

NUNN-LUGAR @25: LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

REUNION OF VETERANS WHO MADE MUTUAL SECURITY WORK



DECEMBER 12, 2016

KENNEDY CAUCUS ROOM, RUSSELL OFFICE BUILDING, U.S. SENATE

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25TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE NUNN-LUGAR COOPERATIVE THREAT REDUCTION PROGRAM

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**ON THIS DAY 25 YEARS AGO, DECEMBER 12, 1991, PRESIDENT GEORGE H. W. BUSH
SIGNED THE NUNN-LUGAR LEGISLATION INTO LAW.**



National Security Archive: Founded in 1985 by journalists and scholars and based at George Washington University, the National Security Archive combines a unique range of functions: investigative journalism center, research institute on international affairs, library and archive of declassified U.S. documents ("the world's largest nongovernmental collection" according to the Los Angeles Times), leading non-profit user of the U.S. Freedom of Information Act, public interest law firm defending and expanding public access to government information, global advocate of open government, and indexer and publisher of former secrets.



Carnegie Corporation: Established in 1911 by Andrew Carnegie to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding. In keeping with this mandate, the Corporation's work focuses on the issues that Andrew Carnegie considered of paramount importance: international peace, the advancement of education and knowledge, and the strength of our democracy.



Nuclear Threat Initiative: The Nuclear Threat Initiative protects lives, the environment and our quality of life now and for future generations. Every day, we work to prevent catastrophic attacks with weapons of mass destruction and disruption—nuclear, biological, radiological, chemical and cyber. We work with presidents and prime ministers, scientists and technicians, educators and students, and people from around the world. We collaborate with partners worldwide. And we use our voice to raise awareness and advocate for creative solutions.

Founded in 2001 by former U.S. Senator Sam Nunn and philanthropist Ted Turner, NTI is guided by a prestigious, international board of directors and a high-level advisory board. Sam Nunn is chief executive officer, and Joan Rohlfing serves as president.



Carnegie Endowment: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is a unique global network of policy research centers in Russia, China, Europe, the Middle East, India, and the United States. Our mission, dating back more than a century, is to advance the cause of peace through analysis and development of fresh policy ideas and direct engagement and collaboration with decisionmakers in government, business, and civil society. Working together, our centers bring the inestimable benefit of multiple national viewpoints to bilateral, regional, and global issues.

PROGRAM OF EVENTS

DECEMBER 12, 2016

2:00 p.m. – 3:00 p.m.

- Welcome from Tom Blanton, Director of the National Security Archive
- Presentation of “Nunn-Lugar Award” by Dr. Vartan Gregorian of the Carnegie Corporation of New York
 - Awards presented to former Secretary of Defense William Perry and former Commander of the Russian 12th GUMO Colonel General Evgeny Maslin (accepted by General Victor Esin on behalf of General Maslin).
 - Senator Nunn to read Carnegie citation for General Maslin and Senator Lugar to read Carnegie citation for Secretary Perry.
- Panel discussion with Senators Nunn and Lugar, Secretary Perry and General Esin, moderated by David Hoffman. Topics will include a look back at the program’s successes plus a look forward at potential future cooperation.

3:00 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.

- Panel discussion with Sig Hecker, Gloria Duffy, Ambassador Jim Goodby, General Roland Lajoie, on implementation of the program, moderated by David Hoffman.
 - David Hoffman will also call on Nunn-Lugar veterans in the audience to provide 3-minute vignettes about their service, including Charles Curtis, Victor Alessi, Glenn Schweitzer, Kenneth Fairfax, Jeffrey Starr, Susan Koch, and Ambassador Sergey Kislyak.

4:30 p.m. – 5:30 p.m.

- Panel discussion with Director General Ahmet Üzümcü of the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, Anne Harrington, Ambassador Kairat Umarov, Andrew Weber, Sergei Rogov, and moderated by Ambassador John Ordway. The focus will be on next steps in cooperative threat reduction.

5:30 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.

- Reception in Kennedy Caucus Room

BIOGRAPHIES OF PRINCIPALS

Victor Alessi served as Director of the U.S. Office of Arms Control and Nonproliferation in the Department of Energy during the administration of President George H.W. Bush. In that capacity, he oversaw all U.S. arms control activities and played an instrumental role in implementing the U.S. unilateral nuclear initiative in 1991. Later, as an executive assistant to the director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Dr. Alessi advised on nuclear nonproliferation and oversaw the agency's daily operations. He also served as the longtime U.S. representative on the governing board of the International Science and Technology Center (ISTC) in Moscow, and as chair of the board of the Science and Technology Center in Ukraine.

Jack Beard served as Associate Deputy General Counsel (International Affairs) in the Department of Defense with responsibility for a variety of issues, including arms control agreements, assistance to states of the former Soviet Union in the dismantlement of weapons of mass destruction, and other nonproliferation activities. He was awarded the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Public Service in 2013. Currently he is an Assistant Professor of Law at the Nebraska College of Law at Nebraska-Lincoln.

John Beyrle was an Acting Special Advisor to Secretary of State Colin Powell for the New Independent States; Director for Russian, Ukrainian and Eurasian Affairs at the National Security Council from 1993–1995; and Ambassador to Russia from 2008–2012, where he took an active part in President Obama's "reset" with Russia.

Jay Branegan is a Senior Fellow at The Lugar Center, where he works on arms control and the Center's Bipartisan Governance Project. He served for 10 years as a Professional Staff Member on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with responsibility for a variety of issues, including Asia, international corruption, foreign aid reform, and energy. Prior to that, he had a long career as a journalist, primarily for *Time* Magazine. As a reporter for *The Chicago Tribune*, he shared a Pulitzer Prize for investigative reporting.

