# Lugar Trip Report

**August 2003**

## Biological Terrorism Prevention Quietly Becomes a Major Focus of the Nunn-Lugar Program

Tashkent, Uzbekistan -- From cleaning up the Soviet dumping of weaponized anthrax on Voz Island in the Aral Sea, to converting poison research into disease prevention and cures, biological terrorism prevention has quietly become a major focus of the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program.

"These researchers are doing remarkable work to stop infectious diseases. They are fighting plague, tularemia, and other scourges here in Uzbekistan, but their work will help all mankind. Much of the funding comes from the United States and the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program," said U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Dick Lugar.

"We are on the frontiers of discovery here on how to get into cures for ways in which millions of people have been dying on this Earth. Some of this work will be done at these labs. In the former days of the Soviet Union, laboratories such as these were doing work, but it was unknown to the citizens of the countries in which it was occurring. Dangers were unknown. Today it is transparent. That is extraordinarily different and much healthier."

Andy Weber, left, of the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program staff, shows Sen. Dick Lugar a vial of the bubonic plague at a biological research lab in Almaty, Kazakhstan.

The early phase of the 11-year-old Nunn-Lugar program focused on securing and destroying nuclear weapons, material, and delivery systems. Much of the infrastructure is in place, and the work is ongoing. About half of the scheduled warhead deactivation has occurred.

Chemical weapons destruction was delayed by funding holds placed on it by the U.S. Congress. The first tranche of construction money for the Chemical Weapons Destruction Facility at Shchuchye was released last year. The Bush Administration and Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Dick Lugar continue to work to keep that project on course. At the same time, Germany began to work on the destruction of chemical weapons at Gorny where the first 400 metric tons -- of Russia's declared 40,000 metric tons -- of chemical weapons have been destroyed.

Meanwhile, the biological part of the Nunn-Lugar program has been logging major successes in securing pathogens, cleaning up insecure dumping grounds like the well-known Vozrozhdeniya (Voz)

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Island (100 tons of biological agents were buried on the Island in 1988), providing security at laboratories, employing thousands of scientists, and turning dastardly weapons research into work on disease prevention, cures and faster recognition of natural or bio-terror outbreaks.

Work being done at Nunn-Lugar and International Science and Technology Center (ISTC) sites will apply in fighting diseases and outbreaks, including some of the most dreaded on Earth: plague, tuberculosis, anthrax, SARS, HIV/AIDS, West Nile, small pox, monkey pox, tularemia, botulism, cancer, brucellosis, and many other animal and crop diseases.

The scientists that work on the projects are among the best in the world, but the facilities and equipment are often a generation out of date. The Nunn-Lugar program has been modernizing the safety and research equipment, and the labs have entered into partnerships with government and private labs all over the world. For example, it is common for a scientist in Almaty or Moscow to work with an American scientist in Fort Collins, Colorado.

The centers in the former Soviet Union were placed in the middle of residential neighborhoods. Until Nunn-Lugar came along, security was shockingly bad. Even now, there is concern because pathogens are in many locations, and Russia has not been fully transparent about its biological facilities.

The Russians continue to deny that they had a biological weapons program. Even on his August 2003 trip, Lugar was told by the Director General of the Russian Munitions Agency, General Viktor Kholstov, "Sen. Lugar you must understand, that Russia does not have biological weapons." All evidence – especially the testimony of scientists -- is to the contrary.

Soviets gathered deadly pathogens from all over the world, in addition to ones native to their country. They worked on vaccinations for their people and animals, and developed plant strains that would resist the diseases. Then they planned and produced weaponized biological agents that could kill people, plants, and animals in a second strike on the United States, in the case that anyone had survived a primary nuclear attack.

Lugar said he will continue pressing the Russians for greater cooperation and transparency.

## Russian Military Chief of Staff Emphasizes Chechen Terrorist Problem

Moscow -- Chief of the Russian General Staff, General Kvashnin, wanted to make clear that Russia has a major terrorism problem at home. In a two-hour meeting with Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Dick Lugar, he said that Russia supports the U.S. in the war on terror, but for them that also includes the domestic problems in Chechnya. "He had a great deal to say," said Lugar. "Seeing me as a 'friend of the family' he wanted to make certain it was understood how important the Chechen problem is to Russia."

## Nunn-Lugar Scientists Develop Fast Detection of Infectious Diseases

Moscow -- Nunn-Lugar sponsored Russian scientists have developed diagnostic kits that can identify infectious diseases more rapidly, therefore enabling a more efficient response to an outbreak or biological attack, including plague, anthrax, small pox, and tularemia.

The Research Center of Molecular Diagnostics and Therapy in Moscow has worked with several U.S. partners and shared the results with the U.S. Centers for Disease Control.

The Russian center is also developing anti-cancer drugs, immunotherapy, and improved immunizations for tuberculosis. TB is a major problem in Russia with 200,000 new cases a year. The center is prepared to move into the production phase and is exploring options with companies including Indianapolis-based Eli Lilly.

"I very much like the Nunn-Lugar program," Center Director Professor Sergei Evgenyevich Severin told U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Dick Lugar during his visit there on August 16, 2003. "It has really changed Russia in the right way."

Severin said he had been to Indiana 10 times in the past on research and academic work.

