
the New Independent States
Donald Pressley, Assistant Administrator,
Bureau of Europe and Eurasia, Agency
for International Development
John Tedstrom, Director for Russian,
Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs (notetaker)
Marta Zielyk, State Department interpreter

President Leonid Kuchma
Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko
Volodymyr Lytvyn, Chief of Presidential
Administration
Boris Tarasyuk, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Yevhen Marchuk, Secretary of the Council of
National Security and Defense
Mykola Zhulynskly, Deputy Prime Minister for
Humanitarian Affairs
Yuriy Kravchenko, Minister of Internal
Affairs
Ihor Mityukov, Minister of Finances
Serhiy Tulub, Minister of Fuel and Energy
Syuzanna Stanik, Minister of Justice

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke
Reason: 1.5(b) (d)
Declassify On: 7/7/10

Vladimir Kalnyk, Acting Minister of Economy
Anatoliy Orel, Chief of Main Department on
Foreign Policy Issues
Oleksandr Chaliy, First Deputy Prime
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Konstantin Hryshchenko, Ukrainian Ambassador
to the United States
O.M. Nikonanko, Ukrainian Interpreter

DATE, TIME June 5, 2000, 3:45 - 4:05 p.m. (local time)
AND PLACE: Maryinsky Palace, Kiev, Ukraine

The President: President Kuchma, Prime Minister Yushchenko, and I just completed a very productive discussion about issues in Ukraine. We discussed in detail the important bilateral relationship between Ukraine and the United States. I stated very clearly that actions you take now will be heard loudly around the world. They can change Ukraine's international reputation for the better. There is more attention on Ukraine now than ever before. (S)

My country will continue working to keep doors in Europe open to Ukraine, like what we're doing together in Kosovo. I know the Polish-Ukrainian Peacekeeping Battalion is moving in, and we'll support you. Frankly, the Europeans have to step up and do their part. (S)

President Kuchma described in detail Ukraine's plans for the closure of Chornobyl and your plans for a pipeline into Eastern Europe. I must say that I am very pleased to be in Kiev on the day that Chornobyl closure is announced. President Kuchma and I have worked closely on this issue, and I think Ukraine will benefit greatly from this decision. President Kuchma and I also talked about strategic reform and privatization that meets international norms. (S)

Secretary Richardson should now comment in more detail about energy issues. (S)

Secretary Richardson: Thank you, Mr. President. Since our meetings in Kiev in February, we have seen great progress. You are absolutely right about the Chornobyl closure date. This will help with the Berlin Pledging Conference. I also have good news to report from my meetings with Energy Minister Tulub. Ukraine will do its part. It will contribute \$7 million for the

Chornobyl heat replacement plant, which will be put into the budget. (S)

We also signed the fuel qualifying agreement. Ukraine will no longer depend on just one source, Russia, for nuclear fuel. It can now get fuel from multiple sources, including Westinghouse. (S)

On nuclear power privatization, Ukraine has made good steps, thanks in large part to the active role of President Kuchma. There are two important follow-up steps. Ukraine must sign a decree allowing 25 percent foreign direct investment share, and it must proceed with privatization with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. (S)

On Caspian energy, the United States is very supportive of Ukraine's role. The only thing left is to release the TDA study to investors. Corruption is also a problem. I believe that energy is perhaps the most expansive side of the U.S.-Ukrainian bilateral relationship. (S)

The President: On Russia, let me reaffirm the importance of our relationship. My meetings with President Putin in Moscow provided us with an opportunity to further the debate on national missile defense. As you know, we did not reach an agreement on this issue, but we did make significant progress in outlining our interests and objectives. (S)

President Putin and I reaffirmed the importance of the U.S.-Russian relationship. We agreed to destroy 34 tons of nuclear material. We set-up a joint early warning system that will operate 24 hours a day. We also discussed a whole series of things on the economic front. There are lots of problems in Russia that you don't face here. On national missile defense, we issued a statement of principles which accepts the idea that the nuclear threat will grow to touch all nation-states from rogue states. We agreed that the threat is dangerous. (S)

