

**COOPERATIVE THREAT REDUCTION (CTR) PROCESS:
EXPERIENCE IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION AND LESSONS FOR NEW REGIONS**



Senator Sam Nunn and Senator Richard Lugar leaving the White House in November 1991 after briefing President H.W. Bush on the Nunn-Lugar legislation (Source: Senator Richard Lugar web-site)

Class time:

Thursdays, 6.00 – 7.50 pm (Room B209)

Instructor:

Togzhan Kassenova, PhD

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Office hours: Tuesdays (3-4 pm)

Fridays (10-11 am)

Three major course objectives:

1. To account for major CTR achievements and failures in the former Soviet Union
2. To learn more about US-Russian post-Cold War strategic relations using CTR as a case study
3. To think about lessons for new regions and applicability of CTR as a tool in countries outside of the FSU

Course structure, requirements and assessment:

The course will consist of lectures, in-class discussions and student presentations.

The students will have to do “**required readings**” for each class, as well as be prepared to discuss **specific questions** (announced in advance in class and posted on First Class). Student in-class participation is essential for this seminar-based course.

They will also be required to keep a “**reading diary**”. Requirements: write 200-300 words on each material highlighting key points and your personal opinion on the piece (e.g. with what you agree or disagree, your own thoughts stimulated by the article, etc.). Please bring your reading diary to every class. The diary should be submitted for assessment on February 21, 2008; April 3, 2008; May 8, 2008.

A list of topics will be provided for the **final research paper**. Requirements: 4,500-5,000 words. Due: Final class (May 8). An **in-class presentation** will be based on final paper.

Assessment:

In-class participation – 30%

Reading diary – 10%

Final paper – 40%

Presentation – 20%

Major texts:

Togzhan Kassenova, *From Antagonism to Partnership: The Uneasy Path of the US-Russian Cooperative Threat Reduction*, ibidem-Verlag, Stuttgart, 2007.

John Shields, William Potter, eds., *Dismantling the Cold War: US and NIS Perspectives on the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England, 1997.

Jason Ellis, *Defense by Other Means: The Politics of US-NIS Threat Reduction and Nuclear Security Cooperation*, Praeger, Westport, Connecticut, 2001.

Michael Krepon, *Cooperative Threat Reduction, Missile Defense, and the Nuclear Future*, Palgrave, Macmillan, 2003.

Additional texts:

Sharon Squassoni, *Globalizing Cooperative Threat Reduction*, Nova Publishers, 2005.

Amy Woolf, *Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Programs*, Nova Publishers, 2004.

William Potter, Gary Bertsch, eds., *Dangerous Weapons, Desperate States: Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine*, Routledge, 1999.

Christoph Bluth, *The Nuclear Challenge: US-Russian Strategic Relations after the Cold War*, Ashgate, 2000.

Kurt Cambell, Ashton Carter, Steven Miller, and Charles Zraket, eds., *Soviet Nuclear Fission: Control of the Nuclear Arsenal in a Disintegrating Soviet Union*,

Graham Allison, Côté Owen, Richard Falkenrath, Steven Miller, eds., *Avoiding Nuclear Anarchy: Containing the Threat of Loose Russian Nuclear Weapons and Fissile Material*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, England, 1996.

George Quester, ed., *The Nuclear Challenge in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, M. E. Sharpe, Armonk, New York, London, England, 1995.

Matthew Bunn, *Securing the Bomb 2007*, Project on Managing the Atom, Harvard University, September 2007, at http://www.nti.org/e_research/securingthebomb07.pdf.

Amy F. Woolf, Nonproliferation and Threat Reduction Assistance: US Programs in the Former Soviet Union, CRS Report for Congress, November 28, 2007, at <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/RL31957.pdf>.

WEEK 1**Introduction to the course****Historical background/CTR inception****No required readings****WEEK 2****US-Russian Strategic Relations: US nuclear policy****Required readings:**

Bruce Blair, "Primed and Ready", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, January/February 2007, pp. 33-37.

Bruce Blair, "A Rebuttal of the US Statement on the Alert Status of US Nuclear Forces," Bruce Blair's Nuclear Column, Center for Defense Information, November 6, 2007.

Dennis M. Gormley, "Silent Retreat: The Future of US Nuclear Weapons," *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 14, No. 2, July 2007, pp. 183-206.

Additional readings:

“The Future of Nuclear Weapons: a View from the Hill,” (Chair: Congressman Adam Schiff (D-CA), Congressman Thaddeus McCotter (R-MI), Congressman John Spratt Jr. (D-SC)), Carnegie International Nonproliferation Conference, June 25, 2007 [transcript].

