Russia • Ukraine • Albania

August 2007

NUNN-LUGAR REPORT

NUNN-LUGAR DESTROYING WEAPONS ONCE TARGETED AT THE UNITED STATES

Geodeziya, Russia – It would have taken less than 30 minutes for a Soviet SS-25 "sickle" missile, launched from a truck, to strike and destroy a major American city. In just over two minutes, U.S. Senator Dick Lugar and former Senator Sam Nunn witnessed the destruction of the rocket motor that would have propelled the nuclear weapon.

"Under the Nunn-Lugar program, the United States is assisting Russia in eliminating the SS-25 missile systems and launch vehicles in compliance with the START Treaty. Train and truck launching systems were extremely destabilizing strategic threats. They were easily hidden, difficult to track and even more difficult to take out," Lugar said on August 29. "Destroying these nuclear weapons has been an important step toward a safer world."

To date, the Nunn-Lugar program has destroyed 101 road and rail missile systems. The program plans to eliminate 251 missile systems by the year 2012.

Nunn-Lugar will decommission 28 SS-25 missile regiments (9 missiles in each regiment) at up to 9 different military bases, including the elimination of 402 SS-25 missiles and 361 mobile launch systems. The Geodeziya Motor Burn Facility is also responsible for eliminating rocket motors on the SS-24 mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles. The SS-24, also known as the "Scalpel," carried 10 independently-targeted warheads capable of destroying ten different American cities. The missile could be launched from both a silo and from railroad cars. The Nunn-Lugar program is scheduled to eliminate 56 SS-24 missiles, including 14 silo-based and 42 rail-mobile systems. In addition, 34 railcar missile launchers and 69 launch assist railcars will be destroyed.

U.S. Senator Dick Lugar (right), former Senator Sam Nunn (left) and U.S. Ambassador to Russia Bill Burns (not pictured) became the first Americans to ignite the solid fuel in a rocket motor that was removed from an SS-25 intercontinental ballistic missile. Sergei Shevchenko (center), a senior official at the missile technologies directorate of Russia's space agency, gave the destruction order.

INSIDE THIS REPORT:

Lugar and Nunn Tour Luch Scientific and Industrial Site; View Nuclear Material Consolidation Activities

Podolsk, Russia – Senator Lugar and former Senator Sam Nunn toured the Luch Scientific and Industrial research facility located south of Moscow, Russia, where highly-enriched uranium (HEU) fuel, including fuel originally exported by Russia to various research reactors around the world, is being down-blended to low-enriched uranium. The tour and site visit was a part of their ongoing activities in Russia in celebration of the 15th Anniversary of the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program.

Luch is one of Russia's best-known scientific research facilities in materials sciences. Its activities have direct applications in the defense and aerospace sectors, including in high-temperature materials, lasers and space reactors (the

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"CTR programs are a critical tool used to address one of the gravest threats we face -- the danger that terrorists and proliferators could gain access to weapons or materials of mass destruction."

President George W. Bush
August 29, 2007

... Lugar, Nunn Tour Uranium Storage Facilty

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TOPAZ reactors used in the Soviet and Russian space programs). Under the Department of Energy's Global Threat Reduction Initiative, Luch has received four shipments of high-risk nuclear fuel from various locations around the world, including from Latvia, Libya, Germany, and most recently Poland.

HEU is directly usable in nuclear weapons. The U.S. Department of Energy is currently executing significant efforts with Materials, Protection, Control and Accounting (MPC&A) and Materials Consolidation and Conversion (MCC) activities at Luch. Efforts that began in 1995 have resulted in security upgrades at the site and in consolidation of the HEU there—from 50 areas and 17 buildings to just five areas in four secure buildings. Since MCC activities began at Luch, Eight metric tons of HEU has been down-blended at the site. Luch is also receiving Russian research reactor fuel for down-blending under the Global Threat Reduction Initiative.