# Lugar Negotiates with Kazaks the Destruction of Nuclear Bunker and Transfer to the U.S. of Dangerous Biological Strains: Important Steps in the War on Terror

Almaty -- U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Dick Lugar asked that Kazak officials speed up the decision to ship weaponized biological strains left over from the former Soviet Union to the Centers for Disease Control in the United States. The U.S. would like to begin working on antidotes and treatments.

He also asked that they work toward quick destruction of a former nuclear weapons storage bunker at the Semipalatinsk National Nuclear Center so that terrorists or rogue nations will not have the opportunity to study and duplicate its design.

Lugar met with Kazak officials in Almaty and toured a biological research facility located in one of the city's residential neighborhoods. Kazak officials said they would work with the U.S. to come to an agreement on both issues in the next few weeks.

> "We are creating cures and helping people throughout the world."
> - Sen. Lugar

"We celebrate remarkable progress in fighting Tuberculosis, plague, and other dangerous diseases, not only for Kazakhstan, but for all mankind. We are creating cures and helping people throughout the world," Lugar said.

Lugar was presented with the highest award for foreign dignitaries, Order Dostyk of the 1st degree. The recognition "for his contribution to ensuring international security and promoting bilateral cooperation in nonproliferation" was decreed by President Nursultan Nazarbayev and presented by Foreign Minister Kassymzhomart Tokaev.

Lugar also met with Hoosiers working at the U.S. embassy in Almaty.

# Lugar and Uzbek President Karimov Discuss Improvement of Relations with Uzbekistan and Islamic People

Samarkand, Uzbekistan -- Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov took U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Dick Lugar to the historic city of Samarkand to express his concern that the U.S. does not "value the values" of Islam, and that, with better understanding, would make more headway in Iraq, the Middle East, and the war on terror.

In a nearly six-hour meeting, including a tour of mosques and historical sites, Karimov described the roots of radical militant Islam and its descendants who represent today's terrorist movements. He noted that most Muslims support the U.S. but that the U.S. must better use its power to build bridges with Muslims.

"This is a dangerous world, and Uzbekistan is in a dangerous neighborhood," Lugar said.

He thanked Karimov for his country's support since 9/11, particularly in Afghanistan and Iraq, and pledged continued work with the country toward developing better human rights and democratic institutions, greater freedom of trade, and continued cooperation under the Nunn-Lugar program. They discussed ways to increase educational exchanges between the two countries, health improvements, and better television and electronic communications. They also discussed farming, small business, and how economic development can happen more rapidly in Uzbekistan.

Sen. Dick Lugar in Samarkand with Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov.

# Nunn-Lugar Destruction of Mobile Missiles to Begin this Month

Perm, Russia -- The Nunn-Lugar program this month will begin destruction of Russia's arsenal of mobile missiles.

U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Dick Lugar visited the site on August 17, 2003, as well as the Bershet rail mobile ICBM base.

At Perm, the Nunn-Lugar program will destroy the rail and road-mobile SS-24 and SS-25 Russian missiles. The missiles will be unloaded from railcars in a building formerly used to load the cars and maintain the missiles. The rockets will then be moved by isothermic rail cars to the facility where they will be


Sen. Dick Lugar with an American-made Caterpillar at a Nunn-Lugar CTR construction site near Perm. Russia.

dismantled and the fuel burned out. Four hundred missiles will be destroyed in the next nine years.

The burn facility at Perm will saved at least $50 million compared to an earlier plan to build the Solid Rocket Motor Disposition Facity at Votkinsk.

While in Perm, Lugar met with Governor Yuri Trutnev, who said that he supported the work in his 2.5 million people state, that it is a job creating opportunity, and that local companies were hoping to win bids on some construction work. He expressed his desire for full transparency from the central government because of local concern about environmental threats.

Program managers outlined for Lugar environmental safeguards that are in place at the project and pledged that the community will be kept informed as work progresses.

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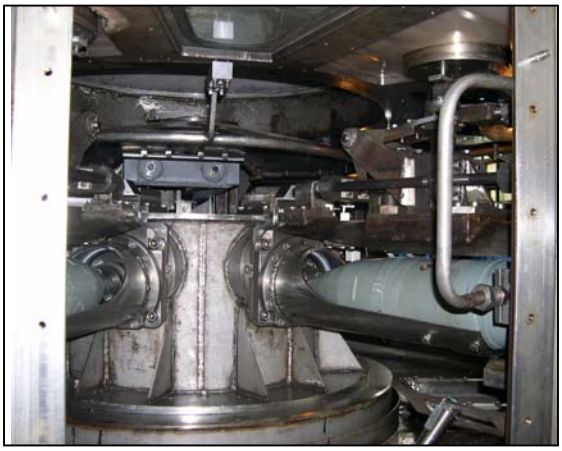
# Nunn-Lugar Builds Systems to Drain Russian Chemical Shells

Moscow -- The Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program is entering the testing phase of a system designed to remove nerve gas from warheads and convert sarin, soman, and VX into inert bitumen. At GosNIIOKhT (the State Scientific Research Institute of Organic Chemistry and Technology), Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Dick Lugar toured the facility that will begin soon producing the machinery to drain a deadly agent from its shell and then neutralize that agent.