They didn't agree with our national missile defense proposal. They believe it challenges the doctrine of mutual deterrence. We're in better shape now than one month ago with this relationship, though. (S)

I also participated in a national call-in radio program which showed that the tensions of Kosovo are behind us. I think we're in pretty good shape. The big question is how Russia will measure its greatness. I urged the Russian leadership to

measure their country's greatness by the quality of life of the Russian people and by the quality of Russia's relationships with its neighbors. (S)

I took criticism on G-8 and APEC for bringing Russia in. But I wanted them to see more benefits from cooperation with others, like Ukraine, than from dominating it. I want them to imagine a future that is different from the past. It's better for Russia to help Ukraine get rich. And it is in Ukraine's interest to have good relations with Russia. (S)

This is how I see it. They went through a shattering period. Their economy fell, not like yours, but bad nonetheless. Their military situation compared to the United States is not what it used to be. They feel very insecure. The Russian government wants a sphere of influence, but it doesn't have control. You should have mutual influence with the Russian president. Russia should influence you, and you should influence Russia. The same goes for relations with the United States. But Russia shouldn't dominate Ukraine. (S)

Russia was trampled by Napoleon and Hitler. After World War II, it wanted peace in the short run and it created the Warsaw Pact. It has lost that for now, but Russia is determined to come back. Russia can be great if it defines its greatness correctly. (S)

I say Russia should be friends with the United States and with Ukraine. Russia needs to understand that it benefits if Ukraine is successful, and therefore, it should encourage Ukraine's success. This is the kind of language we should use with them. No one denies their right to greatness. The question is whether they'll have 21st century greatness or 19th century coercion. Nineteenth century coercion doesn't generate as much money or prestige as 21st century greatness. There's a lot going on there right now. I'm trying to influence them in a positive way. (S)

President Kuchma: Russia should be happy. Did President Putin agree with your idea of partnership with Ukraine? (S)

The President: No, but he didn't disagree. He's smart, though, and wants success. Two years ago, he didn't have any idea he would be President. We don't yet know his style. Sometimes he's listening when you don't think he is. Look at his background. He has been trained to hold his cards close. Putin doesn't mislead because he promises less and delivers more. (S)

Don't give up on him yet. I think he's more open than many people think. Don't argue that something is not good for you but good for them. You need to find solutions where all sides benefit. (S)

Putin is worried that his country's economy shrank and its military shrank. It's a psychological loss. His country has lost its greatness. The United States has a big stake in this relationship. We should engage more, not less. We should assume the best, not the worst. (S)

At the same time, we can't move Ukraine to Indonesia. You are a great country too. Don't give up. Find smart people there and push hard. Don't give up. (S)

President Kuchma: (Laughter.) Do we look like people who give up? (U)

The President: No, you don't. If you had been the type of people who gave up, you would have done it three or four years ago. But don't give up now. (U)

President Kuchma: We won't, Mr. President. Thank you for your visit. I am very pleased by what we've been able to accomplish today. I speak for the Ukrainian people when I tell you how honored we are by your visit and how much we look forward to your speech this afternoon. (U)

The President: Thank you very much. I am delighted to be here. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONDECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.88)

10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Restricted Meeting with President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine (a) - ?

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Ambassador Stephen Pifer
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Gene Sperling, Assistant to the President
for Economic Policy and Director of the
National Economic Council
Stephen Ricchetti, Assistant to the
President and Deputy Chief of Staff
Stephen Sestanovich, Ambassador-at-Large for
the New Independent States
John Tedstrom, Director for Russian,
Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs (notetaker)
Marta Zielyk, State Department interpreter

President Leonid Kuchma
Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko
Vladimir Lytvyn, Head of Administration
Boris Tarasyuk, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Yevhen Marchuk, Secretary of the Council of
National Security and Defense
Anatoliy Orel, Chief of Main Department on
Foreign Policy Issues
Konstantin Hryshchenko, Ukrainian Ambassador
to the United States
T.V. Yanchera, Ukrainian Interpreter

