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REVIEW AUTHORITY: Theodore Sellin, Senior
Reviewer

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PARM, PREL, CBW, MNUC, MCAP, OVIP, RS
SUBJECT: CODEL NUNN-LUGAR: DISCUSSIONS ON ARMS
CONTROL WITH DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER KOKOSHIN

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: SENATORS SAM NUNN AND RICHARD LUGAR MET
NOVEMBER 19 WITH RUSSIAN FIRST DEPUTY DEFENSE
MINISTER ANDREY KOKOSHIN AND SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE
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RUSSIAN GENERAL STAFF. THEY DISCUSSED THE FOLLOWING:

-- KOKOSHIN CITED A NEED FOR GREATER CLARITY IN THE
DRAFT START-2 AGREEMENT ON THE QUESTION OF SS-18 SILO
CONVERSION; DOWNLOADING OF MISSILE WARHEADS, AND THE
CONVERSION OF THE B-1 BOMBER TO NON-NUCLEAR ROLES.



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— THE SENATORS ALSO DISCUSSED HOUSING FOR RUSSIAN OFFICERS, BALTIC TROOP WITHDRAWALS AND STRATEGIC DEFENSES. END SUMMARY.

KOKOSHIN MEETING
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3. SENATORS NUNN AND LUGAR MET NOVEMBER 19 WITH FIRST DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER DR. ANDREY KOKOSHIN. WITH KOKOSHIN WERE THE RUSSIAN ACTING CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF, GEN-COL KOLESNIKOV; CHIEF OF THE RUSSIAN NUCLEAR RISK REDUCTION CENTER, GEN-LT MEDVEDEV; DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE INTERNATIONAL TREATY DIRECTORATE, GEN-MAJ KOLTUNOV, THREE OTHER ONE-STAR GENERALS FROM THE GENERAL STAFF AND DR. SERGEI ROGOV, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES' USA/CANADA INSTITUTE, AND FOUR MEMBERS OF KOKOSHIN'S PERSONAL STAFF. NUNN AND LUGAR WERE ACCOMPANIED BY STAFFERS RICHARD COMBS, KEN MEYERS AND ROBERT BELL DEFENSE ATTACHE BG GOVAN AND EMBASSY POLMILOFF.

"START-2"

4. GEN-MAJ KOLTUNOV LED OFF BY NOTING THAT THE RUSSIAN ASSESSMENT OF THE START-1 AND START-2 AGREEMENTS WAS THAT THEY WERE FUNDAMENTALLY COMPATIBLE, BUT THAT "GREATER CLARITY" WAS NEEDED ON SEVERAL KEY POINTS:

A. CONVERSION OF HEAVY MISSILE SILOS

1) KOLTUNOV STRESSED THAT THE RUSSIAM SIDE BELIEVES
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THAT RUSSIA IS UNDER NO OBLIGATION TO DESTROY 154 OF
THE 308 SS-18 SILOS. HE INDICATED THAT THESE SILOS
WERE VIRTUALLY NEW AND WERE SUPPORTED BY EXPENSIVE
INFRASTRUCTURE IMPROVEMENTS (ROADS, HOUSING, ETC.)
THAT RUSSIA COULD NOT AFFORD TO REPLACE. HE ADDED
THAT THE KEY POINT IS THAT VERIFIABLE CONVERSION OF
HEAVY MISSILE SILOS IS MUCH EASIER, CHEAPER AND LESS
AMBIGUOUS THAN CONVERSION OF OTHER SILOS TO
SINGLE-WARHEAD MISSILES. KOLTUNOV REAFFIRMED THAT
RUSSIA INTENDED TO FIELD ONLY SINGLE-WARHEAD ICBM'S
BY 2002.

2) IN REPLY SENATOR NUNN STRESSED THAT, ALTHOUGH HE
HAD NOT COME TO NEGOTIATE AND WAS NOT A CLINTON
ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMAN, HE KNEW THAT SECRETARY OF
DEFENSE CHENEY AND CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS COLIN
POWELL HAD REPEATEDLY ASSURED HIS COMMITTEE DURING
"START-1" HEARINGS THAT THE ISSUE OF POTENTIAL

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RUSSIAN BREAKOUT AS A RESULT OF UNEXPECTED INTERNAL
POLITICAL CHANGES WAS MOOTED BY THE FACT THAT ALL
SS-18 HEAVY MISSILE SILOS WOULD BE DESTROYED. THIS
"INSURANCE POLICY" WAS REPEATEDLY CITED BY
ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN TO COUNTER THE
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DOUBTS OF KEY
SENATORS.