The equipment will go into full use at the Shchuchye Chemical



Machine that will drain chemical agent from shells.

Weapons Destruction Facility in Russia when it is completed. Nearly 2 million chemical munitions are stored there. Chemical weapons from other Russian sites will also be moved to Shchuchye for destruction.

Inside a sealed machine -- holding 2 to 7 shells at a time, depending on the size of the shell – holes are drilled in the shells and the deadly agent is drained out. The chemicals are then neutralized into bitumen, or tar.

"It will be a happy day when this huge weapons stockpile is a little bit of bitumen," Lugar said after being shown the process that has been developed by U.S. and Russian engineers and scientists.

Russia has declared that it has 40,000 metric tons of chemical weapons that are supposed to be destroyed in the next few years under the Chemical Weapons Convention. Only about 400 metric tons have been destroyed at Gorny, Russia, in a facility developed by Germany.

# Still a Fight for Shchuchye in Congress

Moscow -- "Despite shortcomings in Russian cooperation on arms control, U.S. funding for destruction of Soviet-era weaponry should proceed unimpeded, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said here (Friday, August 15, 2003)." (Lead from page 3 Los Angeles Times story, "Lugar focuses on Russia Disarmament" by David Holley, August 16, 2003)

During his August visit to Russia, Sen. Dick Lugar was shown the process that will be used to eliminate the nerve gas from weapons stored at Shchuchye, Russia.

The Los Angeles Times report from Moscow continued:

'Our objective, and the Russian objective at the highest level, is to destroy weapons of mass destruction,' Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) told a news conference. 'It is not useful to set up conditions that there must be 100 percent compliance before we do anything. . .'

"The senator met (August 14, 2003) in Moscow with Munitions Agency Director Viktor Kholstov to discuss joint efforts to accelerate the elimination of chemical weapons. . .

"Lugar placed particular emphasis on a plant being built in the Siberian town of Shchuchye to destroy nearly 1.9 million chemical artillery shells stored there. Many are small enough to fit in a suitcase, he said. Just one of those shells can kill thousands of people, according to materials distributed at the news conference. . .

"The United States should 'be active with Russian friends to destroy all of this so it cannot be appropriated by others, whether it be Chechens or Al Qaeda or whoever else might want to pick up a few,' he said. . .

'The United States believes that there were four installations that are military bio-facilities,' he said. 'Now, conceivably, the general who visited me yesterday may be correct that, at all four of these, there is not a single weapon at this moment. There may be pathogens in an icebox. The fact is, we don't know.'"

Mark McDonald of the Philadelphia Inquirer reported that since 1992 the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program has helped "Russia safeguard and dismantle its weapons of mass destruction, from rusting nuclear submarines and poorly guarded warheads to deadly vials of anthrax and smallpox. Lugar, R-Ind., said the elimination of Russia's remaining chemical stockpile was 'a monumental task which Russia cannot afford.'"

The Associated Press' Steve Gutterman reported: "While Russia has made clear declarations about its chemical and nuclear stockpiles, 'still there is a sense of denial' surrounding biological programs, said Lugar, an architect of the Nunn-Lugar program to help the (former) Soviet Union destroy and safeguard weapons of mass destruction."

# Germans Plan $1.5 Billion Contribution and Work on 10+10 Over 10

Berlin -- German officials outlined to Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Dick Lugar their plans to spend $1.5 billion on Cooperative Threat Reduction type projects in Russia over the next 10 years.

Sen. Dick Lugar in front of the Brandenburg gate in what used to be Communist East Berlin

The Germans are focusing on the destruction of former Soviet Union chemical weapons and nuclear submarines as their contribution to the U.S. initiated G-8 program 10+10 over 10. Under this year-old agreement, the other G-8 nations will match the U.S. 10-year, $10 billion commitment. Lugar praised the Germans' early contribution.

Lugar also discussed Iraq, Afghanistan, and other transatlantic issues with Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer. He also met with Former Chancellor Helmut Kohl and had dinner at the Residence of Ambassador Dan Coats, Lugar's former Senate colleague from Indiana. Coats also invited to the dinner former Secretary of the Treasury in the Carter Administration, Michael Blumenthal, who is now involved in the Jewish Museum of Berlin. Blumenthal and Lugar were among the last people to visit the Shah of Iran, in Tehran, before he was deposed in 1979.

## Russia Must Reform More to Attract Foreign Investment

Moscow -- U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Dick Lugar, in an exclusive interview with Moskovskiy Komsomolets, Russia's largest national newspaper with a circulation of 1.5 million, said that Russia needs to reform the banking, legal, and political system before substantial U.S. and Western investment is made.

"Russia has to change to build confidence," Lugar said. "Investors must have confidence in the safety of their capital."

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# Lugar Assures Turks that Friendship is Strong and Decision on Iraq Should be Made in the Nation's Best Interest by the Parliament; Two days later the Foreign Minister Announces that Government will Propose to Parliament a Plan for Sending Troops to Iraq

U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Dick Lugar told top Turkish officials on Wednesday, August 20, 2003, that "we think we have common interests in a stable and democratic Iraq. . .So we are hopeful of Turkey's participation."

But Lugar also said that Washington does not intend to pressure Ankara on deployment and that the Turkish parliament must "make a decision that is in the best interest of Turkey."