Sidney D. Drell and James E. Goodby, “What Are Nuclear Weapons For? Recommendations for Restructuring US Strategic Nuclear Forces,” Arms Control Association, October 2007.

Nuclear Posture Review [Excerpts], 2001, at

<<http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/policy/dod/npr.htm>>.

Doctrine for Joint Nuclear Operations, 2005, at

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/policy/dod/jp3_12fc2_15mar2005.htm>.

WEEK 3**Russian nuclear policy****CTR in US-Russian Strategic Relationship****Required readings:**

“What the Future Holds for US and Russian Nuclear Weapons,” (Chair: Rose Gottemoeller (Carnegie Moscow Center), Alexei Arbatov (Carnegie Moscow Center), Ambassador Linton Brooks (formerly with the National Nuclear Security Administration), Major General William F. Burns (US Army, ret.), Roald Sagdeev (University of Maryland)), Carnegie International Nonproliferation Conference, June 25, 2007 [transcript].

Nikolai Sokov, “The Origins and Prospects for Russian Nuclear Doctrine,” *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 14, No. 2, July 2007, pp. 207-226.

Additional readings:

Ellen O. Tauscher, “Achieving Nuclear Balance,” *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 14, No. 3, July 2007.

Ron Rosenbaum, “The Return of the Doomsday Machine?” *The Spectator*, August 31, 2007, at <http://www.slate.com/id/2173108/pagenum/all#page_start>.

The National Security Concept of the Russian Federation, 2000.

Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, 2000.

Russian Federation Military Doctrine, 2000.

WEEK 4**Denuclearization of Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Ukraine****CTR in non-Russian republics****Required readings:**

Kostyantyn Hryshchenko, “Reducing the Nuclear Threat through Joint Efforts: The View from Ukraine,” in Shields and Potter, eds., *Dismantling the Cold War*, pp. 151-165.

Emily E. Daughtry, “Forging Relationships, Preventing Proliferation: A Decade of Cooperative Threat Reduction in Central Asia,” (Chapter 15, pp. 321-339) in Daniel L. Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf, eds., *In the Tracks of Tamerlane: Central Asia’s Path to the 21st Century*, Center for Technology and National Security Policy, National Defense University, 2004.

Additional readings:

William C. Potter, *The Politics of Nuclear Renunciation: The Case of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine*, The Henry L. Stimson Center, Occasional Paper No. 22, April 1995.

Steven E. Miller, “Ukraine’s Flawed Nuclear Diplomacy,” *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 1, No. 13, Spring-Summer 1994, pp. 47-53.

“Bill Clinton: Facing New Threats” (Chapter 7) in James E. Goodby, *At the Borderline of Armageddon: How American Presidents Managed the Atom Bomb*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006, pp. 165-177.

Lesya Gak, “Denuclearization and Ukraine: Lessons for the Future,” *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, Spring 2004, pp. 106-135.

Lars van Dassen, “Nuclear Non-Proliferation in Ukraine: Tactical Game about Strategic Weapons,” *Nucleus*, 3/2006, pp. 24-29.

Cambell *et al.*, eds., *Soviet Nuclear Fission*, pp. 48-116.

WEEK 5

CTR Evolution: Major US Nonproliferation Assistance Programs

Russian nuclear security culture

Required readings:

Nuclear Security Culture: The Case of Russia, Center for International Trade and Security, The University of Georgia, December 2004, pp. 19-79.

Additional readings:

Rose Gottemoeller, “Presidential Priorities in Nuclear Policy” in Shields and Potter, eds., *Dismantling the Cold War*, pp. 61-84.

WEEK 6

Preventing diversion of fissile material: Material Protection, Control and Accounting (MPC&A) Program, HEU Deal, Plutonium Disposition Program

Required readings:

Thomas Neff, “Decision Time for the HEU Deal: US Security vs. Private Interests,” *Arms Control Today*, June 2001; Philip Sewell, A Response to Thomas Neff, *Arms Control Today*, July/August 2001. Matthew Bunn, “Troubled Disposition: Next Steps in Dealing with Excess Plutonium,” *Arms Control Today*, April 2007.

Additional readings:

Togzhan Kassenova, *From Antagonism to Partnership*, “Preventing the Proliferation of Fissile Material: The Material Protection, Control and Accounting (MPC&A) Programme” (Chapter 5) and “Preventing the Proliferation of Fissile Material: Plutonium Disposition Programme and Highly Enriched Uranium (HEU) Agreement” (Chapter 6), pp. 167-240.

WEEK 7

Preventing “Brain-drain”: Nuclear Cities Initiative (NCI), Initiatives for Proliferation Prevention (GIPP), the International Science and Technology Center (ISTC)

Required readings:

Interview with Yuri Smirnov, PBS (interview conducted in 1996).

