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TRIP REPORT:A VISIT TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATESBYSENATOR SAM NUNN (D-GA), SENATOR RICHARD LUGAR (R-IN),
SENATOR JOHN WARNER (R-VA), AND SENATOR JEFF BINGHAMAN (D-NM)
MARCH 6-10, 1992I. INTRODUCTION

Our bipartisan delegation of four United States Senators traveled to Russia and Ukraine from March 6-10, 1992. A planned visit to Belarus had to be canceled due to bad weather at the Minsk Airport.

Our delegation consisted of:

- Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA), Chairman of the Armed Services Committee;
- Senator Richard Lugar (R-IND), Member and former Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee;
- Senator John Warner (R-VA), Ranking Republican Member, Armed Services Committee; and
- Senator Jeff Bingaman (D-N.M.), Chairman, Subcommittee on Defense Industry and Technology, Armed Services Committee.

The focus of the delegation was three-fold:

- (1) Strengthening political and economic relations between the United States and Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, and offering our support for the dramatic process of democratization that is occurring in those countries;
- (2) Discussing the conversion of former defense industries to commercial, non-military production; and
- (3) Promoting the acceleration of the disabling, transport, dismantlement and eventual elimination of tens of thousands of nuclear and chemical weapons of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

In Moscow, the delegation met with senior executive and parliamentary officials, including First Deputy Prime Minister Gaidar, CIS Armed Forces Chief of Staff Samsonov, Presidential Advisor for Defense Conversion Maley, Head of the Russian

Scientific Industrial Union Volskiy, Vice President of the Russian Academy of Scientists Velikov, and Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committees on Foreign Affairs and Defense Abmartsumov and Stepashin.

During our stay in Russia, the delegation also toured the CIS Nuclear Risk Reduction Center, met with a number of American businessmen involved in joint ventures with Russian partners, and visited Russian defense industrialists and research institute directors in the Moscow suburb of Podol'sk.

In Kiev, the delegation met with President Kravchuk, Defense Minister Morozov, Minister for Defense Conversion Antonov, and numerous members of parliament. The delegation also toured a defense plant undergoing conversion.

During the trip, the delegation was ably assisted by three distinguished experts from outside of government who had particular expertise in the areas of principal interest to the group:

-- Dr. William Perry, former Under Secretary of Defense for Research, Development, Test and Evaluation in the Carter Administration and currently a Professor specializing in defense conversion at Stanford University;

-- Dr. Ashton Carter, Director of the Center for Science and International Affairs at the JFK School of Government, Harvard University, who has worked extensively on issues related to controlling and dismantling the nuclear arsenal of the former Soviet Union (FSU); and

-- Dr. David Hamburg, President of the Carnegie Corporation, and an eminent physician in his own right, who has extensive contacts with scientists and foundations in the CIS.

The delegation was also assisted by the following professional staff members of the Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees and personal staff assistants to the members: Robert Bell (SASC), Dick Combs (SASC), Brian Dailey (SASC), Rose Johnson (Nunn), Ed McGaffigan (Bingaman), Ken Myers (SPRC), Pat Tucker (SASC).

C. Current Situation

To date, the President has not certified to Congress that Russia or other states of the FSU have met the conditions set forth in the provision, and no Nunn-Lugar funds have yet been expended. It is clear, however, that the Nunn-Lugar amendment has played a critical role in catalyzing action and in focusing attention -- not only in our government, but more importantly in the governments of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan -- on accelerating the removal, dismantlement and eventual elimination of CIS nuclear weapons.

Although negotiations on implementation of the Nunn-Lugar amendment got off to a slow start, in recent months the Administration and CIS officials have made important progress in furthering the goals of the legislation. In particular, CIS military authorities had, until Ukrainian President Kravchuk's March 12 announcement, made substantial progress in removing tactical nuclear weapons to secure central storage in Russia and preparing them for destruction. On March 12, the Ukrainian President announced that, while not changing the overall policy that Ukraine is seeking to become nuclear-free, he was halting further shipments of these warheads to Russia and that Ukraine intended to eliminate the warheads on its own soil, near Chernobyl, with foreign assistance.

Tactical nuclear weapons are the most widely dispersed, easily moved, and least securely controlled of the former Soviet Union's nuclear weapons. Their complete removal from deployment sites to a much smaller number of storage sites, leading to their eventual destruction, would remove a critical source of potential nuclear danger. Importantly, the complete removal of the tactical nuclear weapons to Russia would then lead directly into the process of eliminating the remaining strategic nuclear weapons from former Soviet republics that have indicated that they want to be nuclear weapons-free states. Avoiding the creation of new nuclear states has been a long-standing priority objective of U.S. foreign policy.

During the delegation visit to Kiev, the delegation received strong hints that Ukraine might assert a claim to the strategic nuclear missiles and warheads remaining on its soil. Upon our return to Washington, the delegation reported this development to senior State and Defense Department officials, noting it as a major concern. While it is possible that President Kravchuk's announcement is meant to provide Ukraine with additional bargaining leverage at the upcoming March 20 CIS Summit in Kiev, it would, unless reversed, entail profound implications for U.S. policy with regard to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and possibly for the integrity of the START Treaty.

While much has been accomplished to date in eliminating CIS nuclear weapons, this latest unfortunate development underscores that much remains to be accomplished. The United States still has important security objectives with respect to:

-- ensuring the resumption and early completion of the removal of tactical nuclear weapons to Russia that is now underway;

-- ensuring that the declared goals of Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan to remove and destroy those strategic nuclear weapons now deployed on their territory is facilitated as quickly as possible;

-- ensuring that the early destruction of nuclear, chemical, and other weapons of the FSU is accomplished with maximum safety, security and concern for the environment;

-- ensuring that safe and environmentally-sound solutions to the problem of the ultimate disposition of plutonium and highly enriched uranium extracted from nuclear warheads are identified;

-- ensuring that these weapons, the technologies associated with these weapons, and the scientific knowledge required to build these weapons do not proliferate to hostile or unstable nations;

-- ensuring that the weapons complexes of the former Soviet Union are greatly reduced in number and that they reorient themselves to peaceful, domestic production.

We believe that the Nunn-Lugar amendment represents a critical mechanism for promoting the achievement of these goals, which are all squarely in the national security interests of our nation. We thus strongly urge that this legislation be used to its fullest potential. In this regard, the delegation makes the following recommendations:

C. Recommendations

-- To date, expert-level discussions on the safety, security and dismantlement of CIS nuclear weapons (the "SSD" talks) have been conducted exclusively between the United States and Russia. These discussions have made good progress and agreements should be rapidly concluded in a number of areas. Specifically, U.S. assistance under the Nunn-Lugar amendment, to include the maximum possible utilization of U.S. industry,