

ORIGINAL

6/17

INITIALS	
APPR:	DEP <i>ST</i>
DRAFT:	BCO <i>ok w/ dup</i>
CLR 1:	JSE
CLR 2:	CDU
CLR 3:	AWE <i>3PM</i>
CLR 4:	

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RELEASE IN FULL

DECLASSIFIED

EUR/WST:BCONNUCK:BC
06/15/97 X78696
DEPUTY SECRETARY

EUR/WST:JSEGAL EUR/RPM:CDUNKERLEY S/P:AWEISS
S/S:-

PRIORITY KIEV

PRIORITY USNATO, USVIENNA PRIORITY, MOSCOW PRIORITY

USVIENNA FOR JCG

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/17/07

TAGS: PREL, PARM, CFE, UP

SUBJECT: DEPUTY SECRETARY MEETING WITH UKRAINIAN AMBASSADOR SHCHERBAK

1. CLASSIFIED BY EUR/WST DIRECTOR JACK SEGAL. REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY

2. *(c)* THE DEPUTY SECRETARY MET FOR 45 MINUTES JUNE 13 WITH UKRAINIAN AMBASSADOR SHCHERBAK. EACH GAVE A POSITIVE APPRAISAL OF THE MAY 16 U.S.-UKRAINE BINATIONAL COMMISSION MEETING AND OF RECENT UKRAINIAN AGREEMENTS WITH RUSSIA. SHCHERBAK SOUGHT THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S VIEWS ON THE NEXT STAGE OF DEVELOPING A NEW EUROPEAN SECURITY ARCHITECTURE. HE ALSO TOLD THE DEPUTY SECRETARY HE HAD NO NEW INFORMATION CONCERNING UKRAINE'S POSITION ON CFE ADAPTATION, AND ASKED FOR USG VIEWS ON A POSSIBLE MOU DEFINING THE U.S.-UKRAINIAN STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP.

3. *(c)* THE DEPUTY SECRETARY AND NSC SENIOR DIRECTOR PIFER OUTLINED A PRELIMINARY AGENDA FOR THE JUNE 23 MEETING IN NY

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BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND PRESIDENT KUCHMA. CONCERNING A POSSIBLE MOU ON STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF CONCRETE AND CONTINUOUS PRACTICAL STEPS OVER THE SIGNING OF NEW DOCUMENTS, BUT THE UKRAINIANS NOTED THAT DOCUMENTS, WITH STATED COMMITMENTS, OFTEN MAKE IT EASIER IN KIEV TO ASSURE COMPLIANCE WITH U.S. POLICY GOALS. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY WAS JOINED BY PIFER, S/NIS DEPUTY HERBST, EUR/RPM DIRECTOR DUNKERLEY, S/P WEISS AND EUR/WST NOTETAKER. SHCHERBAK WAS ACCOMPANIED BY DCM KUCHINSKIY, POLCOUNS BELASHOV AND ASSISTANT VASHCHENKO. OTHER TOPICS SEPTEL. END SUMMARY.

4. ~~(C)~~ SHCHERBAK, WHO REQUESTED THE MEETING, OPENED BY EXPRESSING GRATITUDE FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S ROLE IN ASSURING A SUCCESSFUL VISIT MAY 14-16 BY PRESIDENT KUCHMA, AND A SUCCESSFUL OPENING OF THE BINATIONAL COMMISSION (GORE-KUCHMA). THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S REMARKS AT THE LUNCH HOSTED BY THE VICE PRESIDENT, HE SAID, MADE A PARTICULARLY STRONG AND POSITIVE IMPRESSION ON KUCHMA. ON BEHALF OF FOREIGN MINISTER UDOVENKO, SHCHERBAK ASKED FOR THE TOPICS THE U.S. WILL RAISE AT THE JUNE 23 GORE-KUCHMA MEETING.

5. ~~(C)~~ THE MAIN U.S.-UKRAINIAN BILATERAL TASK AT THIS POINT, SHCHERBAK, CONTINUED, IS TO PROMOTE U.S. INVESTMENT IN UKRAINE. HE NOTED THE POSSIBILITY OF THE U.S. JOINING TOGETHER WITH UKRAINE, GEORGIA AND AZERBAIJAN ON A TRANSCAUCASIAN GAS TRANSIT PROJECT. THE GOU, SHCHERBAK SAID, ALSO WANTS TO "INSTITUTIONALIZE" THE TWO COUNTRIES' STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP, TO "LAY DOWN THE CONCEPTUAL BASIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP." HE COMMENTED THAT HIS EMBASSY HAD GIVEN THE U.S. A DRAFT DOCUMENT TO THIS EFFECT, AND SOUGHT THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S REACTION.