3) ASKED WHY SS-19 RATHER THAN SS-18 SILOS COULD NOT
BE USED FOR SINGLE-WARHEAD MISSILES, KOLTUNOV
INDICATED THAT, LIKE THE U.S., RUSSIA TAKES THE
POSITION THAT A GIVEN SILO TYPE – INCLUDING
RECONSTRUCTED SILOS – CAN ONLY BE USED FOR ONE TYPE
OF ICBM. KOKOSHIN INTERJECTED THAT YES, RUSSIA COULD
USE SS-19 SILOS, TO WHICH NUNN RESPONDED THAT THE
U.S. WOULD HAVE MORE PROBLEMS WITH THE SS-18 SILOS
THAN WITH THE SS-19 SILOS. KOLTUNOV NOTED THAT THE
U.S. CONCERNS ABOUT BREAKOUT WERE UNFOUNDED. WHEN
RUSSIA AGREED TO THE LIMIT OF 3500 MISSILE WARHEADS,
THIS PLACED A PREMIUM ON WARHEADS AND REDUCED THE
ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE SS-18 AS A PLATFORM. HE
INDICATED THAT RUSSIA WOULD LIKELY NOT RETAIN 154
SS-18S IN ANY CASE DUE TO THE ICBM WARHEAD CEILING.
HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT THE U.S. WAS IN A MUCH BETTER
POSITION THAN RUSSIA TO BREAKOUT OF START LIMITS
GIVEN THE POTENTIAL OF RE-UPLOADING ITS TRIDENT-2
SLBM.

4) KOKOSHIN INDICATED THAT RUSSIA HAD LOOKED AT ALL
POSSIBILITIES AND HAD FOUND THAT THE NEWER SS-18
SILOS WERE THE MOST LOGICAL ECONOMIC CHOICE FOR
CONVERSION TO SINGLE-WARHEAD MISSILES. HE REPEATED
KOLTUNOV'S POINT THAT THE INFRASTRUCTURE, INCLUDING
ROADS, HOUSING AND SUPPORT BUILDINGS, WAS NEWER IN
THE RECENTLY-BUILT SS-18 COMPLEXES. THIS MADE THEM
MORE ATTRACTIVE CANDIDATES FOR CONVERSION. GEN-COL
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KOLESNIKOV ADDED THAT SOME RUSSIANS SEE THE U.S.
DEMANDS TO DESTROY ALL SS-18 SILOS AS AN EFFORT,
PERHAPS UNINTENTIONAL, TO DAMAGE FURTHER THE

ALREADY-CRIPPLED RUSSIAN ECONOMY.

B. PROBLEMS WITH DOWNLOADING:

KOLTUNOV ARGUED THAT THE RUSSIAN SIDE HAD, UNDER START-1, ARGUED FOR MISSILES OF A GIVEN TYPE TO BE DOWNLOADED BY MORE THAN FOUR WARHEADS, SUBJECT TO STRICT RULES OF VERIFICATION, ALTHOUGH HE SAID THE U.S. SIDE HAS NEVER AGREED TO THIS PROPOSALS. FURTHER, UNDER THE U.S. "START-2" PROPOSAL, HE ARGUED THAT BECAUSE RUSSIA HAS OVER 90 PERCENT OF ITS WARHEADS ON AND-BASED MISSILES, IF THE LIMITATION ON THE NUMBER OF DOWNLOADED WARHEADS ON SINGLE-WARHEAD MISSILES IS NOT CHANGED, RUSSIA WILL EITHER HAVE TO PRODUCE A NEW TYPE OF MISSILE OR IT WILL HAVE TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF LAND-BASED MISSILES TO SUCH A LEVEL THAT THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE COULD NOT GUARANTEE RUSSIA'S SECURITY.

C. LIMITS ON STRATEGIC AVIATION: KOLTUNOV STRESSED THAT THE ISSUE OF B-1 CONVERSION TO NON-NUCLEAR ROLES "MUST" BE RESOLVED FOR "START-2" TO BE AGREED UPON. NUNN NOTED THAT THESE WERE POINTS RAISED IN YELTSIN'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT, AND WOULD BE CAREFULLY STUDIED BY THE USG.