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: June 5, 2000, 3:15 - 3:45 p.m. (local time)
Maryinsky Palace, Kiev, Ukraine

Spelled out

President Kuchma. I am grateful that you found time during a complicated period in the United States to come to Ukraine. I know it's complicated in the U.S., and we are glad to have you here in Kiev. Your visit proves that there is a high level of

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Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke

Reason: 1.5(b)(d)

Declassify On: 6/19/10

cooperation on the transition in Ukraine, and it emphasizes the strategic partnership between our two countries. (S)

Since our meeting last December in Washington, we have seen important change in Ukraine. We have done a lot. There was a newly elected President at that time. I told you things I was going to do, and I have implemented a lot. I probably won't recall everything we've done. I know you had a good chat with Viktor in Washington. It is important to have a new government for radical reform, and they're actually doing it. (S)

The creation of a parliamentary majority allows us to solve problems together with the Government of Ukraine. There aren't successes everywhere, but even a conservative evaluation of the work of Parliament indicates that it has improved. Even minor decisions are important. The abolition of the October holiday and changing the old Soviet emblems on the Rada building are examples of these small but important changes. (S)

We are working to build up a European state with European institutions. The majority in the Rada didn't form on its own. It was the result of the referendum announced by the President. My opinion, which coincides with the public opinion, is that we are making steps toward strong government bodies. But without the political support of the Duma, we can't achieve success. We can only have success if there is cooperation with the Parliament. (S)

In the beginning, my strategy was misunderstood. But now, there is an understanding that without the referendum, we couldn't advance on reforms. European parliaments work together on the basis of coalition. So, if there is a change in coalitions within Parliament, you have to do something. You have to have support. They supported Viktor. They took responsibility for change. Now, we have the important task of implementing the amendments to the Constitution required by the referendum. We must implement these amendments to the Constitution. If we don't, then they could be changed at a later date. (S)

Land reform is another example. For the first time in history, Ukraine lives by new agricultural laws. We did this despite severe criticism from opponents who said we couldn't do it. We completed all sowing this year, but at a lower expense than before. The referendum received most active support in rural areas, in contrast to the Presidential elections. This explains why agricultural reform has the support it does. The current situation harkens to the early 1930s. It was difficult for

one or two years. Now we're in the fourth year, and God was not with us on weather. Late frost meant lost crops, and drought continues to plague much of Ukraine. (S)

On administrative reform, we've taken first steps, but there is a lot to do yet. Reform is supported by a majority of political forces. We are eliminating internal structures that were roadblocks to reform. We decreased the size of our ministries and agencies by one-half. We reduced administrative employment by 17,000 employees. This speaks for itself. (S)

We have started a big privatization program. For the first time, Parliament adopted a privatization program. This was a big victory for everyone. There is a legislative basis for implementing privatization. We're going to start with the energy sector. I need to ask a favor of you. I hope more U.S. companies participate in every sector of privatization. We're ready to sell fully 65-70 percent of the shares. Right now, only one U.S. company is involved. (S)

Ukraine needs strategic investment. Regional energy companies were privatized and got into the hands of Ukrainians who are not interested in reinvesting and developing the sector. We also see a lot of interest in foreign direct investment. We've received over \$190 million in direct investment. (S)

The President: That's good! (S) - ? (u)

President Kuchma: Yes, indeed, especially against the background of our history. We seek more changes in economic and social arenas. As a result, we are seeing changes in mood and public opinion has improved. (S)

There is a strong trend toward increased productivity. For the first time in ten years, production has increased, leading to more budget revenues and the real possibility of solving social problems that have accelerated. We have started paying wages and pensions on time. That's a good sign. These processes need support. (Looks at Prime Minister Yushchenko.) I don't know if the Government of Ukraine agrees with me, but we can't do it on our own. (Laughter.) (S)

There is also the IMF-EFF program. The credits are not as important as the political decisions. Frankly, your interest is important for all of Ukraine. You selected Ukraine out of all the European countries to visit during this trip. The EFF would