William Courtney, the first U.S. ambassador to independent Kazakhstan, is an Adjunct Senior Fellow at the RAND Corporation and Executive Director of the RAND Business Leaders Forum, as well as President of the U.S.-Kazakhstan Business Association. Ambassador Courtney's diplomatic postings have also included Special Assistant to the President for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia; Ambassador to Georgia, and the U.S.-Soviet Bilateral Consultative Commission to implement the Threshold Test Ban Treaty; and deputy U.S. negotiator during U.S.-Soviet missile defense talks.

Charles Curtis served as Under Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and Acting Secretary of the Department of Energy from 1994–1997, when he played a leadership role in funding and supporting U.S.-Russian lab-to-lab cooperation, and participated in negotiations under the framework of the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission. He is a former member of the Defense Policy Board and the Threat Reduction Advisory Committee at the Department of Defense. Previous experience includes chairmanship of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and 15 years in private legal practice. In 2001, he became the founding President of the Nuclear Threat Initiative.

Michael Demeo, a Navy Commander, was a special assistant for arms control assistance at the Pentagon in the 1990s. While at the JCS, OUSD (AT&L), and OSD (Policy), Cdr. Demeo conducted Nunn-Lugar CTR safeguard activities on the ground in Russia. He was also a member of the U.S. Umbrella Agreement team, negotiated Implementing Agreements, developed implementing projects and coordinated them with recipient states, maintained DoD policy oversight, and provided contractor analysis support.

Phillip R. Dolliff was Director of the Office of Cooperative Threat Reduction (ISN/CTR) at the Department of State, Bureau of International Security and Non-Proliferation, and a Foreign Service Officer since 1991. He also served as an Acting Board Member and ISTC Coordinator at the Science and Technology Center in Ukraine.

Gloria Duffy was a U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense and Special Coordinator for Cooperative Threat Reduction between 1993–1995. In this role, she helped negotiate agreements with the former Soviet republics to dismantle weapons of mass destruction, and coordinated U.S. assistance to those countries. She was awarded the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service in 1995, and was recognized as a Nunn-Lugar “Trailblazer” in 2016 by Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter. Since 1996, she has served as President and CEO of the Commonwealth Club, the nation’s largest and oldest public affairs forum.

Viktor Ivanovich Esin rose to the rank of Colonel General in his 40-year career in the Soviet and Russian Defense Ministries. From 1994–1996 he was Chief of the General Staff of the Russian Strategic Missile Forces. From 1997–2002 he worked for the Russian Presidential Administration as Head of the Department of Military Security at the Security Council of the Russian Federation. He currently serves as Leading Research Fellow at the Institute for U.S. and Canada Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Kenneth Fairfax served as U.S. Ambassador to Kazakhstan from 2011–2013. While working as Environment Science and Technology Officer at the Embassy in Moscow from 1993–1995, he specialized in nuclear issues, and wrote several key “holes in the fence” cables, which led to improved storage and disposal procedures for nuclear weapons and materials. He also served as Director of Nuclear Materials Security on the National Security Council, held diplomatic postings in Ukraine, Canada, Vietnam and Poland, and served as Deputy Executive Director of the International Energy Agency.

Robert Fairweather is the Chief of Cabinet at the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. His recent posts include Deputy Head of Mission and First Secretary for the British Embassy in the Hague, and Second Secretary in the British Mission to the United Nations.

Royal C. Gardner participated in drafting and negotiating Nunn-Lugar agreements with Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus from 1993–1995, while serving as Assistant for Safety, Security, and Dismantlement Activities in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Nuclear Security and Counterproliferation) and as Assistant to the General Counsel, Department of the Army.

James Goodby’s distinguished career in the U.S. Foreign Service includes ambassadorial appointments by presidents Carter, Reagan, and Clinton. In the 1990s, he served as principal negotiator and special representative of President Clinton for Nuclear Security and Dismantlement

for the former Soviet states, chief negotiator for cooperative threat reduction agreements, vice chair of the delegation to the U.S.-Russian strategic arms reduction talks, and head of U.S. delegation to the Conference on Disarmament in Europe. Currently Ambassador Goodby is a Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Vartan Gregorian has served since 1997 as President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, a grant-making institution founded by Andrew Carnegie in 1911. Previously, Dr. Gregorian's distinguished academic career as an historian took him from Stanford to San Francisco State to UCLA to Texas to the University of Pennsylvania, where he was Provost from 1978–1981. He was President of the New York Public Library from 1981–1989, and President of Brown University from 1989–1997.

Andrei Gugu is Director of National Security Solutions at PAE. He worked as a Project Officer at DTRA's Threat Reduction Support Center. As a Senior Program Manager at Raytheon he supported the Nunn-Lugar program with the development of requirements and implementation of the Ukraine border security project. He also developed the needs for the Chernobyl exclusion zone and implemented equipment deliveries, and performed various assignments relating to the former Soviet Union while a Deputy Program Lead at Culmen International.

David Hamburg is President Emeritus at the Carnegie Corporation of New York, where he served as President from 1982–1997, and launched the Preventing Nuclear War grant-making program, which funded the key original study leading to the Nunn-Lugar concept. He was present at the first Nunn and Lugar meeting that developed a strategy for passing the legislation, and traveled with Senators Nunn and Lugar on their first assessment mission in the former Soviet Union in 1992. Trained as a medical doctor, he also served on the U.S. Defense Policy Board under Secretary of Defense William Perry and as Co-Chair with former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. His memoir is titled *A Model of Prevention: Life Lessons*.