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PHYSICAL CONTROL OF UKRAINIAN NUCLEAR FORCES

5. A. KOKOSHIN SAID THE SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN UKRAINE IS DETERIORATING. THE LEADERSHIP AND NATIONALIST FORCES HAVE MADE CLEAR THEIR INTENT NOT TO COMPLY WITH THE LISBON PROTOCOL NOR TO RATIFY THE START-1 AGREEMENT. UKRAINE, KOKOSHIN ASSERTED, HAS REJECTED RUSSIA'S PROPOSAL TO WITHDRAW ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM ITS SOIL IN 18 MONTHS. THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT RECENTLY PUT FORWARD (UNSPECIFIED) NEW DEMANDS REGARDING START-1, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE TREATY HAS ALREADY BEEN RATIFIED BY RUSSIA IN ITS CURRENT FORM. HE SAID RUSSIA WOULD NEVER ACCEPT UKRAINE'S CLAIMS OF OWNERSHIP OF THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON ITS TERRITORY AND CALLED FOR A CONCERTED JOINT EFFORT BY RUSSIA AND THE

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U.S. TO PERSUADE UKRAINE TO GIVE UP THOSE CLAIMS.

B. KOKOSHIN WARNED THAT THE LEVEL OF SAFETY OF THE
WARHEADS ON UKRAINIAN SOIL IS DECREASING EVERY DAY
BECAUSE RUSSIA IS LESS ABLE TO CONTROL WHO HAS ACCESS

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TO THOSE WARHEADS. AT SOME POINT IN THE NOT-DISTANT
FUTURE, RUSSIA WILL FACE THE SITUATION OF BEING
UNABLE TO CERTIFY THE SAFETY OR SECURITY OF THOSE
WEAPONS. GEN-COL KOLESNIKOV INDICATED THAT AT THE
WORKING LEVEL, THE UKRAINIANS UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS
RELATED TO SAFETY AND HAVE APPEALED FOR RUSSIAN
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.

C. IN REPLY TO SENATOR NUNN'S SPECIFIC QUESTIONING ON ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL, KOLESNIKOV SAID RUSSIA NO LONGER HAS "ADMINISTRATIVE" CONTROL OF THE UKRAINIAN WEAPONS. UKRAINE HAS ASSUMED SUCH CONTROL IN THE THREE MISSILE DIVISIONS, BUT IS ACTING AS IF IT WERE OPERATIONAL CONTROL. HE INDICATED THAT (COMMANDER OF THE UNIFIED AND STRATEGIC FORCES OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES) MARSHAL SHAPOSHNIKOV IS "A NOBODY" IN UKRAINE AND EXERTS NO INFLUENCE OVER WHAT HAPPENS TO THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS THERE. UKRAINIANS HAVE REFUSED TO ADMIT RUSSIAN STRATEGIC ROCKET FORCE REPRESENTATIVES. UKRAINIAN SOLDIERS AND WARRANT OFFICERS HAVE REPLACED RUSSIANS IN THE GUARD FORCES AT NUCLEAR BASES. SOME OF THESE PERSONNEL HAVE TAKEN THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO UKRAINE. HE INDICATED THAT THE UKRAINIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENSE NOW MAKES ALL PERSONNEL APPOINTMENTS AT SUCH BASES.

COMMAND AND CONTROL OF NUCLEAR FORCES IN UKRAINE

6. KOLESNIKOV EXPLAINED THAT UKRAINE CAN SERVICE
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MISSILES, BUT NOT WARHEADS, AND EXERCISES PHYSICAL
CONTROL, ALTHOUGH NOT "COMMAND AND CONTROL" OF THE
WARHEADS AND MISSILES. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHAT STATE WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR
THAT? HE ASKED.

