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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 6, 1993

PRESIDENTIAL REVIEW DIRECTIVE /NSC-4

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY  
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY  
THE DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT & BUDGET  
CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT  
THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE  
THE CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
THE DIRECTOR, ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

SUBJECT: U.S. Strategic Offensive Arms Control Policy After  
START II Signature (U)

The U.S. is committed to the successful entry into force and implementation of the START I and START II Treaties. This will require immediate attention to the following issues:

- o START ratification by Ukraine, and accession to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as non-nuclear states by Ukraine and Kazakhstan;
- o Elimination of all nuclear weapons and strategic offensive arms now located on the territory of Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan as soon as possible, but no later than the end of the seven-year START reduction period;
- o Successful ratification by the U.S. Senate and the Russian Supreme Soviet of the START II Treaty;
- o Full implementation and, if possible, acceleration of the reductions required by the START I and START II Treaties.

(S)

The review of U.S. strategic offensive arms control policy after START II signature should address all of the above issues. Future PRD's will address questions and issues related to possible reductions of strategic offensive arms below the levels specified in START II, nuclear testing, and strategic defense. The review should be completed by February 19, 1993. It should include clear policy options/recommendations across the full

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range of options for dealing with this issue. Any differences in view among agencies should be noted. At a minimum, the review should address the following questions and issues:

Part I: Assessment

A. Denuclearization of Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan

- o What is the current status of the START and NPT approval process in Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan? Do the continuing delays in the ratification process reflect an underlying intention to retain the nuclear weapons; or a desire to use nuclear weapons as leverage in bargaining with the U.S. and Russians; or are they the benign result of democratic growing pains in these three countries? (S)
- o What is the relative strength of proponents and opponents of START and NPT approval in these three states? (S)
- o What is the safety, security, and maintenance status of nuclear forces now located in these states? Who commands these forces? Who controls them? What would be required for Ukraine to assume control of nuclear weapons? (S)
- o What is the status of discussions/negotiations between these states and Russia concerning nuclear warheads and strategic nuclear delivery systems on their territory? (S)
- o What are the underlying security concerns and objectives of Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan? (S)
- o What actions by the United States, Russia and/or other states would be likely to influence the denuclearization process in these three states, either positively or negatively? To what extent is the denuclearization linked to perceptions of political, economic, and military threats from Russia and to the course of political reform and democratization in Russia? (S)
- o What would be the effect on U.S. interests of a failure of one or more of these states to approve or implement START or the NPT? (S)
- o What is the impact on START of current efforts to multilateralize the INF Treaty? (S)

B. Ratification of START II

- o What is the current status of the START II ratification process in Russia? (C)
- o What actions by the United States, Russia or other states would be likely to influence Russian ratification of START II, either positively or negatively? Is ratification of START I and/or the NPT by Ukraine and Kazakhstan a precondition for ratification of START II by Russia? (S)
- o What are the relative costs and benefits of immediate or later ratification of START II by either the United States or Russia? (C)
- o What would be the effect on U.S. interests of a failure to bring START II into force? (S)
- o What would be the effect on U.S. interests if Russia fails to obtain removal of SS-18 missiles from Kazakhstan? (S)

C. Implementation of START I and START II Reductions

- o What are the implementation positions and demands of the other START Parties? (C)
- o What is the current status of U.S. and former Soviet planning for/implementation of reductions required by START I and START II? (S)
- o What are the relative costs and benefits to the U.S. of accelerated START I and START II reductions on both sides? (C)
- o What timetable for possible acceleration of reductions and/or deactivations would be realistic, given fiscal and logistics constraints in each of the countries? (S)
- o What actions by the United States would be required to help Russia to implement START I and START II reductions? To accelerate those reductions? (S)
- o What would be the effect on U.S. interests of Russian failure to implement fully START I and START II reductions? (S)
- o Should the United States accelerate the reductions timetable unilaterally if Russia or any of the other states' Parties are unable or unwilling to accelerate? (S)

- o What is the status of U.S. early deactivation proposals? (S)

Part II: Options for Policy

A. Denuclearization of Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan

- o How does the issue of denuclearization of Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan relate to other major U.S. goals and interests, both with regard to those states and more globally? What should be the U.S. goals in addressing this issue? What is the proper balance of "carrots" and "sticks" in pursuing this objective? (S)
- o What are U.S. options?
  - Options considered should address, but need not be limited to:
    - o Security assurances;
    - o Nunn-Lugar and Freedom Support Act assistance;
    - o Financial and other forms of assistance for denuclearization from allies;
    - o Sharing of proceeds from highly-enriched uranium (HEU) sales;
    - o Technology access;
    - o Adjustments to START inspection costs and dismantlement requirements;
    - o Strategic nuclear delivery vehicle elimination;
    - o Nuclear warhead elimination;
    - o Denial of economic and other assistance;
    - o Diplomatic isolation of non-complying states. (S)
  - Within the confines of each of the options, fully set forth the pluses and minuses of the possible course of action, identify any implications for broader U.S. arms control policy, any applicable legislation, and budgetary implications. (S)

- Each option should contain an outline of an implementing strategy. (S)

B. Ratification of START II

- o How does ratification of START II relate to other major U.S. goals and interests? What should be the U.S. goals in addressing this issue? (C)
- o What are U.S. options? (S)

- Options considered should address, but need not be limited to:

- o U.S. ratification schedule and strategy (for example, should we hold off until Ukraine and Kazakhstan ratifies START I);
- o U.S. involvement in Russian ratification process. (S)

- Within the confines of each of the options, fully set forth the pluses and minuses of the possible course of action, identify any implications for broader U.S. arms control policy, any applicable legislation, and budgetary implications. (S)

- Each option should contain an outline of an implementing strategy and should be interrelated to overall U.S. goals. (S)

C. Implementation of START I and START II Reductions

- o How does the implementation, including the schedule, of START I and START II reductions relate to other major U.S. goals and interests? How can the U.S. ensure implementation by the other Parties is sustained? What should be the U.S. goals in addressing this issue? (S)
- o What are U.S. options? (C)

- Options considered should address, but need not be limited to:

- o Nunn-Lugar assistance (including additional funds beyond \$800 million and/or a broadening of the purposes for which Nunn-Lugar funds may be obligated);
- o U.S.-Russian agreement on START II dismantlement assistance;

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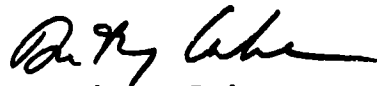
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- o Withdrawal of all SS-18 missiles from Kazakhstan for destruction;
  - o Interim storage of warheads in Ukraine and Kazakhstan, pending destruction in Russia. (S)
- Within the confines of each of the options, fully set forth the pluses and minuses of the possible course of action, identify any implications for broader U.S. nuclear force and arms control policy, any applicable legislation, and budgetary implications. (S)
- Each option should contain an outline of an implementing strategy and should be interrelated to overall U.S. goals. (S)

Part III: Tasking

The review should be conducted by the interagency working group on arms control, under the chairmanship of the Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control, National Security Council Staff. (S)



Anthony Lake  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

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