Anne Harrington has devoted most of her government career, including 15 years at the State Department, to preventing WMD and missile expertise proliferation. From 1993–1998, she served as U.S. Senior Coordinator for efforts to redirect former Soviet WMD/missile experts. From 1991–1993, she served in Moscow as Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the International Science and Technology Center (ISTC) Preparatory Committee, and Science Analyst at the U.S. Embassy. She was instrumental in negotiating the agreements that established the ISTC and the Science and Technology Center in Ukraine (STCU), and the agreement between the United States and Kazakhstan relating to securing the Aktau BN-350 breeder reactor. She is currently Deputy Administrator for Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation for the National Nuclear Security Administration.

Siegfried S. Hecker began his career at Los Alamos National Laboratory as a graduate research assistant and postdoctoral fellow, a metallurgist specializing in plutonium science. He served in a number of scientific and management leadership positions before becoming LANL's fifth director from 1986–1997, and subsequently as senior fellow until 2005, during which time he helped to initiate U.S.-Russian lab-to-lab nuclear cooperation. Among many other cooperative security successes, he played a leadership role in securing and cleaning the Degelen Mountain complex at the Semipalatinsk test site in Kazakhstan. From 2007–2012 he was co-director of the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University, and currently serves as a research professor in the Department of Management Science and Engineering, and as a senior fellow at Stanford's Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. His new book, *Doomed to Cooperate*,

provides first-person accounts by American and Russian scientists of nearly three decades of scientific cooperation on nuclear security.

David Hoffman is an author and journalist. His distinguished career with *The Washington Post* includes covering the Reagan White House starting in 1982, the George H.W. Bush White House beginning in 1989, and Secretary of State James Baker's trips to the former Soviet republics. In 1992 he became the Jerusalem bureau chief for the *Post*, and from 1995–2001 served as the paper's Moscow bureau chief. In 2002 Hoffman published *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia*, and in 2009 he published *The Dead Hand: The Untold Story of the Cold War Arms Race and its Dangerous Legacy*, for which he won the Pulitzer Prize for General Non-Fiction in 2010.

Andrew A. Hood is Director of Strategic Planning and Integration in the Office of Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation at the National Nuclear Security Administration. An expert in foreign nuclear weapons developments, including the proliferation of ex-Soviet WMD scientific expertise, he has served as the primary intelligence briefer to the Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs and the Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control. He has also held the posts of Senior Director for the Department of State Science Centers and Executive Director of the Science and Technology Center in Ukraine.

Sally K. Horn served as the Director of the Office of Cooperative Threat Reduction in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 1993–1995. During this time, she also chaired the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission Defense Conversion Working Groups with Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus. Other posts include Special Assistant to the Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and Director of Verification Policy in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy.

Sergey Ivanovich Kislyak is the Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the United States. During the 1990s, Ambassador Kislyak was Director of the Department of Security Affairs and Disarmament of the Foreign Ministry of Russia, and Director of the Ministry's Department of International Scientific and Technical Cooperation. He has also held the post of Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the Kingdom of Belgium and, simultaneously, Permanent Representative of Russia to NATO in Brussels, Belgium.

Susan J. Koch was Assistant Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for the Bureau of Strategic Programs during the George H.W. Bush administration. From 1982–2007, she held a series of senior positions on the National Security Council staff, as well as in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Department of State and ACDA, with a focus on nonproliferation and arms reduction policy. Dr. Koch began her career in the Directorate of Intelligence at the Central Intelligence Agency, and currently serves as a Distinguished Research Fellow at the National Defense University's Center for the Study of Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Valentin Sergeyevich Kuznetsov held the posts of Head of Department for International Agreements and Deputy Head of the Chief Office for International Military Cooperation at the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation in the 1990s. From 2002–2008 he served as Chief Military Representative of the Russian Federation to NATO. In 2009 he retired from the Ministry of Defense with the rank of vice-admiral, and worked at ROSATOM as Deputy Head of the Department for International

Cooperation. Since 2011 he has worked as a senior research fellow of the Institute for U.S. and Canada Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Roland Lajoie was Deputy Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Cooperative Threat Reduction in the mid-1990s, and led the committee that developed the Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA) in 1998. During his 35 years of military service, retiring in 1994 as a major general, he served, among many other positions, as first Director of the U.S. On-Site Inspection Agency, U.S. Defense Attaché in Paris and in Moscow, and Associate Deputy Director for Operations/Military Affairs at the Central Intelligence Agency; in the latter capacity he created and directed the Office of Military Affairs. General Lajoie also served as Chairman of the U.S.-Russia Joint Commission on POW-MIAs.

Richard G. Lugar served as a United States Senator from Indiana from 1977–2013, the longest tenure of any senator in Indiana history. Among other leadership roles, he chaired the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1985–1987 and from 2003–2007. In Fall 1991, he joined with Democratic Senator Sam Nunn to craft the bipartisan legislation on threat reduction known today as the Nunn-Lugar initiative. He also introduced the then-junior senator from Illinois, Barack Obama, to nuclear security issues as part of a delegation visiting former Soviet republics in 2005. Senator Lugar is President of The Lugar Center, a non-profit organization focusing on global food security, WMD nonproliferation, aid effectiveness, and bipartisan governance – key areas of his work while serving in the United States Senate.

Marty Morris served as Chief of Staff to Senator Richard Lugar for 23 years, retiring in 2013 as the longest serving chief of staff in the Senate. He played a key role in all of Senator Lugar's major initiatives, including the Nunn-Lugar program, global food security, and Farm Bill reforms. He managed Senator Lugar's successful election campaigns from 1988–2006. In addition to serving as Counsel to the President of The Lugar Center, he teaches in the Sanford School at Duke University.