NUNN'S PROPOSAL FOR ACCELERATED REMOVAL OF WARHEADS

7. SENATOR NUNN ASKED WHETHER THE RUSSIAN MOD WOULD GO ALONG WITH HIS PROPOSAL TO REMOVE ALL WARHEADS ON AN ACCELERATED BASIS FROM SYSTEMS DESTINED FOR DISMANTLEMENT UNDER START-1 AND START-2. KOLESNIKOV INDICATED THAT THIS WAS A GOOD SUGGESTION. KOKOSHIN PREDICTED THAT UKRAINE WOULD STICK TO ITS STATED POSITION OF ONLY ALLOWING PROPORTIONAL REDUCTIONS OF WEAPONS AND THAT THIS WOULD PRESENT A MAJOR OBSTACLE. KOKOSHIN SAID HE WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR THE HELP OF THE U.S. ON THIS ISSUE. HE SAID UKRAINE HAD

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ALREADY REJECTED A PROPOSAL FROM RUSSIA TO REMOVE THE MISSILES SLATED FOR REDUCTION UNDER START-1.

8. KOKOSHIN ALSO NOTED RUSSIA'S CONCERNS ABOUT UKRAINE'S ADHERENCE TO THE NPT. HE QUESTIONED
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UKRAINIAN ASSERTIONS THAT IT COULD JOIN THE NPT AS A "NON-NUCLEAR STATE" WHILE ALSO INSISTING ON CONTROL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON ITS SOIL.

RUSSIAN EFFORTS TO NEUTRALIZE UKRAINIAN-BASED NUKES

9. GEN-COL KOLESNIKOV SAID THE RUSSIAN GENERAL STAFF NO LONGER INCLUDES UKRAINIAN-BASED STRATEGIC MISSILES IN ITS PLANNING. IN FACT, RUSSIAN TECHNICIANS HAVE "REMOVED THE FLIGHT PLANS FROM THOSE MISSILES ALREADY AND WE'VE DECOUPLED THEM FROM OUR SYSTEM," HE SAID.



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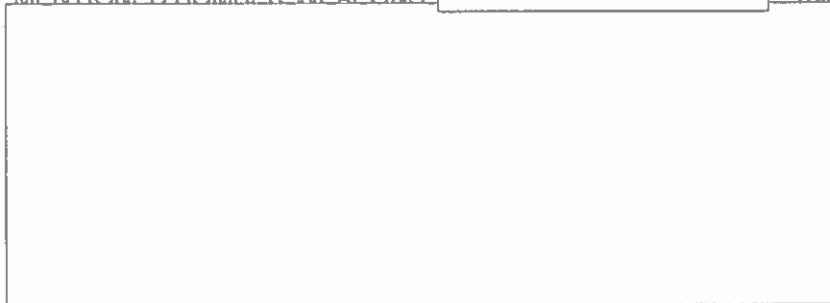
10. DR. ROGOV NOTED THAT THE U.S. PRESIDENT MUST
REPORT TO THE CONGRESS IN THE NEXT TWO MONTHS ON THE
NON-NUCLEAR STATUS OF UKRAINE, BELARUS AND
KAZAKHSTAN. [REDACTED]



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BOMBER WEAPONS IN UKRAINE

11. GEN-COL KOLESNIKOV NOTED THAT HE HAD NOT YET
MENTIONED BOMBER WEAPONS. [REDACTED]



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[REDACTED] UNDER QUESTIONING FROM SENATOR NUNN,

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KOLESNIKOV REITERATED THAT THE
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HOUSING FOR RUSSIAN OFFICERS

12. ASKED ABOUT RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT POLICIES THAT TEND TO DISCOURAGE WESTERN INVESTMENT IN NEW HOUSING IN RUSSIA, KOKOSHIN INDICATED THAT THE KEY PROBLEM IS RUSSIA'S INABILITY TO OFFER CASH PAYMENT FOR SUCH HOUSING. NUNN STRESSED THE NEED TO GIVE THE NECESSARY AUTHORITY TO SOME LEVEL OF OFFICIALDOM TO PERMIT WESTERN BUSINESSMEN TO CONCLUDE DEALS. KOKOSHIN NOTED THAT RUSSIA HAD COME TO AGREEMENT WITH GERMANY ON AN ORDERLY PROCESS OF TROOP WITHDRAWALS WHICH WAS PROCEEDING WITHOUT PROBLEMS. HE WELCOMED SERIOUS PROPOSALS TO USE RUSSIA'S UNDERUTILIZED CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY TO BUILD HOUSING FOR RUSSIAN OFFICERS. KOKOSHIN NOTED THAT THE INDUSTRY IS RUNNING AT ONLY THIRTY TO THIRTY-FIVE PERCENT OF CAPACITY. HE SAID NUNN'S PROPOSAL TO OFFER LAND ON MILITARY BASES TO WESTERN ENTREPRENEURS WHO WANT TO SET UP FACTORIES TO PRODUCE HOUSING WOULD BE "NO PROBLEM" SINCE THE MOD CONTROLLED THAT LAND WITHOUT QUESTION. HE PROMISED TO REPORT TO MOD GRACHEV, AND ADVISED SERIOUS ENTREPRENEURS TO BRING THEIR PROPOSALS TO HIM, THEN DEPUTY MOD GENERALS TOPOROV AND GROMOV.