The last
sentence doesn't
make sense.

be another good sign. Without EFF, no investors or banks will come to Ukraine. (S)

The National Bank of Ukraine scandal is a political scandal. I cannot exclude the possibility that the negative press has come from Ukrainians who don't want to open up the economy. I cannot rule out that Viktor might be asked to step down, but I can't let him resign. Please, Mr. President, don't leave the Government of Ukraine without the support of the U.S. (S)

The President: You can't let him resign. He just got started. (S)

President Kuchma: But we need money. We need the EFF. (S)

Prime Minister Yushchenko: A few days ago, John Olding-Smee visited Ukraine and looked at five key issues. I just received a letter announcing an IMF mission in a few days time, and it will write a recommendation for the IMF Board on our EFF program. So, it seems like things are moving in the right direction. But there may be some factors or problems that come up. There will be problems at the final stage, but perhaps a detail could spoil our program. (S)

The President: What kind of detail? (S) - 7

Prime Minister Yushchenko: There is nothing now, but something could arise at any time. (S)

President Kuchma: The Prime Minister has to say that. We don't get money, but we service our debt on time at the expense of funding for much needed science investments, social programs, and education. These problems stockpile. We can endure it for awhile, but then a critical mass forms. (S)

The President: I am impressed by the reforms you've already taken, and by the quality of government you've appointed. I had a good meeting with your Prime Minister and Mr. Berger in Washington. I think it's obvious that I want to help. The announcements we're making today will help. Chornobyl is big news. Lifting of the launch quotas should bring a lot of money to Ukraine. Obviously, I will be supportive on the IMF issue. I always try to be helpful. I need to know more about the facts. (S)

Frankly, you've already done a lot. There's a real problem that for such a long time now, foreign investment did not come into

Ukraine. I am glad you got almost \$190 million, but given Ukraine's size, wealth, and strategic location, you should be able to get more. I want to be helpful. After all the years of stagnation, you need to have larger growth rates. (S)

It's important for the people to believe your strong commitment to finish the reforms you've started. I come here now as a way of saying that the United States stands by Ukraine. Chornobyl shows that Ukraine can finish what it starts. Space launch shows that we trust you implicitly on proliferation. Especially in light of the problems of proliferation in neighboring areas, this should help. And I'll personally help with the IMF. (S)

The next step is to get dramatic increases in foreign direct investment. You are doing well, but you can do better. I will do everything I can to help. It shouldn't be a problem. We'll do whatever we can to show you're sending powerful signals of real change. I'll do whatever I can to help. (S)

President Kuchma: On Russia, President Putin came to Kiev before his inauguration. This sent a big signal. There are some problems, but the main thing we agreed to conduct our dialogue as equals. I wish I didn't have to say this, but the Russian Federation doesn't act within the law. It says it aspires to WTO membership, but then doesn't comply with actions toward Ukraine. Russia tries to pressure us into a free trade zone with the CIS, but doesn't treat us fairly. (S)

Prime Minister Yushchenko: Russia is pursuing two incompatible trading policies with different overtones and different taxes and tariffs. It tried to create free trade zones. In 1995, it signed a parliamentary bilateral agreement with Ukraine. However, the Russian Federation has consistently been toughest on Ukraine. Russia continued to charge value added tax on all Ukrainian products. Ukraine is the only CIS country that gets charged VAT on its production. This makes it hard to talk about competitive trade with Ukrainian commodities. (S)

On June 21, the free trade zone will be raised at the CIS Summit. Therefore, we must stress that by the end of the year, the Russian Federation must send signals to the Duma to ratify the agreement. The Vice Premier of the Russian Federation told us that bilateral negotiations will occur by the end of the year and will be sent to the Duma, but it's a complex process. (S)

Today, we're facing discrimination. Last year, 70 goods were excluded from the free trade agreement. Now, 300 Ukrainian

goods are excluded. We hope for a commonsense solution to this problem. But we lost a lot last year -- maybe 30 percent in commodity trade turn over. (S)

