

October 31, 1991

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Nuclear Weapons and the Republics

1. Goals and objectives

- o Peaceful devolution of power from the former Soviet Union to republics without the threat or use of conventional or nuclear force.
- o All Soviet nuclear weapons under a single -- inter-republic -- collective control authority, with responsibility over deployment, modernization, dismantling, use, etc. of all Soviet nuclear weapons. Republics would be represented in the collective and have a say in all decisions. No other independent nuclear authority/states.
- o Avoid the appearance and reality of favoring <sup>Center or</sup> Russia over the other republics. *Distance*
- o Facilitate the prompt and safe elimination of the tactical nuclear weapons cited in Gorbachev's October 5 announcement.
- o Rapidly enhance the security of nuclear weapons against takeover by breakaway republics, breakaway units, terrorists, or profiteers.
- o Secure disposition for the enriched uranium and plutonium derived from eliminated Soviet weapons.

2. Impediments and problems

- o *avoid all but most necessary movement of nuclear weapon*
- o *(i.e. to elimination facilities) to minimize danger of accident, abduction, loss, etc*
- o The former Soviet Union is collapsing, and the potential for disorder within republics and hostilities between republics is high.
- o While the dominant view in republics other than Russia is to remove or eliminate the nuclear weapons on their territory, there are other views and that outcome is by no means certain.
- o Some republics (e.g. the Ukraine) oppose the removal of nuclear weapons to Russia, but have no facilities for eliminating weapons.
- o The safe transportation and dismantling of nuclear weapons and the disposition of the special nuclear material are technically demanding tasks.

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- o Neither we nor the Soviets have substantial new resources to devote to storage or dismantling of Soviet nuclear weapons.
- o Political developments are moving ahead at a very rapid rate; the dismantling of Soviet nuclear weapons will take a considerable time, and even interim steps will take months or years. We need a framework for managing this problem and <sup>for</sup> giving <sup>us</sup> the time necessary to eliminate most Soviet nuclear weapons and <sup>to</sup> get the remainder under secure central control.
- 3. Strawman US declaratory policy *Need alternative for case where Ukraine or Kaz etc want to be completely independent.*
- o All Soviet nuclear weapons should be under the secure control of a central collective authority.
- o The US can understand that republics will want a say in decisions (on deployment, modernization, use, etc.) made by the collective authority, but ~~that is~~ <sup>specific arrangements are</sup> for the republics and the center to decide.
- o This is without prejudice to the political relationship between republics, and between republics and a new union. That, too, is for the republics themselves to decide. *All nuclear territory outside of Soviet control by center should be eliminated as rapidly as possible - 45 years*
- o All issues resulting from the devolution of the Soviet Union should be settled peacefully with threat or use of force. *not*
- o START and CFE should be ratified and implemented promptly.
- 4. Strawman measures for Soviet tactical nuclear weapons *Requested mid of 80s - eliminated in the next 10 years. This should be no new full inventory nuclear weapons*
- o Consolidate Soviet tactical nuclear weapons in secure locations separate from operational units. (Do we want this number to be big or small?)
- o Rapidly demilitarize all Soviet weapons (e.g. remove tritium and store separately, remove fuze and store separately, etc.) so that capture of a storage facility does not result in capture of usable weapons.
- o Inventory (and tag?) all Soviet weapons.
- o Establish a presence at the storage facilities of other republics? the US? other NATO? the UN?
- o Assistance in the safe, rapid, transparent transportation and dismantling of nuclear weapons in Russia, and safe and transparent disposition of the special material. *in other appropriate area*

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5. Strawman measures for strategic forces

- o Press to have Soviet eliminations under START begin first with systems outside Russia.
- o Discourage transfer of ICBMs to Russia, to a lesser extent discourage transfer of HB's to Russia
- o Encourage Center & Republics to negotiate "status of force" agreements if necessary for start systems remaining in alert

6. Negotiating partner

- o Soviets designate team including representatives of the center and the republics to discuss the above steps.
- o Work with the same team to resolve any problems for CFE and START caused by ~~the~~ devolution of the former Soviet Union.

7. Questions

- o What contingency plans should we have if one or more republics (other than Russia) move toward becoming independent nuclear states? How should we strengthen our overall non-proliferation efforts if additional nuclear states emerge among Soviet republics?
- o Although the problem of control of tactical nuclear weapons is exclusively a Soviet problem, are we prepared to take any of the steps in the above tactical strawman for our own weapons scheduled for dismantling?
- o What carrots are we prepared to offer republics which decide to cooperate with this approach? What sticks if they do not?

*How do we avoid showing bias toward Russia or Center*

8. Annex

- o Data on the numbers, types, and locations of Soviet nuclear weapons, storage facilities, and dismantling facilities.
- o Collect the statements of each of the republics and of the center on their policies toward nuclear weapons.

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