"The work that Sam and I saw being undertaken here, today, and the work we were briefed on shows that when Russia and the United States work together our two nations have the capacity to accomplish much in the area of nuclear security. We have seen, at this site, our relationship develop from assistance to cooperation, and now we must work on moving toward partnership and sustainability

Lugar: Nunn-Lugar approach should be option in North Korea

In excerpts from two speeches given in Russia, Senator Lugar urged the international community to continue with the six-party talks and examine how the Nunn-Lugar program can be modified and implemented in North Korea

The U.S. and Russia should be exploring how the Nunn-Lugar experience can be applied in North Korea. While difficult diplomatic work remains, we must be prepared to move forward quickly if the six-party talks succeed. If negotiations yield an agreement from Pyongyang to eliminate its weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, a Nunn-Lugar program combining Russia and U.S. participation, represents a ready-made framework for beginning the weapons elimination process. The Nunn-Lugar program would have a different orientation in North Korea, but the program has the authority, flexibility, and experience to adapt to the Korean situation. Moscow and Washington have proven that former enemies can work together to achieve shared security benefits. Such a track record will be critical to a successful diplomatic process on the Korean peninsula.

Before and after photos of the rocket motor burn mentioned in the cover page article. On the left, Senator Lugar, former Senator Nunn and others are pictured in front of the red-colored motor before destruction. On the right, they stand in the same place with the burned-out motor in the background. The motor was removed from an SS-25 intercontinental ballistic missile. The elimination took just more than two minutes.

Lugar Commemorates 200th Anniversary of U.S.-Russian Relations

In excerpts from a speech on August 27at Spaso House, the U.S. Ambassador's residence in Moscow, Senator Lugar spoke about U.S.-Russian relations

I am honored to have the opportunity to address this gathering commemorating the 200th Anniversary of relations between Russia and the United States. It is a great pleasure to be with many Russian and American friends who have contributed to my understanding of the U.S.-Russian relationship and to the success of initiatives with which I have been involved. It is a special point of pride to be here with my friend and legislative partner, Sam Nunn. Sam has been an inspiration to me, as I am sure he has been to many of you. As a leading voice in U.S. foreign and defense policy, he has achieved a level of credibility and respect that few Americans in our history have ever matched.

Celebrating two centuries of U.S.-Russian relations is more than a historical exercise. The policies of American and Russian leaders, from Thomas Jefferson and Alexander I, through the leaders of the Cold War period, have reverberated for decades. Such longevity in one of the most important bilateral relationships in the history of the world underscores the sacred trust with which we are charged. This anniversary should remind us that our actions will be judged according to an exacting historical standard. It should remind us that the fundamental purpose of diplomatic relations is nothing less than the preservation of peace, security, and opportunity for future generations.

All of us here have witnessed critical events in U.S.-Russian relations. As a United States Senator for more than 30 years, I have been fortunate to have had opportunities to influence some of those events. Thirty years is a long term of service in the United States Senate. Yet in the context of an enduring 200-year relationship, it has been just one short chapter. Even within the narrow historic scope of my own Senate seat, I do not possess a monopoly of interest in Russia. The Indiana Senate seat that I occupy was held one hundred years ago by Albert J. Beveridge, who was considered to be one of the foremost American experts on Russia of his time. Without the benefit of air travel, Senator Beveridge toured the length of Russia all the way to the Pacific Ocean, shortly before the Russo-Japanese War. His writings describing his travels were published in scholarly books and popular periodicals. He was an insightful observer of his times, but he could not have predicted the twists and turns of the Twentieth Century, anymore than we can predict what will happen one hundred years from now.

Although our powers of prediction have their limits, we are nonetheless bound as leaders to devote our energies and skills to securing the best possible future for our nations. I am certain that the path to peace and prosperity for both Russia and the United States depends on how we resolve standing disputes between our countries and whether we take advantage of opportunities to join together to solve international problems.

Through the long decades of the Cold War, even amidst strident ideological rhetoric and geopolitical contention, there was a sense that the commonalities between the American people and the Russian people could produce strong bonds if they were allowed to develop. Both nations were linked closely to Europe, but possessed independent cultural identities that supported rich literary, musical, and artistic traditions. The national experiences and mythologies of both nations were profoundly influenced by the development of vast, resource-rich wildernesses. Our cultures deeply value exploration and technical achievement, epitomized by our space programs and other scientific endeavors. Both Russian and American societies revel in the competition and challenges that come with being enthusiastic sporting countries. The populations of our two great multi-ethnic nations have unlimited potential that would be accentuated by a more stable and productive relationship between our governments.

Viewed from this perspective, the Cold War hostility of the past might be seen as an interruption of a more natural cooperative bilateral relationship founded two centuries ago. Yet some commentators have questioned whether our nations are now returning to a Cold War footing. We have disagreements over energy security, democracy, human rights, Iran, Kosovo, Georgia, and Moldova, just to name a few items frequently in the headlines. We even disagree about previously well-accepted foundations of stability, like the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty.

