

DR. TOGZHAN KASSENOVA

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Expertise: nuclear policy; WMD nonproliferation; proliferation financing controls; sanctions implementation; export controls (strategic trade controls); financial crime prevention.

PhD in Politics (2004); MA in Financial Integrity (2020); MA in Euro-Asian Studies (2000); BA in International Relations (1999).

Certified Anti-Money Laundering Specialist (CAMS) (2018)

Languages: English, Russian, Portuguese

CURRENT EMPLOYMENT AND AFFILIATIONS:

2026 – present:

Visiting Professor, Institute of International Relations, University of São Paulo

- Teaching a graduate course on Global Nuclear Politics
- Research on Brazil’s nuclear-powered submarine program.

2018 – present:

Senior Fellow, Center for Policy Research, University at Albany, State University of New York

- Academic research and capacity-building on nuclear policy, WMD nonproliferation, proliferation financing, sanctions implementation, strategic trade controls, and transnational financial crime.
- Implementation of projects funded by the U.S. Department of State’s Export Control and Related Border Security (EXBS) Program and Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) Program.

2025 – present:

Subject matter expert on proliferation financing (project-based), GAFILAT (Financial Action Task Force on Latin America)

- Regional assessment of proliferation financing risks in Latin America.

2019 – 2023:

Subject matter expert on proliferation financing (project-based), UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)

- Development and delivery of training on proliferation financing and sanctions implementation.

2018 – present:

Nonresident Fellow, Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

PAST EMPLOYMENT:

2019 – 2021:

Adjunct Faculty, Elliott School for International Affairs, George Washington University

- Teaching a graduate course on Nuclear Security Policy

2011-2018:

Fellow, Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

- Research and analysis on proliferation financing controls; nuclear policy (focus on Brazil, Argentina, Kazakhstan).
- Nuclear policy capacity-building work in Brazil.

2008-2011:

Senior Research Association, Center for International Trade and Security (University of Georgia)

- Research and analysis of export control systems in various countries and territories; assisting governments with drafting and implementing WMD nonproliferation and export control legislation.
- Private sector outreach.

2007-2008:

Postdoctoral Fellow, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies

- Research and analysis of WMD nonproliferation issues.

2008:

Adjunct Faculty, Monterey Institute of International Studies

- Teaching a graduate course on U.S.-Russian Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program.

2006-2007:

Assistant Professor, KIMEP University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

- Teaching undergraduate courses Introduction to International Relations; Introduction to Political Science, and a graduate course on Terrorism and Security.

2004-2006:

Senior Researcher, UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office project on Kazakhstan's Energy Strategy, Almaty, Kazakhstan

- Research, analysis, and development of policy recommendations for the government of Kazakhstan on national energy strategy.

1998-2000:

World Affairs Correspondent, Delovaya Nedelya newspaper (Business Weekly), Almaty, Kazakhstan/Taipei, Taiwan

- Reporting on major foreign policy events in Almaty, Kazakhstan.
- Covering events in the Asia Pacific while based in Taipei, Taiwan.

MEMBERSHIPS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Member, UN Independent Scientific Panel on the Effects of Nuclear War 2025 – present

Board Member, Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation 2021 – present

Advisory Board, BASIC 2021 – 2024

Member, the UN Secretary-General Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters 2011 – 2015

EDUCATION

PhD in Politics, The University of Leeds, UK (PhD thesis passed with no corrections), 2004

MA in Financial Integrity, Case Western Reserve University, US (CALI Excellence for the Future Award), 2020

MA in Euro-Asian Studies (with distinction), The University of Reading, UK, 2000

BA in International Relations (with distinction), Almaty State University, Kazakhstan, 1999

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

2026-2027: Visiting Professor fellowship, Institute of International Relations, University of São Paulo

2023: The 2023 Marshall D. Shulman Book Prize, awarded by the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), sponsored by Columbia University [for *Atomic Steppe: How Kazakhstan Gave Up the Bomb*]

2022: The 2022 Choice Award for Outstanding Academic Title, sponsored by the American Library Association [for *Atomic Steppe: How Kazakhstan Gave Up the Bomb*]

2021: Smith Richardson grant to write a co-authored book *Banks and the Bomb: Understanding Proliferation Financing*, Stanford University Press, forthcoming.

