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SUBJECT: IC Paper on Nuclear Issues to Foreign with ...

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REMARKS: For Monday Meeting of SSD Working Group #169

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5 U.S.C. § 552 (b)(2), (5), (6)

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6 December 1991

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~~Nuclear Security Issues to Raise with Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and Kazakh Leaders~~

Background

Of the three republics that US Government officials are slated to visit, not all of them have indicated a desire to have Soviet nuclear weapons withdrawn from their territory. Ukraine and Byelorussia have declared their intention to become nuclear-free. Kazakh officials, on the other hand, has displayed a willingness since the coup to retain nuclear forces currently deployed in the republic, although they acknowledge the need for centralized control of them by the Soviet General Staff. Kazakh President Nazarbayev, nonetheless, has closed the Soviet nuclear test facility at Semipalatinsk because of radiation hazards that nuclear tests present to the population. Ukraine President Kravchuk has stressed that he wants the nuclear arsenal based in the Ukraine destroyed, but he stated that--until this happens--Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Kazakhstan should form a "collective body" that would place all nuclear weapons under its control. The kind of control sought by Kravchuk and the leaders of the other three republics likely does not involve day-to-day operational control but entails the right to veto any decisions to use nuclear forces stationed on their territory. The issue of the four strategic nuclear republics forming a collective nuclear control body is almost certainly going to be an item for discussion by the heads of Russia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia at the 7 December meeting in Minsk. (Although Kazakhstan appears not to have been invited, the three Slavic republics may ask Kazakhstan to attend at the last moment). (CNI)

General Nuclear Policy and Security Issues

1. What is your policy on the control of nuclear weapons?
  - a. Do you see any long term benefits to retaining nuclear weapons in your republic?
  - b. Would your policy change if the Union truly disintegrates? If so, how?
2. Have you entered into discussions with central authorities on the removal or dismantlement of nuclear weapons based in your republic?

If so,

  - a. With whom are you discussing these matters? (Ministry of Defense?, General Staff?)
  - b. What kind of assistance are central authorities offering or providing?
  - c. What kind of timeframe have you settled on for the removal or dismantlement of nuclear weapons based in your republic?
3. (For Byelorussia and Kazakhstan)

To what extent are you waiting to see what the Ukraine does before developing your own policy on nuclear weapons based in your republic?

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4. Did you or your representatives have any discussions about a common nuclear policy at your 7 December meeting in Minsk?  
If so,
  - a. What nuclear safety, security, and dismantlement issues were raised at the meeting?
  - b. Was there any discussion of collective security arrangements? If so, how did you envision setting up such arrangements? Will the Soviet Defense Ministry be the focal point?
  - c. Was Kazakhstan present at the meeting? If not, why were they excluded?
5. Do you envision circumstances where you may want to take over operational control of nuclear weapons based in your republic and the process of dismantling them?
6. (For Ukraine)  
Have you taken any concrete steps to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT)?  
(For Byelorussia)  
Do you support the NPT? If so, what concrete measures are you taking to implement your declared support for NPT?
7. Have you sought out assistance from any of the West European governments on dismantling nuclear weapons based in your republic?
8. Have any arrangements been made by central authorities to provide you with the means (such as a dedicated encrypted telephone or a special briefcase which contains nuclear codes) with which you could exercise your veto authority over the use of nuclear forces based on your territory?  
If so,
  - a. What are these means?
  - b. Can you exercise your authority in all circumstances?  
If not, what are the constraining factors?
9. Have you formulated any contingency plans to ensure the security of nuclear weapons based in your republic if the disintegration of the Union results in the General Staff losing control of them?
10. Has there been any consolidation or removal of nuclear weapons in your republic?
  - a. If so, what has been the nature of this activity?
  - b. Was your approval secured in advance? If not, what would be your response to the center or Russia unilaterally removing nuclear weapons
  - b. Has the activity been in response to President Gorbachev's 5 October nuclear reduction proposal?
  - c. Have you provided any assistance to this activity?  
If so, what kind of support have you provided?

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11. Would you continue to supply nuclear forces base in your republic with food, fuel, and housing if economic difficulties become so pronounced in your republic that you could not provide these things to your citizens in adequate quantities?

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12. (For the Ukraine)  
Were you concerned about rumors of Russia planning a nuclear strike against the Ukraine? If not, why? Did you receive reassurances from Russian political leaders?

### Technical Nuclear Issues

*Number and Types of Warheads*--for all the republics, regardless of an interest in eliminating warheads.

1. Do you know the status of the Soviet nuclear warhead inventory in your republic (i.e. the number, types, and locations)?
2. Do you know the parameters--technical characteristics, size, weight, volume, etc.--that need to be considered in the elimination process?
3. Do you know if these warheads have safety mechanisms and, if so, the types to prevent unauthorized use or accidental detonations?
4. Do the storage facilities provide adequate physical security, i.e. protection against armed terrorist acts?
5. How many of the warheads currently stored in your republic are to be dismantled because of Gorbachev's proposals?
6. How many other warheads are candidates for dismantlement (e.g. from INF, START, and weapons withdrawn from Eastern Europe)?
7. What special nuclear materials (SNM) does each type of warhead contain and is there a radiological hazard in handling any warhead?
8. Do you know the current, standard accounting procedures for Soviet nuclear warheads?
9. Can you assure the West that all nuclear warheads can be/have been accounted for?
  - a. How will the warheads being dismantled be tracked?
  - b. Do these procedures include components of warheads as well?

