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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN UKRAINE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9747
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

SECTION 01 OF 06 SECTO 17024

DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12356 DECL:OADR
TAGS: OVIP (CHRISTOPHER, WARREN), PREL, RU
SUBJECT: SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN
MINISTER KOZYREV: NATO, ELECTIONS, REGIONAL
ISSUES.

1. [REDACTED] - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: IN THE SMALL GROUP PORTION OF THEIR
OCTOBER 22 MEETING, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER BRIEFED
KOZYREV ON THE NATO PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE PROPOSAL.
THEY DISCUSSED ELECTION OBSERVERS AND U.S. SUPPORT FOR
THE ELECTION PROCESS, AS WELL AS THE ISSUE OF PRESS
FREEDOM AND ACCESS TO THE PRESS. ON GEORGIA, KOZYREV
SAID THE RUSSIANS WERE INTRODUCING TROOPS TO KEEP OPEN

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THE RAILROAD FROM POTI. THIS COULD HELP SHEVARDNADZE,
AND KOZYREV AGREED TO GIVE PUBLIC SUPPORT AGAIN TO
SHEVARDNADZE. ON UKRAINE, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND
AMBASSADOR TALBOTT BRIEFED KOZYREV ON OUR EFFORTS TO

[REDACTED]

SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER RAISED THE LUBAVITCHER BOOKS AND KOZYREV
NOTED THE RECENT AGREEMENT TO HOUSE THEM SEPARATELY.
END SUMMARY.

2. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER MET FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV IN A SMALL MEETING ON OCTOBER 22 AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY GUEST HOUSE. KOZYREV WAS ACCOMPANIED BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MAMEDOV AND AN INTERPRETER/NOTETAKER. THE SECRETARY WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE TALBOTT AND AMBASSADOR PICKERING.

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SUBJECT: SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV: NATO, ELECTIONS, REGIONAL ISSUES.

3. OPENING THE MEETING, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SAID HE WANTED TO REVIEW BRIEFLY WHERE WE WERE NOW IN NATO EXPANSION. HE WOULD, OF COURSE, BE TALKING WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN ABOUT THIS AND HE WANTED KOZYREV TO KNOW THAT WE WERE SENSITIVE TO THE RUSSIAN POSITION AND THAT WE HAD DEVELOPED A PROPOSAL THAT BALANCED VARIOUS OBJECTIVES AND INTERESTS. THERE WOULD BE NO

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IMMEDIATE PROVISION FOR NEW MEMBERSHIPS AND NO
ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIPS; NO ONE WOULD BE EXCLUDED, AND
THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE WOULD BE OPEN TO ALL THE
NACC COUNTRIES. EVENTUAL ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE
BASED ON PERFORMANCE AND OTHER FACTORS; FOR NOW, THE
DOOR TO FUTURE MEMBERSHIP WAS OPEN TO ALL ON AN EQUAL
BASIS. HE BELIEVED THAT THIS MET RUSSIA'S
REQUIREMENTS.

4. KOZYREV ASKED, POINTEDLY, WHETHER THERE WOULD NOT
BE TWO OR THREE NEW MEMBERS NOW? SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER SAID NO, THAT WE WERE EMPHASIZING A
PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE WHICH WOULD INVOLVE TRAINING AND
EXERCISES IN DEALING WITH SECURITY QUESTIONS AND THAT
THIS PARTNERSHIP WOULD HELP DEVELOP A HABIT OF
INTEROPERABILITY AND COOPERATION. IT WOULD DEFINITELY
BE OPEN TO ALL AND THERE WOULD BE NO PREDETERMINED NEW
MEMBERS.

ELECTIONS

5. THE SECRETARY ASKED ABOUT THE COMING ELECTIONS,
NOTING THAT WE HAD UP TO USD 12 MILLION TO PROVIDE
ASSISTANCE TO RUSSIA AND WE WERE PREPARED TO SEND
MONITORS OR OBSERVERS. KOZYREV IN TURN NOTED THAT HE
WOULD HOPE TO FIND A WAY TO USE U.S. ASSISTANCE TO
BENEFIT THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. HE SAID THERE WAS A
STRONG DANGER OF AN EFFORT TO TRY TO POLITICIZE THE
ELECTIONS, PARTICULARLY IN SOME OF THE RURAL REGIONS
WHERE THE OLD PRACTICES OF THE COMMUNIST REGIME
PREVAILED. WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE OBSERVERS TO