Two days later, Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister Abdullah Gul announced that the government would propose to parliament a plan to send troops to Iraq.

In addition to Gul, Lugar met with Justice Minister Cemil Cicek, Defense Minister Vecdi Gonul, and Chief of the Turkish General Staff Hilmi Ozkok.

Lugar spoke to a dozen television cameras and more than a dozen reporters after each meeting. He also did exclusive television interviews with two national networks: Channel 7 and CNN Turk.

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# Nunn-Lugar in a New Era

## *An Update on the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program*

The United States is engaged in a global war against terrorism. Victory against the enemies of today depends on our ability to clean up the remnants of the Cold War, which left the world awash with nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and materials of mass destruction. Throughout much of the past decade, since the fall of the Soviet Union, vulnerability to the use of these weapons has been the primary national security dilemma confronting the United States.

**Senator Richard Lugar examines an SS-18 ICBM slated for elimination through the Nunn-Lugar/CTR program at Surovatikha, Russia.**

In September 2002, President Bush stated that "Our enemies have openly declared that they are seeking weapons of mass destruction, and evidence indicates that they are doing so with determination." Less than one month later, the Administration released its *National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction*, which declares that the strengthening of nonproliferation programs is vital to U.S. national security.

For more than eleven years, the United States has engaged in efforts through the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program to address proliferation at its most likely source: the former Soviet Union. For a negligible cost, the Nunn-Lugar/CTR program has actively and successfully addressed the challenge posed by vast quantities of Soviet-legacy weapons of mass destruction, weapons expertise, and materials. The historical significance of the Nunn-Lugar/CTR program has even been compared to that of the Marshall Plan following World War II.

## Nunn-Lugar/CTR Program History

The Soviet Nuclear Threat Reduction Act of 1991, introduced by Senators Sam Nunn of Georgia and Richard Lugar of Indiana, charged the Department of Defense (DoD) with establishing a program to assist the Soviet Union and its successor states to destroy, safeguard, and prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). In response to what became known as the "Nunn-Lugar Act", DoD created the Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program. Through Nunn-Lugar/CTR, the United States has provided assistance to the states of the former Soviet Union to destroy, consolidate, and secure WMD and their associated delivery systems, infrastructure, and technology.

Initially focusing on reducing the threat posed by the vast stockpiles of unsecured nuclear weapons spread throughout the region, the Nunn-Lugar/CTR Program began to implement projects to secure and eliminate other WMD stockpiles. Nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons left behind after the breakup of the Soviet Union are stored within decaying, insecure facilities, rendering them vulnerable to theft by insiders and outsiders. Nunn-Lugar/CTR assistance is being used to upgrade security and implement personnel reliability programs at these facilities. Former weapons scientists are being retrained and employed through cooperative research programs to prevent the spread of WMD-related expertise to countries such as Iraq, Iran, Syria, and North Korea. The

United States, leading an international effort, is supporting the construction of a chemical weapons destruction facility which, when complete, will allow for the elimination of the most proliferable munitions among the declared stockpile of deadly Russian chemical nerve agent weapons.

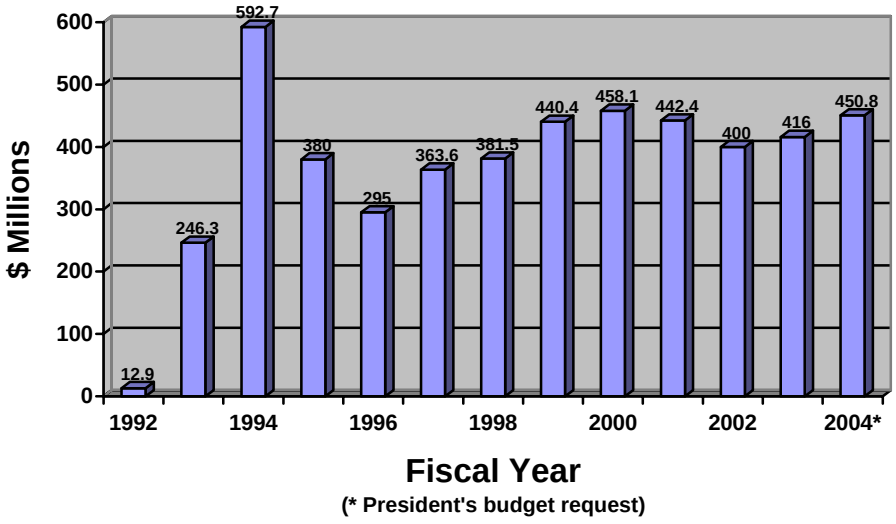
In 1996, Senator Pete Domenici of New Mexico joined with Senators Nunn and Lugar to introduce legislation that further expanded the goals and authorities of the Nunn-Lugar/CTR Program. This action resulted in a host of new projects to counter the proliferation of WMD, including the disposal of spent fuel from the Russian nuclear submarine fleet and the conversion of plutonium-producing nuclear reactors to fossil-fuel-powered reactors at Russian power plants. Passage of the Nunn-Lugar-Domenici Act led to an increased emphasis on the efforts to inventory and safeguard weapons-usable nuclear materials in the former Soviet Union.