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BALTIC TROOP WITHDRAWALS

13. KOKOSHIN INDICATED THAT HE IS READY TO GET THE RUSSIAN TROOPS OUT OF THE BALTIC STATES "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE." HE ASSERTED THAT RUSSIA HAS NO DESIRE TO USE THE TROOPS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF PRESSURE AGAINST THE BALTIC GOVERNMENTS. KOKOSHIN CONTENDED THAT RUSSIAN MILITARY OFFICERS AND THEIR FAMILIES HAVE NO HUMAN OR CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE BALTIC STATES, PARTICULARLY IN LATVIA AND ESTONIA. MANY, HE SAID,

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ARE HAVING GREAT DIFFICULTY RECEIVING THEIR PENSIONS BECAUSE THE LATVIAN AND ESTONIAN AUTHORITIES BOTH REFUSE TO PAY THOSE PENSIONS AND, WHAT IS WORSE, MAKE IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT TO SEND FUNDS TO THESE RETIREES. LIKewise FOR ACTIVE PERSONNEL, COMMANDERS MUST CONVERT RUBLES ON THE BLACK MARKET TO LOCAL CURRENCY IN ORDER TO PAY THEIR TROOPS. KOKOSHIN SAID RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ARE "BEING

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DENIED THE MEANS FOR THEIR VERY SURVIVAL." THEIR DESPAIR IS BEING MANIPULATED BY THE RIGHT-WING IN RUSSIA TO STIR UP OPPOSITION AGAINST DEFENSE MINISTER GRACHEV AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN.

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B. FOR THESE REASONS, KOKOSHIN SAID PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAD DECIDED TO ANNOUNCE THAT HE HAD TEMPORARILY HALTED ALL TROOP WITHDRAWALS (ALTHOUGH, IN FACT, THEY HAVE CONTINUED). THE GROUNDS FOR THIS TEMPORARY HALT IS A SIMPLE POLICY DECISION THAT, WITH WINTER SETTLING IN, NO TROOPS WILL BE WITHDRAWN UNLESS THERE IS HOUSING FOR THEM TO GO TO. HE STRESSED THAT THIS DECISION WAS NECESSARY TO PROTECT THE WELFARE AND HEALTH OF THESE SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS. LATVIA WAS THE PRESENT SORE SPOT, FOLLOWED BY ESTONIA.

C. SENATOR LUGAR INDICATED THAT HE HAD BEEN TOLD IN BOTH LATVIA AND ESTONIA THAT THE GOVERNMENTS THERE ARE FULLY PREPARED TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS ON CONDITIONS FOR RUSSIAN SOLDIERS, ONCE A DEFINITE TIMETABLE FOR WITHDRAWAL HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. HE NOTED THAT YELTSIN'S MORATORIUM ON WITHDRAWALS HAD BEEN GREETED WITH CONSIDERABLE ALARM IN THE U.S. SENATE. HE SAID THAT HE SAW NO VIOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS DURING HIS BRIEF VISIT TO EITHER COUNTRY. AS TO THE QUESTION OF STRINGENT CITIZENSHIP LAWS, LUGAR SAID IT WAS EVERY COUNTRY'S RIGHT TO MAKE ITS OWN RULES. HE SAID HE HAD URGED BOTH LATVIA AND ESTONIA TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY IN THIS AREA.