EUROPEAN SECURITY ISSUES

6. ~~(C)~~ SHCHERBAK SAID THAT THE GOU VIEWS THE RECENT SIGNATURE OF THE RUSSO-UKRAINIAN TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION AND THE BLACK SEA FLEET AGREEMENT AS VERY POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS. UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITY, HOWEVER, REMAINS FULL INTEGRATION INTO EURO-ATLANTIC STRUCTURES. STRESSING THAT UKRAINE WANTS THE DOOR TO NATO MEMBERSHIP TO REMAIN OPEN, SHCHERBAK SAID THAT IT "MAY" APPLY FOR NATO MEMBERSHIP IN THE 21ST CENTURY. DCM KUCHINSKIY INTERJECTED "EARLY IN THE 21ST CENTURY!" SHCHERBAK SOUGHT THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S VIEWS ON UKRAINE'S ROLE WITH NATO OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS, AS THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS MOVES FORWARD, AND "AFTER 3-5 NEW MEMBERS JOIN."

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7. ~~(S)~~ THE DEPUTY SECRETARY ECHOED SHCHERBAK'S POSITIVE APPRAISAL OF BOTH THE KUCHMA VISIT AND THE RECENT RUSSO-UKRAINIAN AGREEMENTS. HE NOTED THE PARTICULARLY GOOD PERSONAL WORKING RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE VICE PRESIDENT AND KUCHMA. TURNING TO THE NEXT PERIOD IN DEVELOPING A NEW EUROPEAN SECURITY ARCHITECTURE, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY TOLD SHCHERBAK THAT A STANDARD FEATURE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP IS THE NEED ALWAYS TO BE CONSCIOUS OF THE DANGER OF "SLOWING MOMENTUM. WE NEED TO USE EVERY OPPORTUNITY," HE SAID, "TO EMPHASIZE TO ALL THAT THERE IS SOMETHING SPECIALLY IMPORTANT ABOUT UKRAINE'S ROLE IN EUROPE AND ITS VALUE TO THE UNITED STATES."

8. ~~(S)~~ THE GOU, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY SAID, HAS BEEN BLUNT IN TELLING US OF THE DOMESTIC CONSTRAINTS ON ITS FOREIGN POLICY, OF THE BELIEF OF SOME UKRAINIANS THAT THE U.S. IS LOSING INTEREST IN UKRAINE. WE ARE ALSO CONSCIOUS, HE SAID, OF THE "RUSSIA FACTOR" IN UKRAINIAN POLITICS. WITH THE U.S. AND NATO GIVING RUSSIA "LOTS OF ATTENTION, THERE IS THE PERCEPTION THAT UKRAINE IS LESS IMPORTANT. WE NEED TO FIGHT THAT" PERCEPTION, AND THE JUNE 23 GORE-KUCHMA MEETING AND THE SIGNING OF THE NATO-UKRAINE CHARTER IN MADRID WILL BE GOOD OPPORTUNITIES TO DO SO. THE U.S. IS ALSO LOOKING FOR OPPORTUNITIES IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-MADRID PERIOD, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY SAID, TO "REAFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S.-UKRAINIAN RELATIONSHIP."

9. ~~(S)~~ TURNING TO SHCHERBAK'S REMARK THAT UKRAINE MAY SEEK NATO MEMBERSHIP IN THE 21ST CENTURY (KUCHINSKIY AGAIN INTERJECTED "EARLY"!), THE DEPUTY SECRETARY NOTED THAT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY IS ONLY TWO AND A HALF YEARS AWAY: IT IS NOT SOME FAR-OFF ABSTRACT IDEA. THE U.S., HE STRESSED, HAS BEEN VERY CONSISTENT IN ITS POSITION THAT ~~(POSSIBLE) UKRAINIAN MEMBERSHIP IN NATO IS NOT JUST A~~ THEORETICAL NOTION, BUT RATHER "A GUIDING PRINCIPLE WHICH WE HAVE RESTATED OVER AND OVER. IT IS AN 'ARTICLE OF FAITH'" FOR THE U.S. WE BELIEVE, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY CONTINUED, THAT AMBIGUITY ABOUT OUR POSITION WOULD BE DANGEROUS. THE NATO-UKRAINE CHARTER, AND WHAT NATO AND THE U.S. WILL SAY IN MADRID, WILL REITERATE THIS POINT. THE U.S. WILL NEVER "PRESSURE" UKRAINE TO SEEK NATO MEMBERSHIP, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY SAID, BUT NATO'S DOOR WILL REMAIN OPEN IN THE FUTURE TO A DEMOCRATIC, REFORMIST UKRAINE.

