

[REDACTED]



Growing Radicalization in the Ukraine [REDACTED]

The Ukrainian leadership, under pressure from nationalist sentiment and the popular movement Rukh, has mounted a growing challenge to the central government's authority in the past six months. The Ukraine's radical sovereignty declaration of 16 July, going beyond that of Russia and most other republics, asserts the right to a separate army and currency and an independent foreign policy. The legislature recently amended its constitution to assert the supremacy of republic law over union law and is drafting legislation to ensure the deployment of Ukrainian conscripts only on republic territory. [REDACTED]

The republic legislature still retains a Communist majority, but the nationalist opposition, nearly a third of the deputies, has been gaining influence. Leonid Kravchuk, Chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, and new Prime Minister Fokin have sought to partially accommodate Rukh but want to retain power themselves and avoid steps that might provoke Moscow to intervene. Forced by public demonstrations and pressure from the legislative opposition, the legislature removed Fokin's more traditionalist predecessor in October and has begun to implement the republic's sovereignty declaration through independent foreign policy moves and drafting of a new constitution. Legislative activity, however, is often paralyzed by rancorous debate between the Communist majority and the opposition. The majority has recently taken steps to curb the opposition's ability to block legislation and to restrict demonstrations. [REDACTED]

Serious differences among republic leaders and the population over how far and how fast to push the challenge to Moscow will complicate agreement on the Ukraine's future and ensure political conflict in the months ahead. Rukh and its supporters who advocate complete independence are concentrated in the Western Ukraine. [REDACTED] support for independence is growing elsewhere, particularly in Kiev. Kravchuk, Fokin, and most Communist deputies support continued membership in a less centralized union where the republic's sovereignty is guaranteed. For now, the majority of the population--especially in the south and east where over 11 million Russians live--apparently favors continued participation in a decentralized union. [REDACTED]

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526
2009-0961-MR
SCS 6/5/12

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

Bush Presidential Library Photocopy
From the Nunn-Lugar collection of the National Security Archive

[REDACTED]

Implementation of Fokin's economic reform plan and the republic's July declaration on economic independence will put the republic in direct conflict with the central government over the issues of resource control and foreign economic policy. Moreover, Fokin has announced plans to introduce a republic currency in 1991 which, along with market reform, will likely weaken the central government's administrative control over the republic's economy. The Ukraine has recently signed interrepublic trade agreements with eight other Soviet republics, including the RSFSR, and introduced a form of rationing that attempts to protect Ukrainian residents from consumer shortages as the centrally directed command economy collapses. [REDACTED]

The Ukraine is not likely to sign Gorbachev's union treaty draft in its present form because it retains an integrated federal structure and a strong central government. In response to public pressure, the legislature promised to forego signing of the union treaty at a minimum until a new republic constitution based on the sovereignty declaration is passed, probably in a year's time. The Gorbachev regime may well prove unwilling to present a compromise treaty draft acceptable to the increasingly autonomous Ukraine, opening up the possibility that the Ukraine could gain de facto independence in the absence of an agreement with the center even if support for a formal declaration does not increase. [REDACTED]