President Kuchma: Ukraine also wants to maintain a positive trend with U.S. trade. We saw a big decrease in trade turnover. Our governments have noticed it, so this must be significant. There are two aspects of this issue. First, let me address Jackson-Vanik. There is no substantive reason for Jackson-Vanik. No one has doubts about Ukraine's fulfillment of commitments to the Jewish community here, and even the Jewish World Congress supports lifting Jackson-Vanik. (S)

The second issue to address is Ukraine's market economy status. We don't have direct bureaucratic interference today like we've had for 70 years. Administrative reform has included steps to close down ministries such that we only have functional ministries now. This step was made by Congress; we know you know how to work with Congress. (Laughter.) If the U.S. grants market economy status to Albania, then why not to Ukraine? Now, I met with a group of U.S. Senators who support lifting Jackson-Vanik. (S)

Ambassador Pifer: I already spoke with Ambassador Hryshchenko. Senators Hollings, Shelby, and Bryant were here. They talked about attaching a rider to the State Department appropriations bill that would require graduating Ukraine. (S)

President Kuchma: Please make sure they do. (S)

The President: I will follow up. If Hollings does it, it would be good. This would really help. It would be an historic development. You may have to make Senator Hollings an honorary citizen. He's a good man. I'll go home and work with people on the Hill. I think they'll do it. They're all friends. They will all say we're for it. (S)

President Kuchma: There is also an issue with Russia and the European Union. It is important for Ukraine to integrate into European structures. With Poland and Hungary, the borders of the EU have drawn closer to Ukraine. It is important to deepen integration so that free trade zones can lead to the beginning of negotiations with the European Union. (S)

There's also the issue of associate member status. All Central European countries have been extended this title, except for Ukraine. It would help Ukraine if you would support this

important status change. Also, Mr. President, we want to complete WTO accession by the end of the year. I hope I can count on your support. (S)

Now, on to the last issue. It happens that you're here on World Environment Day. I think it's only appropriate that we now discuss Chornobyl. (S)

The President: Yes. (S) (u)

President Kuchma: We have made a decision with regard to Chornobyl. I know Viktor told you about our decision while he was in Washington. Mr. President, let me review our position on issues that are closely related to Chornobyl. When we talk about Chornobyl, we also need to talk about changing the infrastructure of the energy sector. This reform effort will ensure Ukraine's safe existence after Chornobyl's closure. (S)

We need \$500 million. This project finances completion of three nuclear waste storage facilities. Storage facilities for liquid waste project needs practical support, especially grants from the European Union. Today, the most difficult part of the issue is what to do after we lose Chornobyl's generating capacity. Chornobyl produces one billion megawatts of electricity. This alone is Kiev's energy demand for the year. (S)

On June 1, the Russians introduced a 30 percent excise tax on gas, which will make this problem even more difficult. The important issue now is to return to the idea of completing the K2/R4 reactors. In our view, this would be a nice way to compensate for Chornobyl's closure. I ask you to help convince the Europeans to make a decision on this issue soon. (S)

The President: As you know, I just came from Lisbon. I didn't tell the Europeans for sure about Chornobyl, but I did tell them that we're close on a closure date. I told them that once a closure date is announced, we'll need to replace fuel. I got a very positive response. I will continue to work on this issue. (S)

President Kuchma: I spoke with President Chirac this morning. He is very concerned about Chornobyl. He told me to take advantage of your visit. He said that the Germans will never agree to our plan, but he proposed we start financing without Germany's consent. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has some funds for this. (S)

see
page 7
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Prime Minister Yushchenko: So, if Euratom gives us \$500 million; the European Union gives us \$200 million; the Russians give us \$200 million. That leaves us with \$300 million that we still need from other sources. (S) *next*

Also, I want to inform you that the state budget is covering our part of Chornobyl. We're doing what we are supposed to do. Compensating fuel is absolutely necessary. (S)