Kenneth Myers III is President of National Security Solutions at PAE. Prior to joining PAE, he was Director of the Defense Threat Reduction Agency and the U.S. Strategic Command Center for Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction. From 2003–2009, he was a professional staff member on the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and senior adviser to Senator Lugar, focusing on the former Soviet Union, arms control, weapons of mass destruction issues and the Nunn-Lugar program, among other matters. From 1995–2002, he served as Senior Legislative Assistant for national security and foreign affairs for Senator Lugar.

Sam Nunn served as a United States Senator from Georgia from 1973–1997. From 1987–1994, he chaired the Senate Armed Services Committee and was a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. In Fall 1991, Senator Nunn together with Senator Lugar co-authored the historic Nunn-Lugar legislation to assist the republics of the former Soviet Union to dismantle nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. In 2001, he co-founded and currently serves as Co-Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI). He is also a distinguished professor at the Georgia Institute of Technology, where the School of International Affairs bears his name.

John Ordway was U.S. Ambassador to Kazakhstan from 2004–2008 where he played a key role in the continuing Cooperative Threat Reduction program. Ambassador Ordway has an extensive background in Soviet and Russian affairs, as well as experience in European security affairs, conflict resolution, and peacekeeping operations. He previously served at the U.S. Embassies in Prague

(1978–1981) and Moscow (1985–87), and in Brussels at the U.S. Mission to NATO (1993–1995). He was stationed in Moscow from 1996–2001, serving the last two years as Deputy Chief of Mission.

George Perkovich is Vice President for Studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a prize-winning author, and a recognized expert on nuclear proliferation. He was a speechwriter and foreign policy adviser to Senator Joe Biden (D-Del.) from 1989–1990, and has been a member of numerous international panels, including the National Academy of Science’s Committee on Arms Control and International Security, and the Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on Nuclear Policy.

William J. Perry served as Deputy Secretary of Defense in the Clinton administration from 1993–1994, and subsequently as Secretary of Defense from February 1994 to January 1997. He was deeply involved in efforts to return strategic weapons from Ukraine to Russia, as well as the whole range of cooperative threat reduction programs. In the Carter administration, he served as Undersecretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, after a Silicon Valley career as a mathematician, engineer, government consultant, and entrepreneur. He co-authored with Ashton Carter and John Steinbruner the path-breaking January 1992 book, *A New Concept of Cooperative Security*, and co-directed with Carter the Preventive Defense Project. He is currently the Michael and Barbara Berberian Professor (Emeritus) at Stanford University, as well as a Senior Fellow at Stanford University’s Hoover Institution. His new memoir is *My Journey at the Nuclear Brink*.

Daniel B. Poneman is President and CEO of Centrus Energy Corporation where he also serves on the company’s Board of Directors. He was a White House Fellow and from 1993–1996 served as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Nonproliferation and Export Controls at the National Security Council. His responsibilities included the development and implementation of U.S. policy in peaceful nuclear cooperation, missile technology, chemical and biological arms control efforts, and conventional arms transfer policy.

Arnold Punaro is CEO of The Punaro Group, LLC. He is a retired Marine Corps major general and worked for Senator Nunn from 1973–1997 on national security matters. He served as Nunn’s Director of National Security Affairs, and then as Staff Director of the Senate Armed Services Committee and as Staff Director for the Minority.

Jim Reid is currently Senior Advisor on a DTRA contract at Booz Allen Hamilton. Previously, Colonel Reid served as Director of the Office of CTR Policy in the Office of Secretary of Defense from 2000–2009. He was Deputy Director of the CTR Program at DTRA from 1998–2000 and Program Manager of Strategic Systems Elimination, CTR Program Office, NCB, OSD, from 1994–1998.

Sergei Mikhailovich Rogov is Director of the Institute for U.S. and Canada Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences and a Corresponding Member of the Academy. In the early 1990s, as Deputy Director of the Institute, he was directly involved in Nunn-Lugar negotiations between Russia and the United States. He serves on a number of boards including the Russian Foreign Policy Association and the New Economic Association. He is the author of more than 400 articles and 18 books.

Kim Kavrell Savit served in the State Department as Director for Security and Law Enforcement Assistance to the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union (1995–2002). She held a number of positions in the Defense Department including Director of the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program for the Office of Secretary of Defense and Country Desk Officer for Morocco,

Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Iran and Iraq at OSD. She is currently Director of Government Relations at Project C.U.R.E.

Glenn Schweitzer, a pioneer of international scientific cooperation, served as the first Executive Director of the International Science and Technology Center (ISTC) in Moscow in 1994, and years earlier was the first Science Officer stationed in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. He subsequently managed a decade-long program of the National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine to assist in the development and monitoring of DTRA's biological research and engagement efforts in Russia and other states that emerged following the breakup of the Soviet Union. He is the author of numerous National Academies' reports and several books on scientific cooperation between the U.S. and the former Soviet republics.

Louis Sell served as Chief of the Political Section in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow from 1991–1994 where he participated in many of the meetings within the framework of the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission and was involved in the implementation of Nunn-Lugar programs. Ambassador Sell is the author of *Slobodan Milosevic and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, and *From Washington to Moscow*.

Harold Smith served as Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Nuclear, Chemical and Biological Defense Programs in the Clinton Administration from 1993–1998 with responsibilities for implementing the Cooperative Threat Reduction program. In 2010, he was elected Chairman of the Federation of American Scientists. Currently he is a distinguished scholar at the Goldman School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley.