Nunn-Lugar/CTR assistance has also been used on an emergency basis to address immediate proliferation threats. In 1994, 600 kilograms of unprotected, highly-enriched uranium was removed from a production facility in Kazakhstan through an operation known as Project Sapphire. The weapons-usable material was shipped to the U.S. for secure storage, possibly preventing its acquisition by terrorists for use in a nuclear device. In 1998, Operation Auburn Endeavor removed 4.3 kilograms of fresh uranium fuel and 800 grams of spent fuel from the decommissioned IRT-M research reactor in Georgia.

These two projects demonstrate the ability of Nunn-Lugar/CTR to successfully prevent the proliferation of highly vulnerable weapons and materials of mass destruction. Recognizing that the United States Government is limited in its authority to respond to such emergency WMD proliferation threats outside the states of the former Soviet Union, on March 18, 2002, Senator Lugar introduced the Nunn-Lugar/CTR Expansion Act. Under this legislation, the Secretary of Defense would be granted the authority to spend up to $50 million in prior-year, unobligated Nunn-Lugar/CTR funds for nonproliferation projects and emergencies outside the states of the former Soviet Union. While the Nunn-Lugar/CTR Expansion Act stalled in the 107th Congress, the expansion of Nunn-Lugar/CTR beyond the former Soviet Union remains a priority for President Bush and program advocates both in Congress and in the Administration.

The Nunn-Lugar/CTR budget has remained essentially constant in recent years (see chart below). The cumulative cost of the program since its inception represents only one percent of a single year's defense budget.

Funding is appropriated for the Nunn-Lugar/CTR Program by fiscal year (appropriations for fiscal year 2004 are not yet final – the amount shown for that year is the President's budget request). While the cumulative cost of Nunn-Lugar/CTR since its inception is negligible – about one percent of a single year's defense budget – the program has produced invaluable benefits to U.S. national security.



# Current Nunn-Lugar/CTR Program Areas

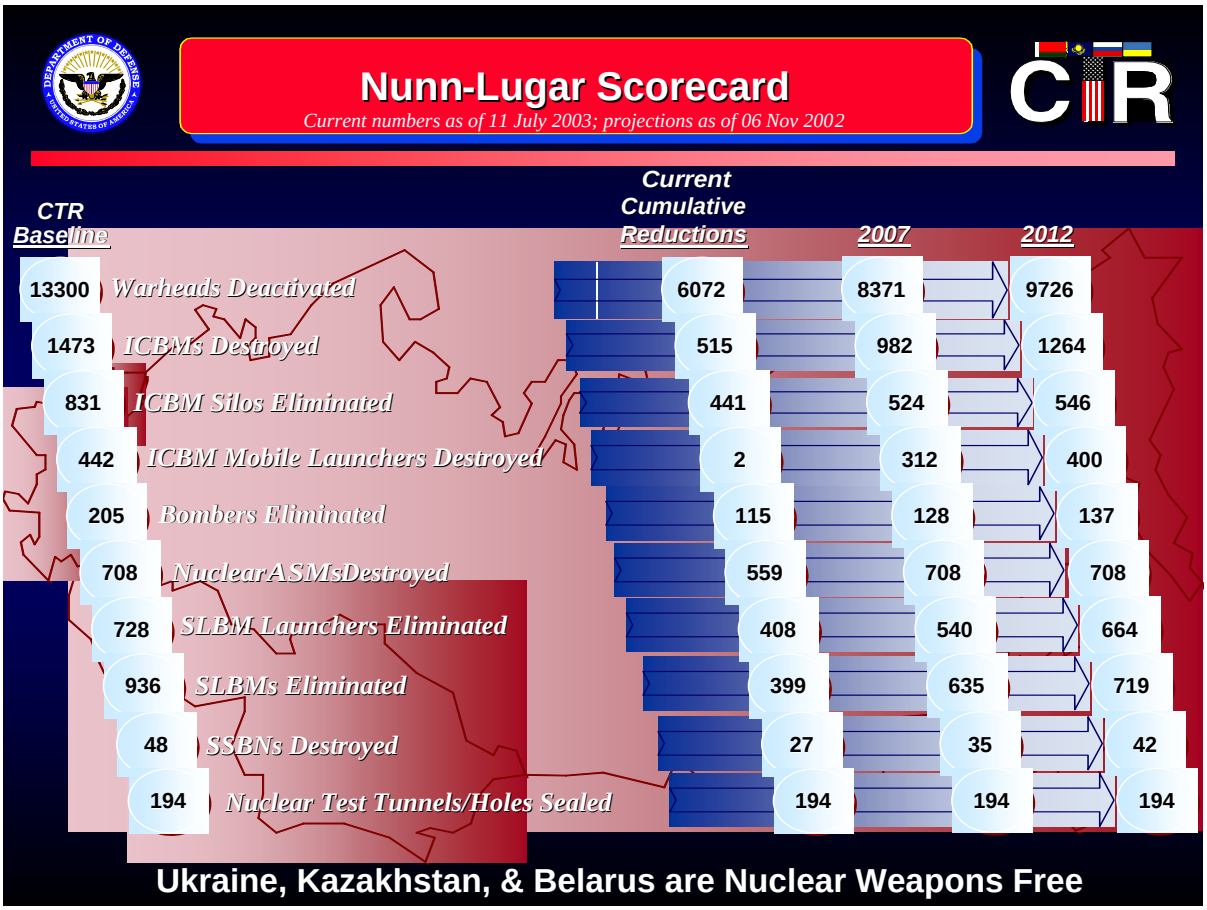
## *Nuclear*

Through the Nunn-Lugar/CTR program, the United States provides equipment and services for the destruction of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), ICBM silo launchers, road and rail mobile launchers, submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), SLBM launchers and associated strategic ballistic missile submarines (SSBNs), strategic bombers and nuclear air-to-surface missiles (ASMs), and associated infrastructure.

