

Nunn-Lugar Revisited:

A conference at the Musgrove Conference Center, St. Simons Island, GA,
26-29 September 2013

Organized by the National Security Archive (George Washington University)
With the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York,
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Thursday, September 26:

- 6:30pm** Reception and drinks at Grove House
7:00pm Dinner at Grove House
- 8:00pm** Introductions and welcomes: Tom Blanton
Opening remarks: Sen. Sam Nunn
Overview of project: Svetlana Savranskaya
- 9:30pm** Shuttles to Sea Palms

Friday, September 27:

- 8:00am** Shuttle pick-up at Sea Palms
8-9:20am Breakfast at the Boat House
- 9:30am-11:00am** Grove House, **Session 1 (chair for all sessions: Tom Blanton)**
“Unraveling of the USSR, 1991 – August coup, tactical nuclear withdrawals,
nuclear weapon control as USSR becomes CIS, ‘loose nukes’ and brain drain”

Topics: Control of the nuclear suitcase during the August coup. The Bush administration’s unilateral initiative in September to withdraw tactical nuclear weapons, and Gorbachev’s matching response in October, creating an arms race in reverse (as Gorbachev proposed at Malta 1989). US-Soviet, US-Russian, US-Ukrainian, and inter-NIS discussions of control of nuclear weapons. Handoff of nuclear suitcase from Gorbachev to Yeltsin on December 25. The Nunn experience in Moscow just after the coup. Warnings of nuclear danger: nuclear inheritance by former republics, unauthorized possession by renegades, nuclear leakage for proliferation, specialists’ out-migration and brain drain.

Opening discussant: David Hoffman

- 11:00am-11:30am** Coffee Break
- 11:30am-1:00pm** Grove House, **Session 2**
“The origins, domestic politics, and early days of the Nunn-Lugar legislation”

Topics: The Aspin proposals for humanitarian aid. The Nunn combination proposal including nuclear security. Why the Aspin-Nunn proposals failed. Fall 1991 U.S. domestic politics. Cold War fatigue. Impact of the Wofford special election in Pennsylvania. Growing isolationism and anti-foreign-aid sentiment in Congress. The Ashton Carter Harvard/Carnegie study that connected Senators Nunn and Lugar, and the breakfast meeting that engaged key Senators. The committee politics. The Bush administration’s response (and lack thereof). The crucial March 1992 CODEL to Russia. The Burns negotiations in Russia. Fits and starts in implementation. Transition to the Clinton administration and embrace of Nunn-Lugar. The Nunn-Lugar becomes Nunn-Lugar-Domenici in 1996.

Opening discussant: Richard Combs

1:00pm-2:00pm Lunch
2:00pm-3:30pm Free Time

3:30pm-5:00pm Grove House, **Session 3**
“U.S.-Russian negotiations and the launch of the cooperative programs”

Topics: Cold War mindsets. The state of the Soviet/Russian economy, institutes, military. The political crises of 1991-1993. Yeltsin as the power vertical. Role of Supreme Soviet and then Duma. Bureaucratic politics of MINATOM, Ministry of Defense, Biopreparat, security services. Multi-level US-Russia negotiations: Presidential, Foreign Ministry, arms control, CTR (Burns and then Goodby), beginnings of the ISTC in 1992 and lab to lab cooperation. Conclusion of the uranium purchase agreement 1993. Gore-Chernomyrdin commission.

Opening discussant: Sergei Rogov

6:30pm Cocktails, BBQ at the Pit
Free Evening
9:30pm Shuttles to Sea Palms

Saturday, September 28:

8:00am Shuttle pick-up at Sea Palms
8-9:20am Breakfast at the Boat House

9:30am-11:00am Grove House, **Session 4**
“Denuclearization of Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus: incentives and motivations”

Topics: Bush administration’s discussions with the former republics 1991-92. Internal politics, barriers and constraints. Different incentives and motivations in each republic. Kazakhstan as the early adapter. Ukraine’s hesitations, rising nationalism. The Clinton administration engagement. William Perry as key driver of US focus on the republics. US-Russia-Ukraine deal. Early hopes for united CIS armed forces and nuclear control. Challenges for US negotiators in each country. Role of leaders in vertical implementation of denuclearization. Role of Russian military in each republic.

Opening discussant: William Potter

11:00am-11:30am Coffee Break

11:30am-1:00pm Grove House, **Session 5**
“Military to military negotiation and cooperation”

Topics: Opening experiences such as National Academy trip December 1991 on military conversion in disintegrating USSR. Legacy of prior arms control discussions between militaries. March-April 1992 negotiations. Russian trip to Sandia Laboratory in May 1992. Breaking Cold War mindsets and building trust through individual relationships. Implementation of START and destruction of weapons as a key venue for deepening cooperation. Perry-Grachev meetings, negotiations. First agreements on safety of nuclear materials. Tensions between intelligence-gathering and threat reduction, and perceptions on both

sides of the verification challenges. James Goodby, Evgeny Maslin and further rounds of military negotiations during the Clinton Administration.

Opening discussant: Svetlana Savranskaya

1:00pm-2:00pm

Lunch

2:00pm-3:30pm

Free Time

3:30pm-5:00pm

Grove House, **Session 6**

“Pioneers of CTR, joint inspection teams, ISTC, lab-to-lab ties, potential models for future U.S.-Russia cooperative work”

Topics: Negotiations and tensions around establishment of ISTC. Lab to lab cooperation with Energy Department implementation. Joint inspections of production sites. Reciprocity as key issue for building trust and dealing with Cold War mindsets. Obstacles in Russia (and in US) to maximum transparency. Key examples and potential models of future CTR. Role of individual leadership and relationships at every level.

Opening discussant: David Hoffman

6:30pm

Cocktails and Fish Fry at the Boat House Deck

Free Evening

9:30pm

Shuttle to Sea Palms

Sunday, September 29:

8:00am

Shuttle pick-up at Sea Palms

NOTE: Sea Palms guests should check out and bring their luggage to the Grove House for departure to the airport after concluding session

8-9:20am

Breakfast at the Boat House

9:30am-11:00am

Grove House, **Concluding Session**

“Research agenda going forward, future meetings Astana/Moscow/Kiev, key documents and participants to bring into the project, next questions”

Discussant: Tom Blanton

11:00am-12:00pm

Coffee and Lunch

12:00pm

Departure for Jacksonville Airport