2020: CALI Excellence for the Future Award, Case Western Reserve University

2018-2019: Partial scholarship to pursue executive MA in Financial Integrity, Case Western Reserve University

2015: Visiting research fellowship, Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

2014-2015: Gerda Henkel Stiftung research grant for archival research (book manuscript on Kazakhstan's nuclear policy)

2011-2013: Stanton Nuclear Security fellowship, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

2008: Research fellowship from Taiwan Ministry of Education (Taiwan's strategic trade controls)

2007-2008: Postdoctoral fellowship, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies

2006-2007: Best Professor of the Year Award, KIMEP University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

2006: Visiting research fellowship, International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden University

2000-2004: Research fellowship to pursue PhD, University of Leeds, UK

1999-2000: Research fellowship to pursue MA, University of Reading, UK

1998-1999: Fellowship from Taiwan Ministry of Education (Mandarin Chinese training), Taipei, Taiwan

TEACHING

Graduate course *Global Nuclear Politics* (University of São Paulo), 2026-2027

Graduate course *Nuclear Security Policy* (George Washington University), 2019-2021

Graduate course *Terrorism and Security* (KIMEP University), 2006-2007

Graduate course *Cooperative Threat Reduction* (Monterey Institute of International Studies), 2008

Undergraduate course *Introduction to Political Science* (KIMEP University), 2006-2007

Undergraduate course *Introduction to International Relations* (KIMEP University), 2006-2007

PUBLICATIONS

Books/reports:

Banks and the Bomb: Understanding Proliferation Financing, co-authored with Bryan R. Early, Stanford University Press, forthcoming.

[*Atomic Steppe: How Kazakhstan Gave Up the Bomb*](#), Stanford University Press, 2022.

[*Prospects for Nuclear Governance in Brazil*](#), FGV, 2020, co-authored with Lucas Perez Florentino and Matias Spektor.

[*Brazil's Nuclear Kaleidoscope: An Evolving Identity*](#), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2014.

[*From Antagonism to Partnership: The Uneasy Path of U.S.-Russian Cooperative Threat Reduction*](#), ibidem-Verlag (Stuttgart), distributed by Columbia University Press, 2007.

[*Perspectives on the Evolving Nuclear Order*](#), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2016; co-edited with Toby Dalton and Lauryn Williams.

Book/report chapters:

[“Countering the Challenges of Proliferation Financing Challenges,”](#) co-authored with Bryan Early, Center for Policy Research, University at Albany, 2023.

“Kazakhstan’s Nuclear History: Lessons for the Future of Disarmament,” [*Verifying Disarmament in the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons*](#), UNIDIR, 2022, 51-61.

[“Brazil, Argentina, and the Politics of Global Nonproliferation and Nuclear Safeguards”](#) in Odilon Antonio Marcuzzo do Canto, ed., *O Modelo ABACC: Um Marco no Desenvolvimento das Relações Entre Brasil e Argentina* (The ABACC Model: A Milestone in the Development of the Relationship Between Brazil and Argentina), Federal University of Santa Maria, Editora UFSM, Brazil, 2016.

[“Implementing Nonproliferation Programs: The Cooperative Threat Reduction Process in the Former Soviet Union”](#) in Knopf, ed., *International Cooperation on WMD Nonproliferation*, University of Georgia Press, 2015.

[“Brazil and the Global Nuclear Order”](#) in Stuenkel and Taylor, eds., *Brazil on the Global Stage: Power, Ideas, and the Liberal International Order*, Palgrave, 2015.

[“The Rollback Countries: South Africa and Kazakhstan”](#) in *Slaying the Nuclear Dragon: Disarmament Dynamics in the Twenty-First Century*, Ogilvie-White and Santoro, eds., University of Georgia Press, 2012; co-authored with Stephen Burgess.

Articles and policy papers:

[“Kazakhstan’s Nuclear Power Conundrum,”](#) *The Diplomat*, October 1, 2024.

[“Kazakhstan’s Irreversible Disarmament,”](#) *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament*, 2024.

[“Project Sapphire: How to Keep 600 Kilograms of Kazakh Highly Enriched Uranium Safe,”](#) *War on the Rocks*, April 1, 2022.

[“How Kazakhstan Fought Back Against Soviet Nuclear Tests,”](#) Carnegie photo essay, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 14, 2022.

[“Proliferation Financing: Revised FATF Recommendations and Challenges on the Ground,”](#) *ACAMS Today*, December 2021-February 2022.

[“2020 U.N. North Korea Panel of Experts Report: Takeaways for Financial Institutions,”](#) *ACAMS Today*, web edition, May 18, 2020.