Nunn-Lugar/CTR enables Russia to meet its disarmament commitments, first under the START treaty, and now under the Moscow Treaty. The countries of Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus, which had become the third, fourth, and fifth largest nuclear powers of the world after the breakup of the Soviet Union, are now free of nuclear weapons. A total of over 6,000 nuclear warheads have been deactivated through the Nunn-Lugar/CTR program (see chart below). That is more than the countries of the United Kingdom, France, and China currently possess in their combined stockpiles.

Nunn-Lugar/CTR also provides support for the safe transportation of nuclear weapons to consolidation and dismantlement facilities. This includes providing specially modified railcars, developing an emergency response capability, and securing vulnerable road-to-rail transfer points. The program is providing comprehensive security system upgrades, automated inventory control systems, guard force training, and personnel reliability programs to ensure security at nuclear weapons storage sites receiving Nunn-Lugar/CTR assistance.

Designed and constructed with over $300 million of Nunn-Lugar/CTR funds, the Fissile



Material Storage Facility at Mayak, Russia, is intended to provide centralized, safe, secure, and ecologically sound storage for the weapons-grade material removed from dismantled warheads. After completion in late 2003, the facility (shown

under construction in photo) will be capable of housing 25,000 containers of highly-enriched uranium and plutonium taken from 6,250 nuclear warheads. A transparency agreement will allow U.S. monitoring teams to verify the contents of the storage containers to ensure the facility is used only for eligible materials.

## Chemical

One of the most frightening proliferation threats facing the world today is the vast Russian stockpile of deadly chemical nerve agents, stored in artillery shells within deteriorating, insecure facilities. These shells are easily transportable, fitting within a briefcase. The gas contained in one such shell is capable of killing hundreds to thousands of people (see photo). Through Nunn-Lugar/CTR, the United States is assisting Russia with the construction of a chemical weapons (CW) destruction facility at Shchuchye in order to eliminate this threat to global security.

Significant progress has been made on the Shchuchye project. In March, representatives from the Department of Defense (DoD) and the Russian Munitions Agency signed a new agreement that obligates another $160.9 million toward construction of the facility. In July, DoD notified Congress of its intent to obligate up to another $60.3 million in fiscal year 2001 funds for the project. The United States has now obligated about $460 million toward Shchuchye, over half the committed total of $887.3 million. Construction at the site has begun, and at peak capacity, the facility will be able to destroy 850 metric tons of nerve agents a year. A matching Russian-built facility at the same site will double this capacity, providing the capability to eliminate Russia's entire declared stockpile of artillery-delivered nerve agent munitions in 6.5 years.

Nunn-Lugar/CTR support has also been used for the demilitarization of CW production facilities in Russia and Uzbekistan and for security upgrades at two vulnerable artillery-delivered CW storage facilities.

## Biological

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, the discovery of a vast, advanced biological weapons (BW) research and production program heightened concerns about the proliferation of pathogens and biological terrorism. Deadly bacteriological and viral agents were found in unlocked rooms within refrigeration units protected only by wax-and-string seals. Newly unemployed biological scientists were left to consider selling their bioweapons knowledge and expertise to the highest bidder.

Nunn-Lugar/CTR is addressing the BW proliferation threat on two fronts. Dangerous pathogens distributed among over 100 bioresearch institutes and disease surveillance field stations throughout the former Soviet Union will be consolidated at a small number of centralized, secure facilities. The installation of comprehensive biosafety and biosecurity systems and procedures at these facilities will prevent the theft of pathogens by both outsiders and insiders. The Department of Defense is finalizing a strategic plan, based on detailed vulnerability and threat assessments for each institute and facility, that will be used for prioritizing security upgrade and dismantlement projects.

To prevent the spread of BW expertise, Nunn-Lugar / CTR supports cooperative biodefense research projects throughout the

former Soviet Union. Managed by multilateral organizations, such as the International Science and Technology Center (ISTC), and reviewed by the U.S. National

Academies of Science, these projects employ former Soviet BW researchers working with their western counterparts to develop diagnostics, preventative measures, and other peaceful endeavors related to dangerous pathogens such as smallpox and Hantavirus. The photo shows a research scientist at Vector, a former Russian biological weapons facility, working on a cooperative microbiological research project. Through these cooperative projects, the United States has gained access to a significant number of non-military BW-related institutes.

**Destruction of SS-18 ICBM silo at Kartaly, Russia. 441 ICBM silos have been destroyed to date through the Nunn-Lugar/CTR program.**

## ❁ *Proliferation Prevention*

Recognizing that counterproliferation represents an important part of preventing the spread of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, the Administration included in its fiscal year 2003 budget request a new Nunn-Lugar/CTR program, the Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation Prevention Initiative. The Initiative draws upon Department of Defense expertise in surveillance, detection, and interdiction to enhance the capability of non-Russian former Soviet Union military, internal security forces, border guards, and customs forces to halt the unauthorized movement of WMD and related materials across borders, and to respond effectively to terrorist incidents at borders.

