

- on behalf of greater transparency, invite and assist the IAEA to establish a global registry of plutonium holdings in all forms;
- for reasons of nuclear safety and environmental protection seek, whatever the thermal reactor chosen, maximal Russian assimilation of foreign standards, experience, and technology;
- recognize that when nuclear safety and environmental protection are the main concerns, which is when difficulties with irreversibility have somehow been resolved, export-only of Russian military MOX as per U.S. alternative (4) is the best option;
- regard an international management entity as a key means of ensuring irreversibility as well as nuclear safety and environmental protection throughout the course of the programme in the R.F.; and
- consider making entry of the Multilateral Agreement into force conditional upon a supportive Russian public opinion.

What we have here are indications of an integrated strategy of disposition as prompted by a preliminary discussion of conditionality. This is a strategy which alloys long-term sustainability with cost-effectiveness and technical reliability. How a strategy that's inimical to the closed fuel cycle might fare in negotiations with the Russian Federation today, and in the Russian context over a good many years, is our next concern.

### **3. Dealing with the Russian Federation**

To this point we have been concerned with what it takes for disposition to be sustainable over the years. Now the focus shifts to what's needed to make the work of disposition safe for the Russian people and their environment. If things go wrong within Russia, not only will there be deprivation but, once again, disposition will suffer. To protect Russia from threats and losses that could arise from disposition is not unlike protecting Russia from Minatom. We therefore begin with an assessment of Minatom's current situation and prospects. Then we move on to discuss an international management organization as the main instrument of proactive conditionality in the support of donor countries to the Russian Federation.

#### **Minatom in Transition**

The Ministry of the Russian Federation for Atomic Energy is one of the few remaining state monopolies in Russia today. The beneficiary of many advantages acquired in the Soviet era, it is in urgent need of new income. Some in Russia say the industry is dying and will likely account for a substantially reduced share of electricity production, which currently stands at about 15 percent. If this were indeed the future, much of Minatom's talk about 50-year planning and the closed fuel cycle could be dismissed as bravado. Similarly, the B&B problem which so preoccupied us in the preceding section would be greatly reduced if not eliminated when prospects for breeder-reactor development in Russia are diminished or dashed. But the judgment in this study is more cautious.

Minatom is troubled now. It will do whatever it can to survive and prosper without much in the way of handouts from the Federation Government. If this means cutting corners on nuclear