The President: I understand. (S) *u*

President Kuchma: Also, Mr. President, journalists are going to ask whether the President of the United States raised corruption. Because it's in the Joint Statement, I think it would be a good sign if we addressed corruption. (S)

We are very grateful that the Ukrainian parliament ratified the Criminal Cases Treaty. But Congress should ratify it as well. We need your support. There are loopholes in our legislation. There is no law on the judiciary. There is no criminal code. We are still using the old Soviet code. Life is different now. We have new issues. (S)

The President: I think this gets lots of attention in the press, but any action you take in this regard is more likely to have an impact on foreign direct investment than anything else. If you make progress, they'll think the only reason they lose money in Ukraine is like in America -- as a result of bad investments, not because of corruption. I have been disappointed with the hardship your country has faced. Now, I see a real chance to turn Ukraine around in a hurry and in a big way. (S)

Anything on corruption will go up in bright lights. There's been so many problems in the past. People are looking to what you are doing now to resolve the corruption issue. The Prime Minister is a case in point. All this is converging. Now, you have to take advantage of the benefits of people taking a new look at Ukraine. Chornobyl will help because the public relations value of the closure is important. Space launch also helps. It shows that Ukraine can be counted on to play by the rules. We want to echo these kinds of messages around the world. (S)

Prime Minister Yushchenko: There are two issues concerning corporate and private business. (Comment: Apparent reference to Land of Lakes and Pioneer business disputes. End Comment.) The

Ministry of Finance confirms it has allocated the necessary funds. They have the demonstrated political will. We've had technical difficulties with this issue, but that doesn't change our desire to get it done. (S)

President Kuchma: The Kharkiv Initiative is another issue. The Bushehr project in Iran was a mutual decision. For Ukraine, it was an issue of nuclear security. We also have Secretary Richardson's support on Odessa Brody to Western Europe. This doesn't settle the main problem, but it does allow Ukraine and Poland to resolve energy problems. (S)

The day before yesterday, I met with Nazarbayev. He said that he would provide information on Kazhegeldin. We are thankful for the feasibility study which confirmed the viability of the project. (S)

Finally, Mr. President, Ukraine is a non-permanent member of the Security Council. We're having a Millennium Summit. We want a summit of the heads of state of the Security Council. (S)

The President: Let me say again how much I appreciate the reforms you have implemented thus far. I want to help make the Chornobyl announcement and the commercial space launch agreement helpful. What we're hearing from the IMF is that you need to make quick progress on energy reform, including strategic privatization, privatization in other areas that meets international standards, and progress on the budget. With these changes, Ukraine should get much more foreign direct investment. (S)

Mr. President, I think this has been a very productive discussion. Shall we move to the expanded meeting? (U)

President Kuchma: Certainly. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-0123-M (1.89)
10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Expanded Meeting with President Leonid
Kuchma of Ukraine (8)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Secretary of Energy William Richardson
Ambassador Stephen Pifer
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Gene Sperling, Assistant to the President
for Economic Policy and Director of the
National Economic Council
Stephen Ricchetti, Assistant to the
President and Deputy Chief of Staff
James Steinberg, Deputy Assistant to the
President for National Security Affairs
Stephen Sestanovich, Ambassador-at-Large for
the New Independent States
Donald Pressley, Assistant Administrator,
Bureau of Europe and Eurasia, Agency
for International Development
John Tedstrom, Director for Russian,
Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs (notetaker)
Marta Zielyk, State Department interpreter

President Leonid Kuchma
Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko
Volodymyr Lytvyn, Chief of Presidential
Administration
Boris Tarasyuk, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Yevhen Marchuck, Secretary of the Council of
National Security and Defense
Mykola Zhulynskly, Deputy Prime Minister for
Humanitarian Affairs
Yuriy Kravchenko, Minister of Internal
Affairs
Ihor Mityukov, Minister of Finances
Serhiy Tulub, Minister of Fuel and Energy
Syuzanna Stanik, Minister of Justice

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Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke

Reason: 1.5(b) (d)