Congress authorized the Initiative with an initial appropriation of $39.8 million. Over the past year, Nunn-Lugar/CTR officials have consulted with the intelligence community and U.S. embassy officials in the region, identifying where Initiative projects could be initiated to address pressing security needs. Coordination within the United States Government is key as program officials seek to capitalize on the strengths and comparative advantages of counterproliferation programs within other agencies and to ensure that such activities are complementary and not duplicative.

# International Support

The United States is not alone in its threat reduction efforts. At the Kananaskis Summit in June 2002, the Group of Eight member states announced the creation of the Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction. Through this Partnership, member nations are committing significant resources toward the construction of chemical weapons destruction facilities throughout Russia. Other Global Partnership project priorities include the dismantlement of decommissioned general purpose nuclear submarines, the disposition of fissile materials, and the employment of former weapons scientists.

At the June G-8 Summit in Evian, France, members of the Global Partnership met to evaluate the progress made since Kananaskis and to formulate an action plan for future threat reduction efforts. Members concluded that the Partnership has already "made significant progress over the past year toward realizing the objective of preventing terrorists, or those who harbour them, from acquiring or developing nuclear, chemical, radiological, and biological weapons; missiles; and related materials, equipment, and technology." Specifically, advances were announced in programs to end Russian production of weapons-grade plutonium, to accelerate efforts to secure Russian fissile material and nuclear warheads, to secure

**President Bush will host the next G-8 Summit at Sea Island, Georgia in June 2004. The Global Partnership is again expected to be an important item on the agenda.**

international support for Russia's plutonium disposition programs, to implement safety and security improvements for biological research facilities, and to initiate new bilateral engagements for the conversion of former non-conventional weapons production facilities.

The Partnership is conducting outreach activities to encourage non-G-8 members to join and contribute toward these threat reduction projects. At the Evian Summit it was announced that Finland, Norway, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland have joined the Global Partnership as donors. Other nations are expected to join in the near future. Preliminary discussions have also begun with other potential recipient countries in the former Soviet Union, such as Ukraine, that require and have requested nonproliferation assistance. President Bush has announced a commitment of $10 billion toward the Global Partnership over the next ten years. As a member of the Partnership, Russia has committed $2 billion over the next ten years for the destruction of its own chemical weapons stockpile. A table of national commitments to the Global Partnership made to date is shown below

| U.S. | Germany | U.K. | France | Japan | Italy | Canada | Russia | E.U. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $10 billion | 1.5 billion | $750 million | 750 million | $200 million | 1 billion | Can$ 1 billion | $2 billion | $2 billion |

# Nunn-Lugar/CTR Legislative Priorities

## Permanent waiver authority on conditions for Nunn-Lugar/CTR assistance

Under the Cooperative Threat Reduction Act of 1993, Nunn-Lugar/CTR assistance may not be provided to any independent state of the former Soviet Union unless the Secretary of State certifies to Congress annually that the proposed recipient state has satisfied each of six conditions, including complying with all relevant arms control agreements and forgoing any military modernization program that exceeds legitimate defense requirements. Due to concerns about Russia's commitment to comply with the Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions, Secretary Powell did not certify Russia for fiscal year 2003. This decision effectively halted progress on the planning and execution of threat reduction projects in Russia, a situation that lasted for over six months.

Resumption of assistance was possible only after Congress granted, and the President exercised, limited authority to waive the certification requirements in the interest of national security. This authority, however, will expire at the end of fiscal year 2005. While recognizing the intent and importance of the conditions on Nunn-Lugar/CTR assistance, the Administration has requested that Congress make permanent the waiver authority. In a May 6, 2003, letter to Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice wrote: "As the President has repeatedly emphasized, and as the Senate made clear in its resolution on ratification of the Moscow Treaty, Nunn-Lugar/CTR programs are crucial to our overall effort to reduce, and prevent the proliferation of, weapons of mass destruction. Permanent waiver authority will enable the Administration to pursue these critical objectives as quickly and effectively as possible. That does not in any way lessen the importance we place on Nunn-Lugar/CTR recipients meeting the certification requirements. The Administration will use a range of other policy tools to continue its vigorous pursuit with Nunn-Lugar/CTR recipients of human rights and other certification criteria."

## *Permanent waiver authority on conditions for assistance for a chemical weapons destruction facility in Russia*

Section 1308 of the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 2002 prohibits the obligation or expenditure of Nunn-Lugar/CTR funds for the planning, design, or construction of a chemical weapons destruction facility in Russia until the Secretary of Defense certifies to Congress that Russia has satisfied each in a set of six conditions. For fiscal year 2003, Russia failed to meet three of these conditions to the satisfaction of the Administration: the provision of information, assessed by the United States to be full and accurate, regarding the size of the Russian chemical weapons stockpile; the development by Russia of a practical plan for destroying its stockpile of nerve agents; and the enactment of a law by Russia that provides for the elimination of all nerve agents at a single site.