D. KOKOSHIN DISAGREED WITH LUGAR'S ASSESSMENT. HE SAID THE LATVIANS AND ESTONIANS ARE PURSUING A CONSCIOUS "POLICY OF EXPULSION" OF THE RUSSIAN-SPEAKING POPULATION. A BODY OF LAWS AND

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REGULATIONS WHICH IS CLEARLY DISCRIMINATORY TO RUSSIAN-SPEAKERS HAS BEEN ENACTED WHICH VIOLATE THE RIGHTS OF THOSE POPULATIONS UNDER THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. ESTONIA, IN PARTICULAR, HAS ALLOWED PARAMILITARY RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS WHO HISTORICALLY COOPERATED WITH THE NAZIS, TO "CONTINUE THE WAR AGAINST THE RUSSIANS BEGUN IN 1940." AS FOR LINKAGE TO THE FREEDOM SUPPORT ACT, KOKOSHIN SAID RUSSIA APPRECIATED THE GOOD WILL INHERENT IN THE FSA, BUT FEW EXPECT ANY SUBSTANTIAL BENEFIT. RUSSIA SEES ITSELF VICTIM OF A DOUBLE STANDARD; THERE WAS ONE SET OF HUMAN RIGHTS RULES WHEN THE QUESTION WAS BALTIC WITHDRAWAL FROM THE USSR (WITH THE HELP OF "DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA"), BUT NOW THE BALTIC STATES CALL

RUSSIANS "OCCUPIERS". KOKOSHIN CONCLUDED THAT NEGOTIATIONS HAVE TO CONTINUE, AND INSISTED THAT THERE IS A WITHDRAWAL TIMETABLE.

E. GEN-COL KOLESNIKOV ADDED THAT THE STATUS OF THE RUSSIAN TIMETABLE WHICH HAD BEEN APPENDED TO AN OVERALL AGREEMENT BETWEEN YELTSIN AND LANDSBERGIS WAS UNCERTAIN BECAUSE THE AGREEMENT ITSELF WAS NEVER SIGNED. HE NOTED THAT THE ESTONIANS AND LATVIANS ARE NOT MAKING ANY EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE AND SPEAK INCREASINGLY ONLY OF ONE DATE -- AUGUST 1993 -- THAT THEY SET UNILATERALLY.

F. KOLESNIKOV SAID HE FOUND IT STRANGE THAT THE U.S. ALLOWS ESTONIA TO EXCLUDE RUSSIAN-SPEAKERS FROM CITIZENSHIP WHEN 46 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION IS OF RUSSIAN ORIGIN. HE ASSERTED THAT IN SOME REGIONS THE
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POPULATION IS 80 TO 90 PERCENT RUSSIAN, YET THE NATIVE LATVIANS OR ESTONIANS ARE THE ONLY PEOPLE WITH ANY SAY IN THE GOVERNMENT. EVEN THE LATVIAN CAPITAL OF RIGA IS ABOUT 60 PERCENT RUSSIAN-SPEAKERS, HE CLAIMED. THESE PEOPLE "ARE NOBODIES." THE RUSSIAN THEATER HAS BEEN DISBANDED; RUSSIANS ARE BEING DENIED EMPLOYMENT; THEY CANNOT PRIVATIZE THEIR APARTMENTS; THEY WILL RECEIVE NOTHING UNDER THE PRIVATIZATION PLANS BEING INTRODUCED NOW. SENATOR LUGAR ARGUED THAT WHAT KOKOSHIN AND KOLESNIKOV WERE DESCRIBING DID NOT FIT WITH WHAT HE HAD SEEN DURING HIS STOPS IN LATVIA AND ESTONIA. HE ARGUED THAT A HARMONIOUS WAY TO CARRY OUT A PHASED, ORDERLY WITHDRAWAL WAS ESSENTIAL. NUNN EMPHASIZED THAT THE BALTIC STATES DENIED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, CLAIMING THAT ONLY A 1500-WORD FLUENCY WAS REQUIRED FOR CITIZENSHIP. NUNN NOTED COMPETING CLAIMS NEED TO BE DEBATED PUBLICLY. THE U.S. WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE RIGHTS OF RUSSIANS

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ABROAD, FOUND ANY VIOLATION UNACCEPTABLE, AND,
CITING YUGOSLAVIA, CALLED FOR PREVENTION OF PROBLEMS
BEFORE THEY BECAME TRAGEDIES. NUNN SAID HE HOPED
RUSSIA AND THE U.S. COULD WORK TOGETHER ON
PEACEKEEPING AND "PEACEMAKING", AND THAT RUSSIA WILL,
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AT ALL COSTS, AVOID VIOLENCE.