Jeffrey Starr is a Managing Partner and Co-Founder of Neo Prime Solutions, Inc. He served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia from 1998–2001. In 1994, he was the Department of Defense chairman of the Project Sapphire "Tiger Team" which involved mobilizing resources from the Departments of State, Energy, and Defense, and coordinating with key actors in Kazakhstan to accomplish the removal of 600 kilos of highly enriched uranium from Kazakhstan, one of the signature successes of the Nunn-Lugar initiative.

James M. Turner served as Assistant Deputy Administrator for Nuclear Risk Reduction in the Department of Energy's National Nuclear Security Administration, which involved working to shut down Russia's last three nuclear weapons-grade plutonium-production reactors, as well as building the capacity of foreign governments and international agencies to respond to nuclear emergencies, among other responsibilities. He also held senior management posts at the DOE concerned with laboratory oversight, nuclear safety, and the safeguarding of nuclear weapons in the U.S. and abroad.

Kairat Umarov is the current Ambassador of Kazakhstan to the United States, serving since 2013. His previous posts include Deputy Foreign Minister (2009–2013), Ambassador to India & Sri Lanka, First Secretary of the Europe and America Bureau of Kazakhstan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and First Secretary at the Kazakhstan Embassy in Washington. From 1989–1991 he was Chief Editor of the Writers Union of Kazakhstan, and a leader of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement that sought to close the U.S. and Soviet nuclear test sites.

Ahmet Üzümcü is Director General of the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. Immediately prior to this appointment he served as Permanent Representative of the Republic of

Turkey to the United Nations Office at Geneva. Ambassador Üzümcü's other posts include representing Turkey at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Council, the Conference on Disarmament, the United Nations and other international organizations in Geneva. Previously, he served as Deputy Undersecretary of State for Bilateral Political Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey.

Jane Wales is President and CEO of the World Affairs Council and Global Philanthropy Forum, as well as Vice President for Philanthropy and Society, and Director of the Program on Philanthropy and Social Innovation at the Aspen Institute. She led the Cooperative Security Program at the Carnegie Corporation in New York that underwrote the Ashton Carter/William Perry/John Steinbruner work on nuclear security which inspired the Nunn-Lugar program. In the Clinton administration she served as a Senior Director on the National Security Council staff and Associate Director for National Security and International Affairs in the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy.

Andrew C. Weber served in the U.S. Embassy in Kazakhstan beginning in summer of 1993 where he became chief negotiator for Project Sapphire—the removal of weapons-grade uranium as part of the Nunn-Lugar program. He spent 13 years as an Adviser for Threat Reduction Policy in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and later served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Defense Programs. In October 2014, he was appointed Deputy Coordinator for Ebola Response at the State Department. He is currently a Senior Fellow at the Belfer Center at Harvard.

**A DOCUMENTATION AND CRITICAL ORAL HISTORY PROJECT ON 25 YEARS OF THE ARMS RACE IN REVERSE,
SEEKING LESSONS LEARNED AND UNLEARNED FOR FUTURE COOPERATION ON MUTUAL SECURITY.**

The former Soviet Union in the 1990s achieved an unprecedented “proliferation in reverse” with the denuclearization of former republics and the consolidation of nuclear weapons and fissile material inside Russia. Notwithstanding the well-grounded fears of policymakers on both sides of the waning Cold War in 1990-1991, the dissolution of the Soviet Union did not result in a nuclear Yugoslavia spread over eleven time zones. Instead, the “doomsday clock” of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* marched backwards, in its largest leap ever away from midnight.

Key to this extraordinary accomplishment was the U.S. Cooperative Threat Reduction Program with post-Soviet Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus, colloquially known as the Nunn-Lugar program after its two leading sponsors in the U.S. Senate, Sam Nunn of Georgia and Richard Lugar of Indiana. In fact, one could say that in the story of post-Cold War U.S. relations with the newly independent states – so scarred with failures and missed opportunities and persisting animosity – the Nunn-Lugar initiative stands as a towering success.



Sam Nunn at Musgrove 2013.

Unfortunately, this success did not get major publicity at the time, and remains largely unknown today outside the expert communities in both countries. This lack of appreciation culminated in 2012 with Russia’s withdrawal from the program and assertion of independence from foreign aid. Yet below the radar the cooperation continued, for example with the February 2013 U.S.-Russian removal of enriched uranium from the Czech Republic – a signal of the continuing relevance of this two-decade-long experiment in joint work to reduce nuclear danger. Later in 2013, the Nunn-Lugar experience provided a foundation for the removal of chemical weapons from Syria in the middle of the civil war.

There are vitally important lessons to be learned from this pioneering experience of politicians, experts and civil society figures who saw the danger of uncontrolled proliferation of weapons and materials – and not least the “brains” behind those weapons – and decided to stop it. To do so required extraordinary vision and determination on the part of the early proponents of the idea – Senators Nunn and Lugar, and Congressman Les Aspin – to pass their legislation at a time when the United States was in economic recession and experiencing “end of Cold War fatigue.”

It also was no small feat to persuade the Soviet and later the Russian, the Kazakh, the Belarussian, and the Ukrainian politicians to join the program. The former superpower rival of the United States had to agree that the Americans (and the British) would come inside some of its most sensitive defense facilities and help destroy parts of its formidable potential. It took great skill, knowledge,

diplomacy and determination on the part of the teams of American, British and European experts to visit Russian, Kazakh, Belarussian and Ukrainian weapons sites and research institutes to assess the scope of the problems and to devise and carry out solutions in cooperation with their post-Soviet counterparts. In this way, these teams were real pioneers stepping into the unknown of an unraveling nuclear superpower.