Declassify On: 6/19/10

Vladimir Kalnyk, Acting Minister of Economy
Anatoliy Orel, Chief of Main Department on
Foreign Policy Issues
Oleksandr Chaliy, First Deputy Prime
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Konstantin Hryshchenko, Ukrainian Ambassador
to the United States
O.M. Nikonanko, Ukrainian Interpreter

DATE, TIME
AND PLACE:

June 5, 2000, 3:45 - 4:05 p.m. (local time)
Maryinsky Palace, Kiev, Ukraine

The President: President Kuchma, Prime Minister Yushchenko, and I just completed a very productive discussion about issues in Ukraine. We discussed in detail the important bilateral relationship between Ukraine and the United States. I stated very clearly that actions you take now will be heard loudly around the world. They can change Ukraine's international reputation for the better. There is more attention on Ukraine now than ever before. (S)

My country will continue working to keep doors in Europe open to Ukraine, like what we're doing together in Kosovo. I know the Polish-Ukrainian Peacekeeping Battalion is moving in, and we'll support you. Frankly, the Europeans have to step up and do their part. (S)

President Kuchma described in detail Ukraine's plans for the closure of Chornobyl and your plans for a pipeline into Eastern Europe. I must say that I am very pleased to be in Kiev on the day that Chornobyl closure is announced. President Kuchma and I have worked closely on this issue, and I think Ukraine will benefit greatly from this decision. President Kuchma and I also talked about strategic reform and privatization that meets international norms. (S)

Secretary Richardson should now comment in more detail about energy issues. (S)

Secretary Richardson: Thank you, Mr. President. Since our meetings in Kiev in February, we have seen great progress. You are absolutely right about the Chornobyl closure date. This will help with the Berlin Pledging Conference. I also have good news to report from my meetings with Energy Minister Tulub. Ukraine will do its part. It will contribute \$7 million for the

Chornobyl heat replacement plant, which will be put into the budget. (S)

We also signed the fuel qualifying agreement. Ukraine will no longer depend on just one source, Russia, for nuclear fuel. It can now get fuel from multiple sources, including Westinghouse. (S)

On nuclear power privatization, Ukraine has made good steps, thanks in large part to the active role of President Kuchma. There are two important follow-up steps. Ukraine must sign a decree allowing 25 percent foreign direct investment share, and it must proceed with privatization with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. (S)

On Caspian energy, the United States is very supportive of Ukraine's role. The only thing left is to release the TDA study to investors. Corruption is also a problem. I believe that energy is perhaps the most expansive side of the U.S.-Ukrainian bilateral relationship. (S)

The President: On Russia, let me reaffirm the importance of our relationship. My meetings with President Putin in Moscow provided us with an opportunity to further the debate on national missile defense. As you know, we did not reach an agreement on this issue, but we did make significant progress in outlining our interests and objectives. (S)

President Putin and I reaffirmed the importance of the U.S.-Russian relationship. We agreed to destroy 34 tons of nuclear material. We set-up a joint early warning system that will operate 24 hours a day. We also discussed a whole series of things on the economic front. There are lots of problems in Russia that you don't face here. On national missile defense, we issued a statement of principles which accepts the idea that the nuclear threat will grow to touch all nation-states from rogue states. We agreed that the threat is dangerous. (S)

They didn't agree with our national missile defense proposal. They believe it challenges the doctrine of mutual deterrence. We're in better shape now than one month ago with this relationship, though. (S)

I also participated in a national call-in radio program which showed that the tensions of Kosovo are behind us. I think we're in pretty good shape. The big question is how Russia will measure its greatness. I urged the Russian leadership to

measure their country's greatness by the quality of life of the Russian people and by the quality of Russia's relationships with its neighbors. (S)

I took criticism on G-8 and APEC for bringing Russia in. But I wanted them to see more benefits from cooperation with others, like Ukraine, than from dominating it. I want them to imagine a future that is different from the past. It's better for Russia to help Ukraine get rich. And it is in Ukraine's interest to have good relations with Russia. (S)