While acknowledging divergent views on many issues, we cannot afford to succumb to pessimism. The United States and Russia have too much at stake and too many common interests to allow our relationship to drift toward conflict.

"The United States and Russia should be sending the clear message that we are willing to go anywhere and undertake any conversation in pursuit of preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction."

U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar
August 27, 2007

Lugar: Renew, Expand START Treaty

In excerpts from a speech given on August 28 at the Carnegie Moscow Center's roundtable on the future of U.S.-Russia arms control, Senator Lugar called for renewal and expansion of the START Treaty

The United States and Russia must extend the START Treaty's verification and transparency elements, which will expire in 2009; and they should work to add verification measures to the Moscow Treaty.

I appreciate the view held by many in Washington and Moscow that the Moscow Treaty was a first step in formalizing a new strategic relationship based on transparency and confidence building measures. But we must not forget that this new concept was buttressed by the START Treaty's verification regime. In other words, the conceptual underpinning of the Moscow Treaty depends upon something which is about to expire. In the United States, the Departments of Defense and State at one time told Congress they recognized the integral role of START in the Moscow Treaty and that START therefore would be improved before it expires in 2009. Congress was also told that efforts would be launched to add verification mechanisms to the Moscow Treaty. Unfortunately, the rhetoric of 2002 and 2003 does not match the actions of 2007.

Recently in a hearing before the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee, General Cartwright, the head of Strategic Command, was asked whether the Bush Administration's decision not to extend the START Treaty would have an impact on a prompt global strike capability. The General replied: "[That decision] will provide greater flexibility to pursue prompt global strike solutions, while simultaneously seeking to preserve appropriate confidence building measures. In the end, we seek new systems that contribute to national security and reduce our reliance upon nuclear weapons." Unfortunately, I believe the failure to extend the START Treaty will have the opposite effect and lead to less not better Russian-American strategic understanding.

I agree with the view that we should revisit Cold War arms control and verification assumptions and mechanisms in light of the current Russian-American strategic relationship. But I am concerned that the "rules of the road" may become overly opaque and ill-defined when legally binding regimes are permitted to dissolve. The selective discarding of START Treaty elements in order to arrive at post-START transparency alternatives carries with it the seeds of greater distrust between the two sides. I am not opposed to new transparency measures but the current Russian-American relationship is complicated enough without introducing greater elements of uncertainty into the nuclear relationship.

"The U.S.-Russia relationship is critical to the security and prosperity of the international community."

U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar
August 28, 2007

Left: Senator Lugar and former Senator Nunn with a Ukrainian border guard. They visited the Ukrainian-Moldovan border to monitor Ukrainian efforts to prevent the proliferation of weapons and materials of mass destruction.

An Albanian Success

Senator Lugar gave the following speech in Tirana, Albania, on September 1, commemorating the successful destruction of Albanian chemical weapons through the Nunn-Lugar program

Often when so many distinguished people gather together, they come to celebrate the construction of something important, perhaps a bridge or a hospital. But today we are grateful for the opportunity to celebrate a successful destruction mission. Albania and the United States have destroyed 16 tons of chemical weapons and materials.

This event is especially gratifying because it completes a journey that I began with my friends here in Tirana, almost three years ago. When I came to Albania to inspect the drums in which these lethal chemicals were being stored, I was encouraged at that time by the meetings I enjoyed with Prime Minister Nano, Foreign Minister Islami, and Defense Minister Majko. They demonstrated strong leadership in seeking the assistance of the United States to help organize the appropriate response to the dangerous situation they confronted. These chemical weapons had been brought in by another government secretly during the Cold War, and had not been declared, as required, under the Chemical Weapons Convention. There were other courses Albania's leaders could have chosen, but to ensure the safety of their citizens and the rest of the world they sought assistance in eliminating the threat. As America builds new partnerships with friendly nations to control the designs of terrorists, we are grateful to Albania for a major contribution to global security.

The United States acted promptly to meet the Albanian request for assistance. We responded first by improving security around the weapons stockpile. Then American experts met with their Albanian counterparts to devise and implement a plan for the permanent destruction of these materials. Fortunately, the United States was prepared to respond to Albania's call for urgent cooperation. In 2003, Congress acted favorably on my draft of the Nunn-Lugar Expansion Act, which allows the president to use up to $50 million in Nunn-Lugar funds for activities in countries outside the former Soviet Union. President Bush used that new authority in 2004 when he signed the authorization to begin work in Albania.