On the Russian side, it took a huge leap of trust and imagination to allow the former opponent into the heart of what used to be perceived as the key to the Soviet identity as a superpower – its nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programs. But late in the Gorbachev years when the principal decisions were made, and early in the Yeltsin years, the Soviet and then the Russian government succeeded in pulling back first the tactical and then the strategic nuclear weapons from the former republics, dismantling the Soviet biological weapons program, and securing Russian fissionable



*Project Sapphire HEU
1994.*

materials, to name just the most visible accomplishments. Russian foreign and defense ministry officials committed to radical arms control and non-proliferation had to overcome fierce resistance from “old thinkers” within their own ranks to bring about unprecedented transparency in the Russian defense industry. Kazakhstan, on the other hand, became the leader of denuclearization in the post-Soviet space, actively cooperating with U.S. and Russian counterparts in safeguarding and removing nuclear weapons and fissile materials as well as biological weapons agents.

A number of the participants in this grand experiment, along with astute observers like the Pulitzer-Prize-winning journalist David Hoffman, have reported their understanding of the incentives and motives of the various parties, the political and institutional constraints, the actual fits-and-starts of the cooperative experience, and the model of expert teams working together to reduce threats. But so much underlying primary source documentation on the initiative remains secret on both sides that opening these files has

required a sustained declassification effort in Washington, Moscow and elsewhere. And no one before has brought together the experts and eyewitnesses for a systematic forward-looking review of the Nunn-Lugar experience in order to draw lessons and models for U.S.-Russian cooperation and future nuclear security efforts.

With the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the National Security Archive is working to address the documentation deficit and the lessons-learned challenge through our research project focused on the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program. Building on the existing research, the National Security Archive is bringing together key evidence from documentary resources such as the Kataev papers at the Hoover Institution, the Volkogonov papers at the Library of Congress, the Energy Department’s OpenNet, the CIA’s CREST system, and the archives of the Russian Duma in Moscow. Archive staff have filed targeted declassification requests with the State Department for the extensive memcon and cable record of 1990s diplomacy, and with the Bush and Clinton presidential libraries, among other U.S. agencies.

The Archive has also convened landmark conferences featuring eyewitnesses, experts, scholars, and documents in mutual interrogation about the recent history and the future lessons of CTR. To that

end, the Archive has successfully applied the method of “critical oral history,” which James Blight and Janet Lang (at Harvard, Brown, and now the Balsillie School at the University of Waterloo) originally developed, to produce remarkable revelations and insights (and multiple award-winning books and films) on topics ranging from the Cuban Missile Crisis to the escalation of the Vietnam War to the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe to current U.S.-Iran relations.

Our current series of “critical oral history” conferences (in the United States, Russia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine), have already developed lessons learned, enriched our understanding of the challenges of non-proliferation, and provided insights for further U.S.-Russian joint efforts to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The successful first conference of the project was held on September 26-29, 2013 at Musgrove Conference Center in Georgia. Senator Nunn, Secretary Perry and several current government officials participated along with their Russian counterparts led by the former head of the 12th GUMO Colonel General Evgeny Maslin.

Link to the Conference page: <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB447/>.

In November 2014, the Archive organized a well-attended panel discussion in Washington D.C. on Project Sapphire—the extraordinary removal of 600 kilos of highly enriched uranium from Kazakhstan in 1994, enough for two dozen nuclear bombs.

Link to the Conference page: <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB491/>.

In June 2015, the Archive brought together in Astana and Kurchatov City, Kazakhstan, key policymakers who helped make Kazakhstan a global leader in denuclearization. Participants included energy minister Vladimir Shkolnik, three former U.S. ambassadors, and the Russian general, Antoly Svetikov, who commanded the removal of nuclear weapons from Kazakhstan in the 1990s. Organized in partnership with the Kazakh Foreign Ministry, the conference illuminated two decades of work cleaning up Cold War legacies in nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, and included



Gen. Evgeny Maslin at Kurchatov 2015.

a helicopter landing on Degelen Mountain near Semipalatinsk, where Nunn-Lugar funding helped secure and seal that underground nuclear test site. Link to the Conference page: <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB528-Kazakhstan-Nunn-Lugar-Non-Proliferation-Success/>.

In addition to collecting oral history evidence, the Archive is building a definitive collection of primary source documents on the Nunn-Lugar programs, with the goal of making them available to the public. The project is publishing a series of electronic briefing books in Russian and English to make widely available the documents from all sides. The transcripts of the “critical oral history” conferences organized by the Archive will provide the foundation for one or more books analyzing the Nunn-Lugar experience, and will guide further research both by Archive staff and by other scholars. Maintaining this expert dialogue about the CTR experience will also make a significant contribution to the ongoing challenge of U.S.-Russia engagement, and the continuing international search for mutual security.