G. KOLESNIKOV INDICATED THAT THERE IS A PLAN FOR
SUCH A WITHDRAWAL. IT CALLS FOR ANOTHER DIVISION TO
BE WITHDRAWN IN DECEMBER. HE SAID THE DESIRE OF
DEFENSE MINISTER GRACHEV IS TO HAVE NO RUSSIAN TROOPS
SERVING OUTSIDE THE BORDERS OF RUSSIA. KOKOSHIN
STRESSED THAT NEGOTIATIONS WERE CONTINUING WITH ALL
THE BALTIC STATES AND WERE GOING RELATIVELY WELL WITH
THE LITHUANIANS. HE PROMISED TO PROVIDE THE SENATORS
WITH A REPORT ON SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN
THE BALTICS AGAINST RUSSIAN-SPEAKERS. KOKOSHIN
EMPHASIZED THAT RUSSIA COULD NOT SILENTLY STAND BY
WHEN A SMALL NATION TRIES TO ENSURE ITS SURVIVAL BY
EXPPELLING ALL THOSE IN ITS MIDST WHO ARE OF A
DIFFERENT NATIONALITY.

BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSES

14. SENATOR NUNN NOTED THAT THE CONGRESS HAD PLACED SPACE-BASED INTERCEPTORS CLEARLY IN THE RESEARCH, RATHER THAN DEVELOPMENT, CATEGORY. HE PREDICTED THAT SDI WOULD BE CHANNELLED TO A LIMITED DEFENSE AGAINST ACCIDENTAL LAUNCHES OR LIMITED ATTACKS BY THIRD COUNTRIES. NUNN SAID HE HAS URGED THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION TO NEGOTIATE WITH RUSSIA TO CLEAR UP THE DEFINITIONS IN THE ABM TREATY. FOR EXAMPLE, THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ANTI-TACTICAL BMD AND A BROAD-AREA DEFENSE; THE DEFINITION OF SPACE-BASED SENSORS

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PERMITTED IN A LIMITED DEFENSE; AND NOW, THE PROBLEM OF ABM SYSTEMS WHICH, AS A RESULT OF POLITICAL CHANGES, ARE NOW ON THE TERRITORY OF A THIRD COUNTRY NOT A PARTY TO THE TREATY. NUNN SAID HE ALSO URGED NEGOTIATION OF "MODEST" AMENDMENTS TO THE ABM TREATY TO ALLOW, FOR EXAMPLE, FOR MORE THAN ONE SITE FOR LAND-BASED DEFENSES AGAINST LIMITED ATTACKS. NUNN SAID THE U.S. HAS MADE CLEAR THAT WE ARE NOT SEEKING A "THICK DEFENSE" THAT ARGUABLY COULD THREATEN THE CONCEPT OF DETERRENCE.

15. NUNN SAID HE WAS NOT A SPOKESMAN FOR THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION, BUT HE FELT SAFE IN PREDICTING THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WOULD COMPLY WITH THE 1990 MISSILE DEFENSE ACT AND WOULD, IN COOPERATION WITH RUSSIA, WORK TOGETHER ON EARLY WARNING, AND ON DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF A "LIMITED DEFENSE." HE ALSO SAID WE NEED TO WORK TOGETHER TO DEFINE "LIMITED DEFENSE," TO EXPAND THE ROLE OF NUCLEAR RISK REDUCTION CENTERS, DEVELOP A GLOBAL INVENTORY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, TO AID NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND TO DEVELOP PROCEDURES FOR DEALING WITH TERRORISM DIRECTED AT NUCLEAR FACILITIES.

16. SENATOR NUNN ALSO NOTED THAT, ALTHOUGH THE U.S. MILITARY DOES NOT YET AGREE WITH THE IDEA, HE WANTS TO SEE ALL NUCLEAR-ARMED BALLISTIC MISSILES FITTED WITH DESTRUCTION DEVICES THAT WOULD PERMIT NATIONAL AUTHORITIES TO DESTROY A MISSILE LAUNCHED WITHOUT PROPER AUTHORIZATION. THE MEETING ENDED WITH EXPRESSIONS OF HOPE FOR RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC REVIVAL AND

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