*Dismantlement.* For republics that have expressed an interest in eliminating weapons in-place rather than transferring them back to Russia. (Note: These questions may have been overcome by recent events, e.g. Kravchuk's statement following the Ukraine vote for

independence, that warheads could be sent to Russia for elimination, but are provided if the delegation perceives any republic desire to dismantle weapons in-place).

10. How are dismantlement and destruction defined?
11. Do you have the means—technical capability, expertise, facilities, etc.—to do this in a way to assure the safety and security of each warhead?
12. What do you see as constituting "elimination" of a warhead as Gorbachev stated, and do you agree?
13. How do you plan to dismantle the warheads?
14. Who are the technical experts and what are their qualifications?
15. How do you perceive the complexity of the dismantlement process?
16. Where would the warheads be dismantled, i.e. what facilities would be used?
17. Does sufficient transport capability exist to carry out your schedule of nuclear warhead dismantlement and elimination?
  - a. How will they be transported?
  - b. How much time will it take?
  - c. What measures would be taken against the increased vulnerability to the security of warheads during transport, given the current conditions of unrest?
18. What would be done with the various components that of the weapon when dismantled?
  - a. Would the SNM be returned to Russia or stored in the republic?
  - b. What facilities would be used for the destruction of the components?
19. If you plan to store the SNM in the republic, what facilities would be used and how would proper security and accounting be provided?
  - a. If the military is to retain control, what are its plans regarding the disposition and use of the SNM?
  - b. If civilian authorities take control, are there any different plans regarding SNM disposition and use?

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***Dismantlement Facilities***

20. Where are the dismantlement facilities for nuclear warheads  
Are they in Russia?
21. What is the capacity of these facilities to eliminate warheads (i.e. number per year)? Will this capacity be expanded?

22. Will some initial phases of the dismantlement process be accomplished at sites on your territory currently being used to store warheads, before they are transferred to disassembly facilities elsewhere?
  - a. To what extent would these phases of the dismantlement account for total dismantlement?
  - b. Which storage sites will be used for this initial work?
  - c. How safe will these partially dismantled warheads be for transporting?
23. Will the republics monitor the dismantlement or destruction process of warheads from their republics?
24. How will the republics handle or monitor the SNM recovered from dismantled warheads to assure they are not used for new warheads, other military purposes, or sold to other countries?
25. What are the safety concerns for personnel and facilities that will be involved in the dismantlement process (e.g. radiation exposure, accidental HE detonation, toxic materials, other industrial processes, etc.)?
26. What plans have been made for the possibility of an accident during the dismantlement process?
  - a. Are specially trained personnel and equipment available in case of such an emergency?
27. Can the West be of any assistance in any aspect of the dismantlement process?

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**Republic and Soviet Officials Likely to be Involved in Republic Nuclear Security Issues.**

Ukraine:

Ukraine President Kravchuk

Ukraine Foreign Minister M. Zlenko

Ukraine Defense Minister Morozov

Ukraine Deputy Defense Minister  
General Lieutenant  
Vladimir V. Osokin

Ukraine Chief of Staff  
Georgiy V. Zhiritsa

Ukraine Minister for National Security  
Y. Marchuk

Ukraine Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
representative V. Ye. Belashov  
(reportedly an active participant in  
the Joint Compliance and Inspection  
Commission)

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Byelorussia:

Chairman of the Byelorussian  
Supreme Soviet and Chairman of the  
Byelorussian Security Council Stanislav  
Shushkevich

Byelorussia Foreign Minister Petr  
Kravchenko

Deputy Chairman of the Byelorussian  
Supreme Soviet for the Standing  
Commission for National Security and  
Defense Leonid Privalov

Soviet commander of the Byelorussian  
Military District General Colonel  
Kostenko

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Kazakhstan:

President of Kazakh Republic  
Nursultan Nazarbayev

Kazakh Chief of Staff, Presidential  
Council Nurtay Abykayev

Kazakh (Premier), Chairman Cabinet of  
Ministers Sergei Tereshchko

Kazakh Deputy Chief of Staff,  
Presidential Council Vladimir Ni

Chairman, Kazakhstan State Defense  
Committee General Lieutenant Sagadat  
Nurmagambetov

Kazakh Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Akmara Arystanbekova

Kazakh Vice President  
Yerik Asanbayev

Chairman, Nevada-Semipalatinsk  
Movement; Secretary, Kazakh Writers  
Union; Member Collegium USSR Foreign  
Affairs Ministry Olzhas Suleymenov

Soviet commander of the Turkestan  
Military District General Colonel  
Ivan Fuzhenko

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