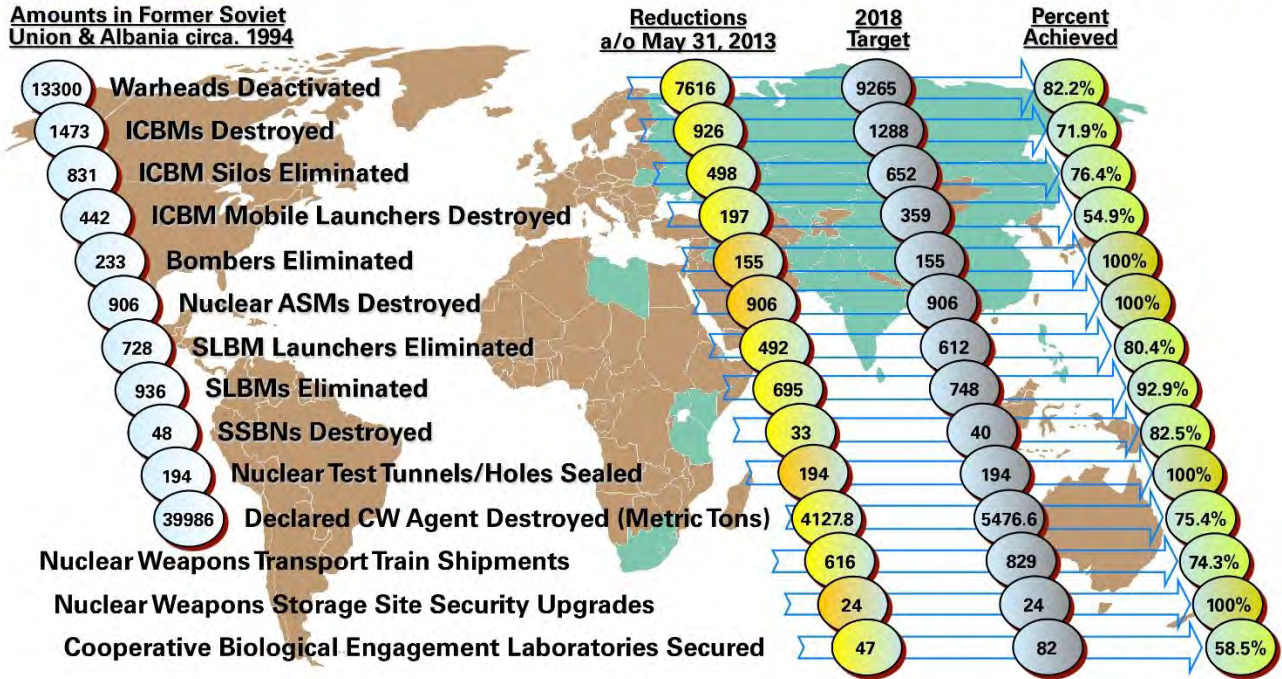
UNCLASSIFIED

Nunn-Lugar CTR Scorecard

Ukraine, Kazakhstan, & Belarus are Nuclear Weapons Free
Albania is Chemical Weapons Free



Amounts in Former Soviet Union & Albania circa. 1994



CTR partner states
Rest of the world

UNCLASSIFIED

2

The Defense Threat Reduction Agency's summary of Nunn-Lugar progress, May 2013.

FOR MORE INFORMATION, THE PROJECT DIRECTOR IS DR. SVETLANA SAVRANSKAYA, DIRECTOR OF RUSSIA PROGRAMS AT THE NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE, SVETLANA@GWU.EDU, 202 / 994-7190.

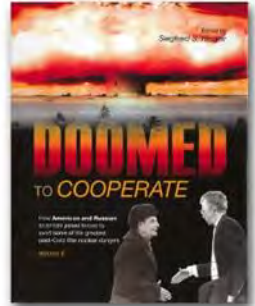
NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE: WWW.NSARCHIVE.ORG

MUST-READS ON NUNN-LUGAR

Doomed to Cooperate

"During the darkest days of the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union had thousands of nuclear weapons aimed at each other. The future of our civilization was hanging in the balance, and no one knew this better than the scientists who had developed these deadly weapons. Somehow, the scientists of both nations found a way to work together, and the world was made safer because of that. Sig Hecker has done a masterful job of pulling together those scientists to tell that amazing story. This book certainly makes a uniquely important contribution to nuclear history, but it also offers important lessons for the world today."

William J. Perry, 19th U.S. Secretary of Defense from 1994 to 1997



The Dead Hand

"In The Dead Hand, David Hoffman has uncovered some of the Cold War's most persistent and consequential secrets—plans and systems designed to wage war with weapons of mass destruction, and even to place the prospective end of civilization on a kind of automatic pilot. The book's revelations are shocking; its narrative is intelligent and gripping. This is a tour de force of investigative history."

Steve Coll, Dean, Columbia University School of Journalism



The Last Superpower Summits

"The formerly classified documents and the astute commentary on them in this book are absolutely indispensable for understanding how the Cold War ended. Kudos to the National Security Archive for collecting, translating and analyzing them!"

William C. Taubman, Amherst College, Pulitzer-Prize-winning author of Khrushchev: The Man and His Era



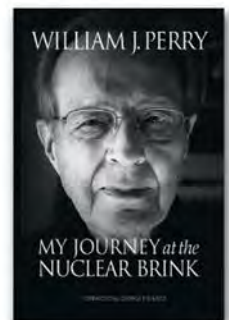
My Journey at the Nuclear Brink

"Few have witnessed as many turning points in the history of the nuclear age as Bill Perry, and no one at all has contributed so much to human safety from this danger."

Ashton B. Carter, U.S. Secretary of Defense

"Bill Perry has the highest A to E ratio (accomplishments to ego) of anyone I have ever known. Everyone interested in protecting the future of our nation and planet should read this book and learn from Bill's experience."

Sam Nunn, former U.S. Senator



Dismantling the Cold War

"Dismantling the Cold War provides a valuable overview of the Cooperative Threat Reduction legislation that Sam Nunn and I co-sponsored in the fall of 1991. This book should be widely read and discussed."

Richard G. Lugar, U.S. Senator

"This important book makes a major contribution to our understanding of the challenges and opportunities in the post-Cold War era for U.S.-NIS cooperation."