[“Proliferation Financing: What Financial Institutions Should Know and What They Can Do,”](#) *ACAMS Today*, September-November 2019.

[“2019 U.N. North Korea Panel of Experts Report: Takeaways for Financial Institutions,”](#) *ACAMS Today*, web edition, March 27, 2019.

[“Challenges with Implementing Proliferation Financing Controls: How Export Controls Can Help,”](#) *World ECR*, May 2018.

[“Nuclear Safeguards in Brazil and Argentina: 25 Years of ABACC,”](#) American Institute of Physics, AIP Conference Proceedings 1898, 040004, 2017.

[“External Perceptions of Brazil’s Nuclear Policy: Views from Argentina and the United States,”](#) *Nonproliferation Review*, Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, 2017.

[“Banning Nuclear Testing: Lessons from the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Testing Site,”](#) *Nonproliferation Review*, Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, 2016.

[“Don’t Ignore the Threat of Nuclear Terrorism,”](#) *National Interest*, March 2016.

[“Turbulent Times for Brazil’s Nuclear Projects,”](#) Carnegie article, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 2015.

[“Where Would Marina Silva Take Brazil’s Nuclear Policy?”](#) Carnegie article, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 2014.

[“Kazakhstan and the Global Nuclear Order,”](#) *Central Asian Affairs*, Brill, 2014.

[“Iran Nuclear Talks in Kazakhstan: Remember When Diplomacy Worked,”](#) Carnegie article, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013.

[“A Regional Approach to WMD Nonproliferation in the Asia-Pacific,”](#) Carnegie Policy Outlook, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012.

[“Global Nonproliferation and the Taiwan Dilemma,”](#) *Global Asia*, 2012.

[“Preventing WMD Proliferation: Myths and Realities of Strategic Trade Controls,”](#) Carnegie Policy Outlook, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012.

[“Radiological Materials and the Nuclear Security Summit,”](#) *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 2011.

[“Celebrating 20 Years of Nunn-Lugar, With Questions About the Future,”](#) Carnegie Proliferation Analysis, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011; co-authored with Toby Dalton.

[“A Black Hole in the Global Nonproliferation Regime: The Case of Taiwan,”](#) NAPSNet, Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainability, 2011.

[“Semipalatinsk: From Nuclear Testing Site to Test Ban Treaty Support,”](#) Carnegie Commentary, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011.

[“1540 in Practice: Challenges and Opportunities for Southeast Asia,”](#) Stanley Foundation Policy Analysis Brief, 2011.

“Global Trends and Developments in Strategic Trade Controls,” *Focus*, Korean Strategic Trade Institute (KOSTI), Ministry of Knowledge Economy of the Republic of Korea, Volume 3, 2010, pp. 36-44, in Korean; co-authored with Jay Nash.

[“Uranium Production and Nuclear Energy in Central Asia: Assessment of Security Challenges and Risks,”](#) *The China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, Central Asia-Caucasus & Silk Road Studies Program, Volume 8, 2010, pp. 221-241.

[“Strategic Trade Controls in Taiwan,”](#) *Nonproliferation Review*, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 2010, pp. 379-401.

[“The Lasting Toll of Semipalatinsk Nuclear Testing,”](#) *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, 2009.

[“Kazakhstan’s Nuclear Renaissance,”](#) *St. Antony’s International Relations Review (STAIR)*, St. Antony’s College at Oxford University, Volume 4, Number 2, 2009, pp. 51-74.

[“Japan and Kazakhstan: Nuclear Energy Cooperation,”](#) Nuclear Threat Initiative, 2009; co-authored with Masako Toki.

[“The Struggle for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Central Asia,”](#) *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, 2008.

[“Central Asia Becomes a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone,”](#) CNS Feature Story, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, 2008; co-authored with William Potter and Anya Loukianova.

[“Central Asia: Regional and WMD Proliferation Threats,”](#) *Central Asia Affairs*, Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies, Number 1, 2008, pp. 5-11 (re-printed).

[“Cooperative Threat Reduction and Pakistan,”](#) Nuclear Threat Initiative, 2008; co-authored with Sharad Joshi.

[“Biological Threat Reduction in Central Asia,”](#) *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 2008.

[“Kazakhstan’s Nuclear Ambitions,”](#) *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 2008.

[“Central Asia: Regional Security and WMD Proliferation Threats,”](#) *Disarmament Forum*, United Nations, Number 4, 2007, pp. 13-23.

[“WMD Threats in Central Asia,”](#) *Nonproliferation Review*, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 2004, pp. 170-192.