This is how I see it. They went through a shattering period. Their economy fell, not like yours, but bad nonetheless. Their military situation compared to the U.S. is not what it used to be. They feel very insecure. The Russian government wants a sphere of influence, but it doesn't have control. You should have mutual influence with the Russian president. Russia should influence you, and you should influence Russia. The same goes for relations with the United States. But Russia shouldn't dominate Ukraine. (S)

Russia was trampled by Napoleon and Hitler. After World War II, it wanted peace in the short run, and it created the Warsaw Pact. It has lost that for now, but Russia is determined to come back. Russia can be great if it defines its greatness correctly. (S)

I say Russia should be friends with the United States and with Ukraine. Russia needs to understand that it benefits if Ukraine is successful, and therefore, it should encourage Ukraine's success. This is the kind of language we should use with them. No one denies their right to greatness. The question is whether they'll have twenty-first century greatness or nineteenth century coercion. Nineteenth century coercion doesn't generate as much money or prestige as twenty-first century greatness. There's a lot going on there right now. I'm trying to influence them in a positive way. (S)

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President Kuchma: Russia should be happy. Did President Putin agree with your idea of partnership with Ukraine? (S)

The President: No, but he didn't disagree. He's smart, though, and wants success. Two years ago, he didn't have any idea he would be President. We don't yet know his style. Sometimes he's listening when you don't think he is. Look at his background. He has been trained to hold his cards close. Putin doesn't mislead because he promises less and delivers more. (S)

Don't give up on him yet. I think he's more open than many people think. Don't argue that something is not good for you but good for them. You need to find solutions where all sides benefit. (S)

Putin is worried that his country's economy shrank and its military shrank. It's a psychological loss. His country has lost its greatness. The United States has a big stake in this relationship. We should engage more, not less. We should assume the best, not the worst. (S)

At the same time, we can't move Ukraine to Indonesia. You are a great country too. Don't give up. Find smart people there and push hard. Don't give up. (S)

President Kuchma: (Laughter.) Do we look like people who give up? (U)

The President: No, you don't. If you had been the type of people who gave up, you would have done it three or four years ago. But don't give up now. (U)

President Kuchma: We won't, Mr. President. Thank you for your visit. I am very pleased by what we've been able to accomplish today. I speak for the Ukrainian people when I tell you how honored we are by your visit and how much we look forward to your speech this afternoon. (U)

The President: Thank you very much. I am delighted to be here. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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2016-0123-M (1.90)
10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Restricted Meeting with President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Ambassador Stephen Pifer
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Gene Sperling, Assistant to the President for Economic Policy and Director of the National Economic Council
Stephen Ricchetti, Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff
Stephen Sestanovich, Ambassador-at-Large for the New Independent States
John Tedstrom, Director for Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs (notetaker)
Marta Zielyk, State Department interpreter

President Leonid Kuchma
Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko
Vladimir Lytvyn, Head of Administration
Boris Tarasyuk, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Yevhen Marchuk, Secretary of the Council of National Security and Defense
Anatoliy Orel, Chief of Main Department on Foreign Policy Issues
Konstantin Hryshchenko, Ukrainian Ambassador to the United States
T.V. Yanchera, Ukrainian Interpreter

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: June 5, 2000, 3:15 - 3:45 p.m. (local time)
Maryinsky Palace, Kiev, Ukraine

President Kuchma. I am grateful that you found time during a complicated period in the United States to come to Ukraine. I know it's complicated in the United States, and we are glad to have you here in Kiev. Your visit proves that there is a high

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Reason: 1.5(b) (d)
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2016-0123-M (1.91)

10/2/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Expanded Meeting with President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Ambassador Stephen Pifer
Secretary of Energy William Richardson
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Gene Sperling, Assistant to the President
for Economic Policy and Director of the
National Economic Council
Stephen Ricchetti, Assistant to the
President and Deputy Chief of Staff
James Steinberg, Deputy Assistant to the
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Stephen Sestanovich, Ambassador-at-Large for
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Syuzanna Stanik, Minister of Justice

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