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HELP IN VERIFYING TO GUARD AGAINST SUCH ABUSES EVEN IN
AREAS OF THE COUNTRY DIFFICULT TO REACH? HE CALLED
THIS THE OLD KOLKHOZ MENTALITY WHERE FARM
ORGANIZATIONS CONTROLLED THE DIVISION OF GOODS,
INCLUDING HEATING FUEL IN THE WINTER, AND COULD WELL
TRADE THESE GOODS FOR VOTES. OBSERVERS WOULD BE
ESSENTIAL TO ENSURE THAT THE PEOPLE WERE PROTECTED
AGAINST SUCH ABUSES AND WERE ACTUALLY VOTING WITH A
FREE CHOICE. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER THEN NOTED THAT WE
MIGHT BE ABLE TO ASSIST IN HELPING DEAL WITH THE
QUESTION OF OBSERVERS.

6. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER THEN LAID SPECIAL STRESS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF A FREE PRESS AS A KEY ELEMENT IN A HEALTHY DEMOCRACY. NOTING CONCERN IN THE U.S. AND IN

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ISSUES.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORDER THE BANNING OF NEWSPAPERS, HE WONDERED WHETHER THERE WOULD BE A PROGRESSIVE LIFTING OF THE PRESS RESTRICTIONS. HE WAS ENCOURAGED ABOUT PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 21 ON DEMOCRACY ONLY BEING ASSURED BY A FREE PRESS.

7. KOZYREV REPLIED THAT HE AND SERGEI KOVALEV HAD RECENTLY WRITTEN A MEMORANDUM WHICH COULD WELL BECOME AN ORDER TO ALL AGENCIES. THERE WOULD BE NO EFFORT TO

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RELAX PRESSURE ON TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS, BECAUSE THEY COULD NOT AFFORD BLOODSHED, BUT OTHERS WOULD HAVE FULL ACCESS TO THE MEDIA AND THE ELECTIONS WOULD BE FREE AND FAIR.

[REDACTED]

8. THE SECRETARY ASKED HOW MANY ORGANIZATIONS WOULD BE BARRED FROM PARTICIPATING BY THE TIME OF ELECTIONS. BOTH KOZYREV AND MAMEDOV NOTED THAT PROBABLY SIX OR SEVEN ORGANIZATIONS, STILL UNDER CRIMINAL PROSECUTION, WOULD BE ELIMINATED FROM THE PROCESS BY THE BAN. HOWEVER, THERE WERE MORE THAN A HUNDRED ALREADY REGISTERED AND SIX OR SEVEN OF THOSE WERE ACTUALLY RUNNING COMMUNIST CANDIDATES.

9. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER ASKED WHETHER SOMETHING COULD BE SAID MORE POSITIVELY ON THE PRESS. KOZYREV SAID THAT HE WOULD VOLUNTEER TO DEAL WITH THIS QUESTION AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE THAT AFTERNOON.

GEORGIA

10. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER ASKED KOZYREV FOR A REVIEW OF THE SITUATION ON GEORGIA. KOZYREV SAID HE HAD JUST COME FROM A TELEPHONE CALL WITH PASTUKHOV, RUSSIA'S GEORGIA NEGOTIATOR. HE HAD TWO POINTS TO MAKE: 1) SHEVARDNADZE'S PEOPLE HAD BEEN PULLING TOGETHER AND WERE OFFERING NOW SOME RESISTANCE TO THE ABKHAZ AND 2) PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAD AGREED TO A DECREE ORDERING THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE TO PARTICIPATE WITH ITS FORCES, AS PART OF A MULTILATERAL FORCE, WHICH WOULD BE DEFENDING THE ROAD AND RAILROAD TIES BETWEEN THE PORT OF POTI

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AND THE THREE CAUCASUS STATES. THE FORCES WOULD PROVIDE SPINOFF VALUE IN KEEPING THE REBELS AT BAY SINCE THEY COULD ONLY REACH TBILISI OVER THE RAILROAD WHICH WOULD BE PROTECTED BY THE RUSSIAN FORCES.