The Nunn-Lugar program has established a deep reservoir of experience and talent that we could bring to meet the challenge in Albania, and for other non-proliferation objectives around the world.

Above: Senator Lugar visited this chemical weapons storage barn in Albania on August 27, 2004.

Below: The large white structure is the chemical weapons destruction facility built with Nunn-Lugar funding used to eliminate Albania's chemical weapons.

The original Nunn-Lugar bill was concerned with the former Soviet Union where the vast majority of weapons and materials of mass destruction were located. And while the former Soviet Union will continue to be a major focus of Nunn-Lugar activities, the work in Albania demonstrates that we can and must be prepared with money and expertise to extend the Nunn-Lugar concept wherever it can be usefully applied.

That expertise was needed here in Albania. Destroying this deadly stockpile of chemicals proved to be a dangerous and complex operation. It was determined that it would be unsafe to try to transport the weapons agents down from the mountains where they were first discovered. Thus, a destruction facility had to be built on-site, in very rugged territory, as I can personally attest. Experts at the Pentagon's Defense Threat Reduction Agency first had to arrange for the fabrication of the necessary equipment and then, in cooperation with Albanian authorities and an American contractor, they had to arrange for the transport of this equipment and other materials up the winding mountain roads to the location of the bunker where the weapons were stored. There, they had to construct a large facility, about the size of a warehouse, in which to conduct the destruction activities. This work began quietly last year and, the Albanian government announced last month that all of its chemical weapons stockpile had been destroyed.

This is a truly remarkable achievement. This marks the first time in history that any nation has completely eliminated its stockpile of chemical weapons. In light of the fact that the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons is the most serious national security threat we face, this is an important milestone. I would ask everyone here to join me in applauding Albania for this accomplishment.

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… Nunn-Lugar Success in Albania

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It is also important to point out that this is not an isolated instance of Albania's cooperation on matters of international security. In fact, Albania has proven to be a strong and reliable partner with the West in a number of areas. It has played a constructive role in resolving inter-ethnic conflicts in South Central Europe, it generously accepted refugees during the 1999 Kosovo conflict, and, today, it provides logistical support for the Kosovo Force troops there. Albania was one of only four nations to contribute troops to the combat phase of Operation Enduring Freedom, and Albanian troops are serving with distinction in the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan, and in Iraq.

Here in their home country, Albanians have also worked arm-in-arm with their western friends on matters of common security interest. Another unfortunate legacy from Albania's Cold War era were the hundreds of conventional weapons depots scattered about the country. These storage facilities were often poorly secured, and the weapons were at risk of being stolen and sold into the black market, where they could have been purchased by terrorists and insurgents. There were far more small arms, ammunition and machine guns than Albania's own forces needed, so they generously donated them to the new Afghan military forces. More importantly, Albania requested help in dismantling some of the most dangerous of these conventional weapons, in particular man-portable anti-aircraft missiles, known as MANPADS. These are of special importance because of their potential use by terrorists to shoot down civilian airliners. Al-Qaeda has reportedly attempted to acquire such missiles on a number of occasions. When I was here three years ago, I personally saw 79 of these MANPADS at a military storage facility. With assistance from the United States, Albania has destroyed these and other missiles, reducing yet another terrorist threat.

My experience in Albania, in fact, helped me realize the broad threat from the many other stockpiles of conventional weapons scattered in countries around the world. With my friend Senator Barack Obama, I introduced legislation that was signed into law earlier this year. The Lugar-Obama proliferation and threat reduction initiative applies the Nunn-Lugar principles to conventional weapons, expanding U.S. cooperation to destroy them.

Finally, even as we reflect upon our cooperative success in Albania, it is important to look forward and seek opportunities to apply these lessons elsewhere. Albania has shown that former enemies can work well together, and that Nunn-Lugar is a valuable tool outside the former Soviet Union. Albania's secret stockpile may not be the last. We can and must be prepared to address similar risks in the Middle East, Asia, and anyplace else where supplies of weapons of mass destruction may be located. We must also stand ready to move quickly into situations such as North Korea, which has resumed the Six-Party negotiations aimed at eliminating its nuclear weapons program. If a final agreement can be reached, the Nunn-Lugar program could play a central role in neutralizing the grave threat posed by the nuclear weapons and materials that Pyongyang has accumulated.