10. (C) ALL WHO WORKED TO DEVELOP THE NATO-RUSSIA RELATIONSHIP, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY TOLD SHCHERBAK, REALIZED THAT THERE WERE TWO MAIN HURDLES TO OVERCOME: FIRST,

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CONVINCING RUSSIA THAT SUCH A RELATIONSHIP IS IN ITS INTEREST, AND SECOND, ENSURING THAT RUSSIA WILL FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENT. ON THE LATTER, HE SAID, WE HAVE SEEN SOME ENCOURAGING SIGNS, ONE OF WHICH WAS THE KUCHMA-YELTSIN MEETING AND THE AGREEMENTS IT PRODUCED, WHICH "WE REALLY APPLAUDED." ANOTHER POSITIVE INDICATION OF RUSSIA'S COURSE WAS THE RECENT MINSK GROUP TRIP TO THE CAUCASUS. THE CO-CHAIRMAN - THE U.S., FRANCE AND RUSSIA - "HAD 100 PERCENT HARMONY" IN DEVELOPING A PROPOSAL, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY SAID, AND RUSSIA ACTED COOPERATIVELY. NOW, IT IS UP TO THE PARTIES ON THE GROUND TO RESPOND, BUT WE HOPE DEVELOPMENTS THERE ARE MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. OVERALL, OUR HOPE IS THAT RUSSIA WILL MOVE TOWARDS COOPERATION WITH ITS NEIGHBORS RATHER THAN COMPETITION. WE NEED TO KEEPING PRESSING ON ALL FRONTS, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY SAID, INCLUDING MAKING THE PFP AND EAPC "REALLY WORK," AND MAKING OSCE STRONGER.

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11. (e) SHCHERBAK TOLD THE DEPUTY SECRETARY THAT, "UNFORTUNATELY," HE HAD NO NEW INFORMATION CONCERNING UKRAINE'S POSITION ON CFE ADAPTATION. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THE U.S. HAD BEEN VERY SURPRISED BY THE GOU POSITION AS EXPRESSED IN VIENNA IN FAVOR OF PRESERVING THE CFE GROUP STRUCTURE. THIS WENT DIRECTLY COUNTER TO ELEMENTS IN THE ALBRIGHT-UDOVENKO STATEMENT ON CFE. THE U.S. OPPOSES THE RETENTION OF GROUP STRUCTURES. IT GOES BACK, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY SAID, TO "OLD COLD WAR STRUCTURES." EUR/RPM DIRECTOR DUNKERLEY ADDED THAT WE HOPE THE GOU DELEGATION IN VIENNA WILL, "IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS," DEMONSTRATE THAT THAT PROPOSAL WAS A "MISUNDERSTANDING." THE LONGER SUCH A MISUNDERSTANDING CONTINUES, HE SAID, THE MORE IT HELPS THE RUSSIANS IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS. SHCHERBAK RESPONDED THAT HE, TOO, THINKS THE PROPOSAL WAS A "MISTAKE," AND ADDED THAT HE KNOWS THAT NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE COUNCIL SECRETARY HORBULIN WAS "DISAPPOINTED BY IT." HE ATTRIBUTED IT TO BUREAUCRATIC CONFUSION.

GORE-KUCHMA AND STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

12. (e) PIFER TOLD SHCHERBAK THAT WE VIEW THE JUNE 23 MEETING AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO FOLLOW-UP ON THE GORE-KUCHMA COMMISSION MEETING. IT WILL BE A GOOD CHANCE TO REVIEW THE ACTION DEADLINES AGREED TO IN MAY. WHILE A SPECIFIC AGENDA PROPOSAL FOR THE MEETING IS STILL BEING PREPARED, PIFER

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CONTINUED, THE U.S. SEES THE MEETING FOCUSING ON ECONOMIC ISSUES; RESOLUTION OF COMMERCIAL DISPUTES; AND NON-PROLIFERATION QUESTIONS. THE LATTER IS IMPORTANT, HE STRESSED, BECAUSE "SOME OF THE THINGS YOU HAVE UNDERWAY COULD HAVE A VERY NEGATIVE AFFECT ON U.S. ASSISTANCE."

