1. **SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT**

2. **SECRET SPECAT**

   EVERYTHING HE CAN TO DEMONSTRATE HE'S A NATIONAL HERO.

   5. EINHORN REVIEWED THE U.S. MESSAGE TO ALL PARTIES CONCERNED: "THAT ANY SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DISPOSAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND EVEN THEIR USE IS THE BUSINESS OF THE CENTER AND REPUBLICS TO WORK OUT AMONG THEMSELVES, BUT WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT NO REPUBLIC HAVE INDEPENDENT CONTROL OVER CONTROL. THIS WOULD MEAN NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND HAVE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR OVERALL STABILITY IN THE REGION AS WELL AS FOR THE REPUBLICS' ECONOMIES."

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OBERVERS, FOR THE SPECIFIC PURPOSE OF PARTICIPATING IN THE COUNCIL OF REPUBLICS VOTES ON START/CFE, ASKED ABOUT TIMING, SAID THE SPECIAL DELEGATION WAS HIS OR HER IDEA, BUT THAT NOTHING MUCH COULD BE DONE BEFORE THE DECEMBER 1 REFERENCE. AFTER THAT, START/CFE RATIFICATION WOULD BE AN "EXCELLENT TEST CASE" OF UKRAINIAN POLICY.


9. INTRA-REPUBLICAN CONSULTATIVE ARRANGEMENTS.

SAID BETTER ARRANGEMENTS ARE CLEARLY NECESSARY. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT GORBACHEV HAD SPOKEN WITH YELTSIN BEFORE RESPONDING TO THE PRESIDENT'S NUCLEAR INITIATIVE, BUT NOTED THAT YELTSIN STILL "NEEDS EDUCATING" ON THE ISSUES AND THAT REAL CONSULTATIONS WOULD HAVE TO TAKE PLACE AT LOWER LEVELS. THERE REMAINS A PROBLEM IN GORBACHEV'S WANTING TO DO THINGS WITHOUT MEANINGFUL CONSULTATIONS, AND YELTSIN IS BEING PUBLICLY CRITICIZED FOR LACK OF A CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM.

10. MIKOV'S. EMBASSY NOTED THAT, IN A STATEMENT FOLLOWING GORBACHEV'S RESPONSE, YELTSIN HAD SAID THE RSFSR WANTED TO MAKE DEEPER CUTS IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS. DID THIS MEAN MIKOV'S EMBASSY THOUGHT HE PERSONALLY SUPPORTS ACTIVITY IN SEEKING MIKOV REDUCTIONS. HOWEVER, THE U.S. "SHOULD DO SOMETHING TO MAKE OUR POSITION MORE FLEXIBLE. YOU SHOULD DO SOMETHING, TOO."

TO:

SECRET SPECAT SECTION 03 OF 03 MOSCOW 30544

FROM:

E.O. 13526

TAGS: FREI HONG PAPA US

SUBJECT: IS WORRIED ABOUT UKRAINE, BUT FEELS

SKEPTICAL MAY BE BACK OFF AFTER THE REFERENDUM

11. "FUTURE SECURITY AGENDA" TALKS. THE TALKS, IN WHICH ARE PUTATIVE PARTICIPANTS WERE A THREAD THROUGHOUT THE CONVERSATION. ENDORSED THEM AS A VEHICLE FOR INFLUENCING THE UKRAINIANS AND OTHER REPUBLICS. HE EXPRESS CONCERN THAT BYelorussia AND Kazakhstan WOULD BE OFFENDED IF OTHER REPUBLICS WERE INVITED AND THEY WERE NOT, ALTHOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT REPUBLICS NOT INVITED TO THE FIRST SESSION COULD BE INVITED LATER. HE EXPRESS CONCERN THAT SOVIET FIRST DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER PETROVSKY WOULD NOT INSPIRE CONFIDENCE IN SECURING GOOD REPUBLICAN REPRESENTATION. ALTERNATIVELY, HE SAID HERFY IN NOT INVITING UKRAINE TO THE FIRST SESSION, WHICH WILL BE HELD BEFORE THE DECEMBER 1 REFERENDUM. HE RECOMMENDED KAZAKHSTAN'S FRIENDS SOLEHANDY (FROM) AS A POTENTIAL KAZAKH INVITEE. BROADLY, HE EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN THAT HIS FRIEND YAMOLL'S IDEA OF "APPROPRIATE" REPRESENTATION AT THE TALKS WOULD BE COMFORTABLE REPRESENTATION; THE GOAL SHOULD BE TO SEEK "REPRESENTATIVE REPRESENTATION" STRANG.