The United States has, through the Nunn-Lugar program, developed a unique capability to meet a variety of proliferation threats, and we should be actively seeking new opportunities to dismantle dangerous weapons programs.

For the moment, we celebrate an historic moment for Albania and the United States of America.

"This is a truly remarkable achievement. This marks the first time in history that any nation has completely eliminated its stockpile of chemical weapons."

Senator Lugar and former Senator Nunn on the plane between stops on their trip to Russia commemorating the 15th anniversary of the Nunn-Lugar program.

Lugar and Nunn Tour Shchuchye Chemical Weapons Destruction Facility

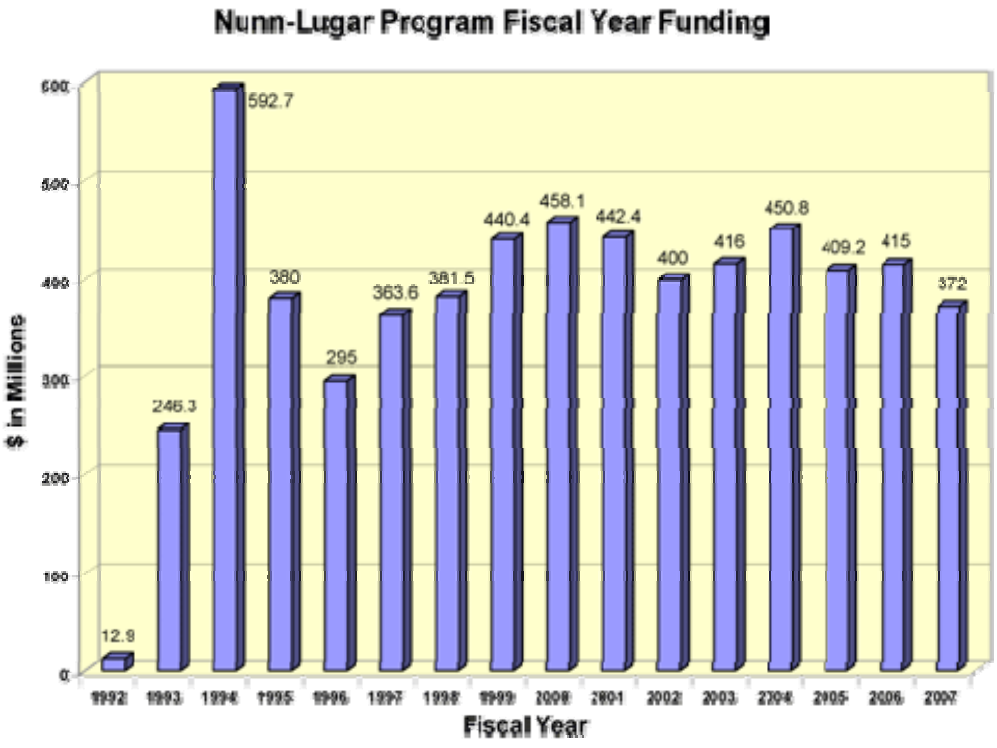
Chelyabinsk, Russia – Senator Lugar and former Senator Nunn toured the Shchuchye Chemical Weapons Destruction Facility (CWDF), located near Chelyabinsk, Russia, where the Nunn-Lugar program is providing assistance for design and construction of the CWDF. The tour and site visit was a part of their ongoing activities in Russia in celebration of the 15th Anniversary of the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program.

At Shchuchye, the United States, Russia, Canada, the Czech Republic, the European Union, Italy, Norway, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom are working together to build a facility to eliminate more than 2 million artillery rounds and warheads filled with sarin, soman and VX agent currently in storage at Shchuchye, in the Kurgan Oblast of Russia. The Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) has also contributed to the infrastructure around the site, to assist in the construction of a bridge for the safe and secure transport of chemical agents to the CWDF. The efforts of the these nations and NTI augment and the work the Nunn-Lugar program is undertaking with Russia to construct the CWDF to eliminate these weapons in accordance with Russia's responsibilities under the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC).