Ashton B. Carter, U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense, 1993-96

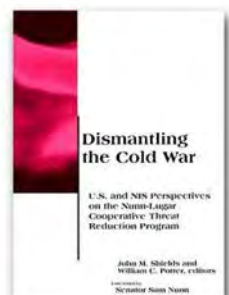
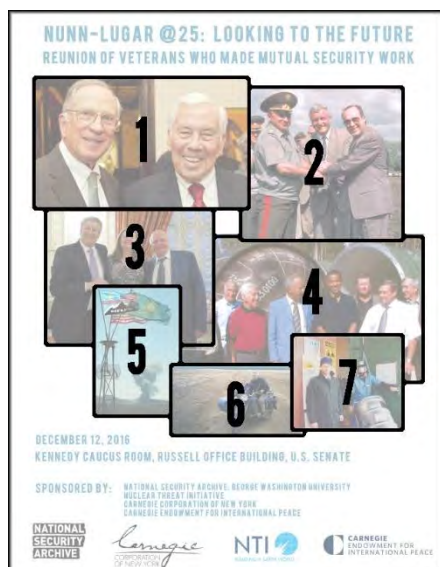


PHOTO CAPTIONS

FRONT COVER:



1. The founders, Senator Sam Nunn (D-Georgia) and Senator Richard Lugar (R-Indiana).

2. Russian Defense Minister Gen. Pavel Grachev (left), Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov (center), and U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry (right) plant sunflowers at the dismantled ICBM Silo 110 near Pervomaysk, Ukraine, June 4, 1996.

3. Kazakh Energy Minister Vladimir Shkolnik (left), National Security Council senior director for WMD threat reduction Laura S.H. Holgate (center), and retired Russian nuclear weapons commander Col. Gen. Evgeny Maslin (right) at the Nunn-Lugar conference in Astana, Kazakhstan, June 2015.

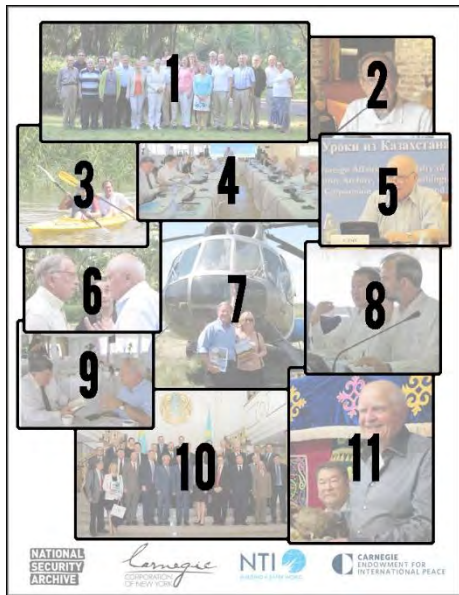
4. Senator Lugar (second from left) introduces then-Senator Barack Obama (center) to a CTR missile dismantlement site in Saratov, Russia, in 2005.

5. The sealing of Degelen Mountain, site of Soviet underground nuclear tests, at the Semipalatinsk test site, Kazakhstan, 2000.

6. Sig Hecker and Jim Toevs on a scavenger's motorcycle that had run out of gas at the Semipalatinsk test site, 1998.

7. Andy Weber at the Ulba plant, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Kazakhstan, 1994, with one of the drums used to transport and secure more than a half-ton of highly enriched uranium left over from an abandoned Soviet submarine project.

BACK COVER:



1. Participants at the first “Nunn-Lugar Revisited” critical oral history conference, Musgrove, St. Simons Island, Georgia, September 2013.

2. William Perry speaking at the Musgrove conference on Nunn-Lugar, September 2013.

3. Gloria Duffy and John Steinbruner kayaking at the Musgrove conference on Nunn-Lugar, September 2013.

4. The Kazakhstan conference on Nunn-Lugar, June 2015, under the Bal Qar Gai yurt.

5. Col. Gen. Victor Ivanovich Esin summing up the lessons from Kazakhstan at the closing session of the Nunn-Lugar conference, June 2015, at the Kazakh Foreign Ministry.

6. Senator Sam Nunn (left) hears from Col. Gen. Evgeny Maslin (right) with translation by the National Security Archive’s Anya Melyakova, at the Musgrove conference on Nunn-Lugar, September 2013.

7. Nunn-Lugar Project organizers Tom Blanton and Svetlana Savranskaya of the National Security Archive in front of one of the Mi-8 helicopters that took the delegation to Degelen Mountain and to the Kurchatov Institute during the Kazakhstan conference, June 2015.

8. Ambassador Bolat Nurgaliev speaks about his leadership role in Nunn-Lugar arrangements in Kazakhstan and Washington, while former U.S. Ambassador to Kazakhstan Kenneth Fairfax listens, at Bal Qar Gai, June 2015.

9. Former National Nuclear Center director Kairat Kadyrzhanov and author David Hoffman discuss David’s book *The Dead Hand*, at Bal Qar Gai, June 2015.

10. Participants in the Kazakhstan critical oral history conference on Nunn-Lugar, on the main staircase of the Kazakh Foreign Ministry, June 2015.

11. Col. Gen. Evgeny Maslin, former commander of Russian nuclear weapons (the 12th Main Directorate of the Russian Ministry of Defense), speaks at the Nunn-Lugar conference dinner hosted by the National Nuclear Center in their ceremonial yurt, Kurchatov City, Kazakhstan, with Ambassador Bolat Nurgaliev listening, June 2015.