Because of this determination, Nunn-Lugar/CTR assistance for the construction of the chemical weapons destruction facility (CWDF) at Shchuchye was halted. When operational, the CWDF will eliminate the entire declared stockpile of Russia's highly proliferable artillery-delivered nerve agent munitions. Completion of the CWDF therefore represents one of the highest priorities of the United States nonproliferation strategy.

The President was granted and exercised a waiver on the CWDF certification requirement in early 2003, restoring U.S. assistance for the Shchuchye facility. However, this waiver authority will expire at the end of fiscal year 2003. To ensure continuity and to avoid further delays in the Shchuchye construction timetable, the Administration has requested that Congress make permanent the CWDF waiver authority. In her May 6 letter, Dr. Rice writes:

"Continued progress is essential to end as quickly as possible the proliferation threat posed by Russian nerve agent. In addition, resumption of Nunn-Lugar/CTR work at Shchuchye has encouraged Russia to formally commit to complete elimination of all nerve agent at the facility, and other governments to increase contributions to the project. We will also continue to work with Russia to resolve our concerns about its chemical weapons stockpile and activities. While much remains to be done, the ability to continue Shchuchye work through the permanent Presidential authority to waive annually the conditions on that project is critical to meet the concerns which the Administration shares with the Congress."

Over the past year, Russian cooperation with regard to chemical weapons has significantly improved. By the end of this summer, it is expected that Russia will have met five out of the six conditions on CW destruction assistance, leaving only the requirement for the full and accurate disclosure of the size of the Russian CW stockpile. The United States Government will continue to press for full compliance on this remaining condition while moving to eliminate the known proliferation threat.

### *Expansion of Nunn-Lugar/CTR beyond the former Soviet Union*

Introducing the Nunn-Lugar/CTR Expansion Act in 2002, Senator Lugar commented that "despite the tremendous progress realized by the Nunn-Lugar program in the former Soviet Union, the United States continues to lack even minimal international confidence about many foreign weapons programs." This statement is supported by the findings of a recent report submitted to Congress by Assistant Secretary of Defense J. D. Crouch II:

"DoD is currently restricted in its ability to respond efficiently to WMD proliferation threats outside the former Soviet Union. DoD programs, such as CTR, were originally designed to address post-Cold War concerns about loss of control over WMD, related materials, and associated infrastructure in these regions. However, in the wake of September 11, the potential for emerging WMD proliferation threats arising elsewhere cannot be ignored."

Program advocates, both in Congress and in the Administration, continue to push for the authority for Nunn-Lugar/CTR to spend up to $50 million in prior-year, unobligated funds to address nonproliferation projects and emergencies outside the states of the former Soviet Union. From the May 6 letter by Dr. Rice:

"[T]he Administration also strongly supports the proposal to allow the President to use up to $50 million in Nunn-Lugar/CTR funds each year to combat proliferation threats or meet long-standing nonproliferation goals outside the former Soviet states.

**Typhoon-class ballistic missile submarine scheduled for destruction at SevMash near Arkhangelsk, Russia. Each Typhoon carried 20 missiles capable of carrying a total of 200 warheads. Twenty-seven nuclear-powered strategic submarines have been eliminated to date through Nunn-Lugar/CTR.**

# Conclusions

The Nunn-Lugar/CTR program has demonstrated over the past decade that extraordinary international relationships are possible to improve controls over weapons of mass destruction. Working in concert, the United States and Russia have destroyed more than 6,000 nuclear warheads, any one of which could have been used by our enemies to destroy an American city. The program has dismantled hundreds of bombers, missiles, and submarines built to deliver nuclear weapons. Through Nunn-Lugar/CTR, thousands of former weapons scientists are employed in peaceful pursuits, no longer tempted to sell their knowledge. Nuclear material, deadly pathogens, and chemical weapons stockpiles, once vulnerable to theft, are now protected against those who would use them in a terrorist attack.

The Nunn-Lugar/CTR program is a tool, a means to an end. It is not foreign aid; it is not charity. Not only does the program eliminate direct threats to American national security, but it does so by employing American companies. To date, eighty-three percent of the funds expended by the Nunn-Lugar/CTR program have been awarded to U.S. firms.

Beyond statistics, the program has served as a bridge of communication and cooperation between the United States and Russia, even when other aspects of the relationship have faltered. It has improved military-to-military contacts and established greater transparency in areas that were once the focus of intense secrecy and suspicion.

The United States now has a window of opportunity to address proliferation threats around the world. We must replicate our work with Russia in as many countries as possible and build a global coalition to support nonproliferation. The safe storage, accountability, and destruction of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons must be made a fundamental objective of American foreign policy to ensure our national security for the decades to come.

While there is still much to be done to fulfill Nunn-Lugar/CTR's goals in Russia and other former Soviet states, WMD proliferation elsewhere presents a growing threat to U.S. and global security. We must use every tool at our disposal to meet that threat."

The continuing experience of Nunn-Lugar/CTR in the former Soviet Union has created a tremendous national security asset for the United States by harnessing the talent of scientists, technicians, negotiators, and managers to implement nonproliferation programs and to respond to proliferation emergencies. The expansion of Nunn-Lugar/CTR beyond its current geographical boundaries would allow for this expertise to be deployed against future proliferation threats worldwide.