"I have visited Shchuchye on two previous occasions," noted Senator Lugar, "and I am convinced that the weapons stored here must be dismantled quickly and safely. I look forward to the day when the last of these horrific weapons are eliminated and the dire threat they pose to all nations is removed. Progress on this project has been a particular focus of mine for the last seven years, seeking amendments to permit construction to continue and making sure that my colleagues in Congress understand the necessity of this work. My visit here today with Sam Nunn marks an important milestone in this program and on this site, a place where the security of the world is being guaranteed. The weapons destroyed here are highly portable and attractive to terrorists the world over. This project is essential to the national security of the United States. I have personally expressed my firm desire to see success here to President Bush, Secretary Rice and others, and, with dedicated efforts, we are succeeding."

In a December 2000 visit, Russian soldiers demonstrated to Senator Lugar the proliferation danger posed by the chemical shells stored at Shchuchye and the need for increased security through the Nunn-Lugar program.

"I look forward to the day when the last of these horrific weapons are eliminated and a dire threat they pose to all nations is removed." -- Sen. Dick Lugar



The Nunn-Lugar Program Scorecard

	Baseline	Goals	FY 2006 Reductions	Current Cumulative Reduction	Percent	CY 2007 Reduction Targets	CY 2012 Reduction Targets
Warheads Deactivated	13,300	8,684	125	6,982	80	7,280	8,684
ICBMs Destroyed	1,473	1,135	34	653	58	779	1,135
ICBM Silos Eliminated	831	612	0	485	79	496	612
ICBM Mobile Launchers Destroyed	442	251	35	101	40	119	251
Bombers Eliminated	233	155	4	155	100	155	155
Nuclear ASMs Destroyed	906	906	77	906	100	906	906
SLBM Launchers Eliminated	728	540	0	436	81	456	540
SLBMs Eliminated	936	700	36	613	88	613	700
SSBNs Destroyed	48	36	2	30	83	31	36
Nuclear Test Tunnels/ Holes Sealed	194	194	0	194	100	194	194

	Baseline	Goals	FY 2006 Activities Completed	Current Activities Completed	Percent	CY 2007 Activities Targets	CY 2012 Activities Targets
Nuclear Weapons Transport Train Shipments	N/A	620	47	355	57	380	620
Nuclear Weapons Storage Site Security Upgrades	N/A	24	11	12	50	15	24
BTRP Epidemiological Monitoring Stations Built and Equipped	TBD	36	6	9	25	15	36
CWDF Design (Percent Completed)	100	100	7	96	96	100	100
CWDF Construction (Percent Completed)	100	100	21	50	50	65	100

ICBM – Intercontinental ballistic missile | SLBM – Submarine launched ballistic missile
SSBN – Nuclear submarine capable of launching ballistic missiles | ASM – Air-to-surface missile

In November 1991, Lugar (R-IN) and Nunn (D-GA) authored the Nunn-Lugar Act, which established the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program. This program has provided U.S. funding and expertise to help the former Soviet Union safeguard and dismantle its enormous stockpiles of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, related materials, and delivery systems. In 2003, Congress adopted the Nunn-Lugar Expansion Act, which authorized the Nunn-Lugar program to operate outside the former Soviet Union to address proliferation threats. In 2004, Nunn-Lugar funds were committed for the first time outside of the former Soviet Union to destroy chemical weapons in Albania, under a Lugar-led expansion of the program.

The Nunn-Lugar scorecard now totals 6,982 strategic nuclear warheads deactivated, 653 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) destroyed, 485 ICBM silos eliminated, 101 ICBM mobile launchers destroyed, 613 submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) eliminated, 436 SLBM launchers eliminated, 30 nuclear submarines capable of launching ballistic missiles destroyed, 155 bombers eliminated, 906 nuclear air-to-surface missiles (ASMs) destroyed, 194 nuclear test tunnels eliminated, 355 nuclear weapons transport train shipments, 12 nuclear weapons storage site security upgrades, and 9 biological monitoring stations built and equipped. Perhaps most importantly, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan are nuclear weapons free as a result of cooperative efforts under the Nunn-Lugar program. Those countries were the third, fourth and eighth largest nuclear weapons powers in the world.

Beyond nuclear elimination, the Nunn-Lugar program secures and destroys chemical weapons and biological weapons, and has worked to reemploy scientists and facilities related to weapons of mass destruction in peaceful research initiatives. The International Science and Technology Centers, of which the United States is the leading sponsor, engaged 58,000 former weapons scientists in peaceful work. The International Proliferation Prevention Program has funded 750 projects involving 14,000 former weapons scientists and created some 580 new peaceful high-tech jobs.

The Nunn-Lugar Program on the web: http://lugar.senate.gov/nunnlugar