13. (C) TURNING TO THE GOU IDEA OF A MOU DEFINING STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP, PIFER TOLD SHCHERBAK THAT "THERE IS NOT A LOT OF ENTHUSIASM HERE" FOR SUCH A DOCUMENT. REAL PARTNERSHIP, HE CONTINUED, IS NOT IN ANY DOCUMENT: IT IS DAY-IN, DAY-OUT WORKING TOGETHER ON CONCRETE PROBLEMS AND AREAS OF COOPERATION. WHAT MAKES THE RELATIONSHIP SPECIAL, HE SAID, IS BUILDING THE HABIT OF CONSULTATION.

14. (C) SHCHERBAK AGREED THAT "EMPTY DOCUMENTS" ARE UNDESIRABLE, BUT SAID THE GOU WOULD LIKE A "FRAMEWORK" FOR OUR RELATIONSHIP. THERE IS, HE SAID, A DIFFERENT PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH IN UKRAINE TO SUCH MATTERS THAN IN THE U.S.: "YOU DO THINGS FIRST, THEN WRITE THEM DOWN. OUR PSYCHOLOGY IS TO PUT SOMETHING IN WRITING FIRST, THEN CARRY IT OUT." THE DEPUTY SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT WE ARE NOT AVERSE, IN PRINCIPLE, FROM PUTTING THINGS IN WRITING. WE DO NOT SEEK, HE SAID, TO MAKE "RULES FOR YOU." WE WANT UKRAINE, FOR EXAMPLE, TO VIEW LIBYA IN THE SAME WAY WE DO, AS A THREAT TO WORLD SECURITY. OUR CONCERN IS THAT WHATEVER IS DONE HELP ALONG OUR AGENDA IN CONCRETE WAYS.

15. (C) KUCHINSKIY AND S/NIS DEPUTY HERBST EXPLORED WHETHER A DOCUMENT WOULD ACTUALLY CONTRIBUTE ANYTHING CONCRETE TO OUR RELATIONSHIP. KUCHINSKIY POSITED THAT WRITING OBLIGATIONS DOWN IN A DOCUMENT WOULD MAKE IT MUCH EASIER FOR THE GOU TO ACT IN AREAS OF INTEREST TO THE U.S. HERBST RESPONDED THAT THE TRICK, THEN, WOULD BE TO FIND WORDS THAT WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE GOU TO DEFEND AT HOME DOING, OR NOT DOING, CERTAIN THINGS OF INTEREST TO THE U.S. PIFER NOTED THAT THE GORE-KUCHMA JOINT STATEMENT WAS, IN FACT, A GOOD "ROAD MAP" FOR OUR RELATIONSHIP. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY TOLD SHCHERBAK HE WOULD REVIEW THE GOU PROPOSED DOCUMENT, AND HERBST WRAPPED UP BY SAYING THAT THE KEY FOR THE GOU, IF IT WANTS A DOCUMENT, IS TO DEMONSTRATE TO US "THAT THE DEDUCTIVE CAN BE PRACTICAL."

16. (C) IN CONCLUSION, KUCHINSKIY INFORMED THE DEPUTY SECRETARY THAT KUCHMA WILL ALSO ATTEND THE NEXT UNGA, SEPTEMBER 22-23, THEN VISIT MEXICO SEPTEMBER 26-27. HE MAY ALSO ACCEPT AN INVITATION FROM FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY PERRY TO COME TO STANFORD UNIVERSITY AFTER MEXICO. KUCHINSKIY THEN NOTED UKRAINE'S INTEREST IN

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U.S./UKRAINIAN/ISRAELI TRILATERAL COOPERATION, TO WHICH
HERBST RESPONDED THAT CONTINUED UKRAINIAN COOPERATION WITH
LIBYA AND SYRIA WOULD MAKE THAT DIFFICULT, AND THAT IF THE
ISSUE OF UKRAINIAN ARMS SALES TO THOSE COUNTRIES
"EXPLODES," IT WILL BE HARD TO WORK ON THINGS LIKE A
SPECIAL PARTNERSHIP DOCUMENT.

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