Valentin Tikhonov, *Russia’s Nuclear and Missile Complex: The Human Factor in Nonproliferation*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004, pp. 36-67.

Please listen to a brief NPR radio piece on NCI demise at <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6133597>.

Additional readings:

Togzhan Kassenova, *From Antagonism to Partnership*, "The Brain-Drain Threat" (Chapter 7), pp. 241-272.

WEEK 8**Nonproliferation assistance in bio- and chemical weapons field****Required readings:**

The Biological Threat Reduction Program of the Department of Defense: From Foreign Assistance to Sustainable Partnerships, National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, 2007, pp. 16-65.

WEEK 9**Key organisational players****Accounting for CTR problems of implementation: Bureaucratic politics****Required readings:**

On US decision-making: Jason Ellis, *Defense by Other Means*, pp. 107-143.

On Russian decision-making: Togzhan Kassenova, *From Antagonism to Partnership*, pp. 129-148.

WEEK 10**Accounting for CTR problems of implementation: Political context****Required readings:**

Alexei Arbatov, *Moscow and Munich: A New Framework for Russian Domestic and Foreign Policies*, Carnegie Moscow Center, Working Paper, #3, 2007.

Dmitri Trenin, "Russia's Strategic Choices," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Policy Brief 50, May 2007.

"200 Years of US-Russian Diplomatic Relations," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace event, September 25, 2007 [transcript].

Additional readings:

Andrew Kuchins, Vyacheslav Nikonov, Dmitri Trenin, *U.S.-Russian Relations: The Case for an Upgrade*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005.

WEEK 11**CTR outside of the FSU: Possible applications****Case study: Iran****Required readings:**

Rose Gottemoeller, "Cooperative Threat Reduction Beyond Russia," *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2005, pp. 145-158.

Iran: Nuclear Intentions and Capabilities, National Intelligence Estimate, November 2007.

Robert Kagan, "Time to Talk to Iran," *Washington Post*, December 5, 2007.

Robert G. Joseph, Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security, Statement Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "New Initiatives in Cooperative Threat Reduction," February 9, 2006.

Additional readings:

"The Security Council's Iran Challenge," (Chair: Barbara Slavin (USA Today), Alexei Arbatov (Carnegie Moscow Center), Neil Crompton (British Embassy, Washington), Glenn Kessler (The

Washington Post), Bruno Tertrais (Foundation pour la Recherche Strategique)), Carnegie International Nonproliferation Conference, June 25, 2007 [transcript].

“Iran’s Nuclear Program and Diplomatic Options to Contain It,” Arms Control Association Event, December 4, 2007 [transcript].

WEEK 12

CTR outside of the FSU: Possible applications

Case study: North Korea

Required readings:

Joel S. Wit, Jon Wolfsthal, Choong-suk Oh, *The Six Party Talks and Beyond: Cooperative Threat Reduction and North Korea*, A Report of the CSIS International Security Program, CSIS, December 2005.

“Removing the Nuclear Threat in North Korea,” *New York Times*, The Editorial Board, November 16, 2007.

Curtis H. Martin, “Good Cop/Bad Cop” as a Model for Nonproliferation Diplomacy Toward North Korea and Iran,” *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 14, No. 1, March 2007, pp. 61-88.

Additional readings:

Ashton B. Carter, “Implementing a Denuclearization Agreement with North Korea,” Testimony Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, July 15, 2004.

WEEK 13

CTR outside of the FSU: Possible applications

Case study: Pakistan

Required readings:

Kenneth Luongo and Naeem Salik, “Building Confidence in Pakistan’s Nuclear Security,” *Arms Control Today*, December 2007.

Peter Lavoy, “Pakistan’s Nuclear Posture: Security and Survivability,” NPEC, 2007.

“Cooperative Threat Reduction is Worth the Cost,” *AntiWar.com*, June 20, 2007.

Andrew Koch, Kristin Rayhack, “Political Fallout – The Threat to Pakistan’s Nuclear Stability,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, January 1, 2008.

Additional readings:

Feroz Hassan Khan, “Nuclear Proliferation Motivations: Lessons from Pakistan,” *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 13, No. 3, November 2006, pp. 501-517.

WEEKS14/15

Student presentations

Useful web-sites:

Government Accounting Office: <http://www.gao.gov>

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: <http://www.carnegieendowment.org>

Partnership for Global Security: <http://www.ransac.org>

PIR-Center (Moscow): <http://www.pircenter.org>

Henry L. Stimson Center: <http://www.stimson.org>

Nuclear Threat Initiative: <http://www.nti.org>

Open Congressional Research Service (CRS): <http://www.opencrs.com>

Managing the Atom Project: http://www.belfercenter.org/project/3/managing_the_atom.html