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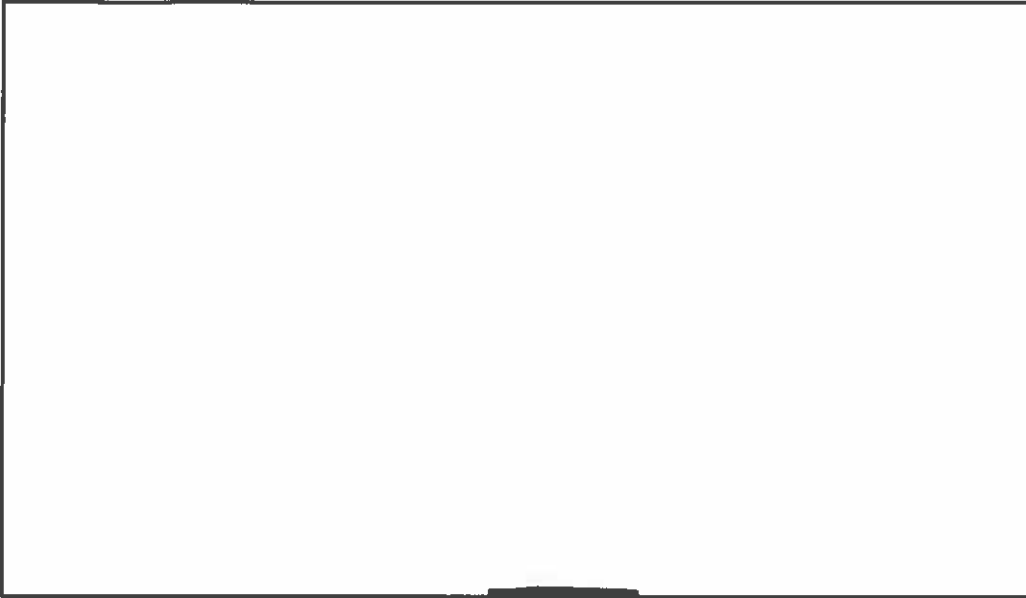
SHEVARDNADZE IS NOT THE REAL ISSUE.

WE HAD HIM IN MOSCOW TWO WEEKS AGO AND SHOWED OUR FULL
SUPPORT BY TREATING HIM AS A HEAD OF STATE IN THE
MEETINGS ON OCTOBER 8 WITH THE OTHER TWO HEADS OF
STATES. WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT HE IS OUR PARTNER IN
THIS EFFORT AND WE HAVE REFERRED TO HIM AS THE LEGAL
AUTHORITY IN TBILISI.

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NOT TOUCH THE WEAPONS THEMSELVES (ON SAFETY GROUNDS).
THE WEAPONS HAD ALREADY BEEN THIRTY PERCENT EXPIRED
AND NO ONE REALLY QUITE KNEW WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN.

17. KOZYREV, DISCUSSING THE MISSILES, SAID THAT THE
UKRAINIANS WERE MAKING A DISTINCTION IN THEIR MINDS
BETWEEN THE SOLID FUEL SS-24'S AND THE LIQUID
PROPELLENT SS-19'S GIVEN THE DANGERS OF THE FAILURE TO
MAINTAIN THE LIQUID-FUELED MISSILES. KOZYREV ASSERTED
THAT THE SOLID-FUEL MISSILES ALSO REQUIRED SERVICE AND
COULD BECOME UNSTABLE. AMBASSADOR TALBOTT SAID THAT
WHAT WE WANT TO DO IS ACHIEVE CERTAIN SPECIFIC STEPS
TO IMMOBILIZE OR DISMANTLE THE SS-24'S IN A STATED



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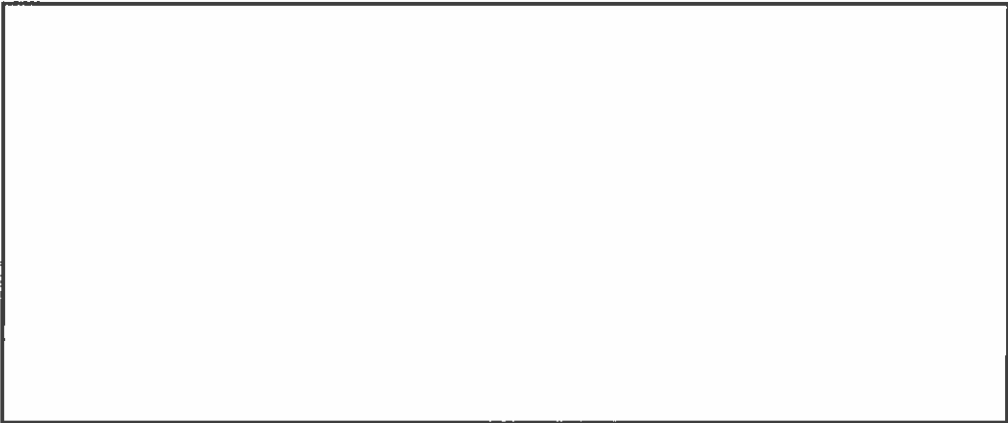
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TIME. IF WE SUCCEED WE WILL WANT TO KEEP THOSE STEPS
WITH RESPECT TO THE SS-24'S PRIVATE IN ORDER TO BRING
THE UKRAINIANS ALONG. KOZYREV NOTED THAT HE HAD NO
REASON TO WANT TO HAVE THE QUESTIONS PUBLICIZED.
KOZYREV ASKED WHAT, SPECIFICALLY, WE HAD IN MIND AND
MAMEDOV MENTIONED THAT THE EFFORT WOULD PROBABLY BE
WITH ONLY FOUR OR FIVE OF THE SS-24'S. AMBASSADOR
TALBOTT NOTED THAT 5 MISSILES CONSTITUTED HALF A



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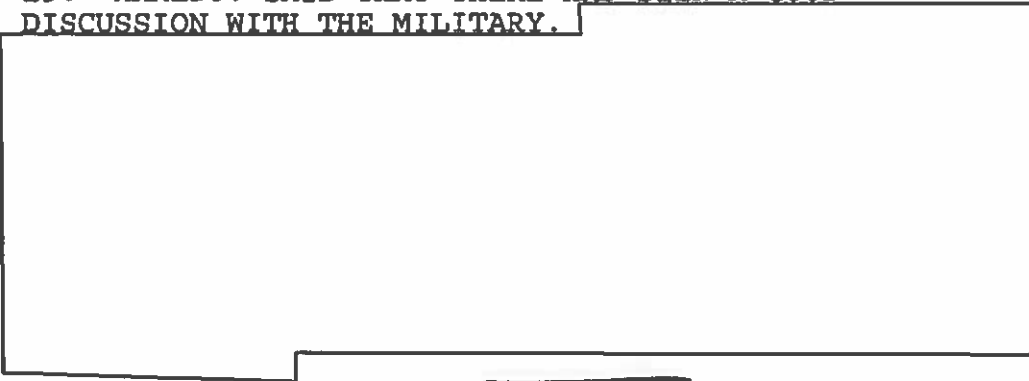
CFE FLANK LIMITS

18. TURNING TO CFE FLANK LIMITS, SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER SAID THE UNITED STATES HAD UNDERSTOOD THE
RUSSIAN PROBLEM AND WOULD LIKE TO BE RESPONSIVE, BUT
NOT TO THE POINT OF REOPENING THE TREATY. MORE
DISCUSSION IS REQUIRED TO SEE IF WE CAN FIND A WAY TO
RECOGNIZE RUSSIA'S LEGITIMATE CONCERNS AND SETTLE THEM
WITHOUT DESTROYING THE TREATY.



19. MAMEDOV SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN A GOOD DISCUSSION WITH THE MILITARY.

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20. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER EXPRESSED WARM CONGRATULATIONS TO FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV ON THE HANDLING OF THE JAPAN VISIT.

21. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER ALSO BROUGHT UP THE LUBAVITCHER BOOKS QUESTION. KOZYREV ASKED IF WE HAD RECEIVED THE LUBAVITCHER LETTER INDICATING A WILLINGNESS TO MOVE THE BOOKS TO ANOTHER BUILDING WHERE THEY WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO THE LUBAVITCHER COMMUNITY. HE URGED US TO FOLLOW-UP WITH MINISTER OF CULTURE SIDOROV. AMBASSADOR PICKERING SAID THAT WE



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WOULD LOOK FORWARD TO DOING SO.

CHRISTOPHER

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