

**Ways to influence nuclear disarmament in Russia**  
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**NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AS DISEASE.**

I am not only parliamentarian, but at the same time –physician and scientist. Because of specificity of my first profession let us try to analyze nuclear arms races as the humankind illness, which have all chances to become epidemic or even pandemic in nearest future.

Usually illness has symptoms (syndrome), causes and driving mechanisms (pathogenesis). If we are correct in diagnosis we can stop disease or at least minimize its harmful effects. In any case it will become chronic and circulus vitiosus will continue.

Symptoms (or syndrome) is very well known. Military (and nuclear technologies) spending in the World increased more than 50% since end of Cold War (1 400 Bln US\$- 2007), almost all international nuclear treaties are under revision or dead, nuclear weapon Club is growing and number of warheads increasing (except USA and Russia), new type of NW are designing, new missile defense facilities are under construction, no-first use principles and negative assurance were canceled by major nuclear countries and new nuclear doctrines are more offensive than during Cold War era .

So we are facing bad progress on World's **nuclear weapons fever, which is becoming more and more contagious**. What are the causes (infectious agents)?

First is attempt (in the frame of globalization) to create universal (unipolar) **New World order**, comfortable for one or small group of countries. Other countries must follow this order in any case they can be punished.

Second is using a military force (without UN permission) to resolve political and economical problems of one or small group of countries: struggle for energy, “democracy”, “human rights”, against possible !!! developing or possession of WMD etc.).

Expanding only one remained military block (NATO) far outside its mandate, and attempt to make it substitution for UN (Iraq, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan etc.) .

Double standards main World Powers are using in all spheres of politics and economics, dividing countries for saint (wisdom) and evil (crazy) who may or may not possess the nuclear technologies.

So, the main driving force to obtain NW for most of the countries is lack of credibility, understanding and trust to main powers and because of that they are creating mechanisms to defend themselves or have WMD as guarantee not to be invaded or be equal partner for this small nuclear group.

The main difficulty is that population of these countries usually are supporting this position and Parliamentarians must follow their electorate to be elected. We all are not only citizens of the World, but at the same time are patriotic citizen of our own country. Because now we are minority group in Parliaments and it is not surprising, that PNND unites few parliamentarians from major nuclear countries.

What are the possible remedies to treat such dangerous disease, which can destroy humankind? What can do Parliamentarians to diminish or exclude possibility of Nuclear War?

First – to establish climate of credibility between parliamentarians of different countries, involving more actively in the process “nuclear” parliamentarians.

Second – start program of education not only people, but decision makers in main nuclear countries. We can propose to have such a round table discussion in Russian Parliament next year.

Third – support antinuclear NGO's by all means and support Nuclear Weapon Convention, which can be the International Treaty as Chemical and Biological weapons Conventions.

Forth – support Hoover initiative as summary of proposals of different NGO's.

**NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT PROCESS IN RUSSIA.**

The nuclear disarmament process in Russia has always inseparably correlated with global disarmament processes. At the same time it has always been a little bit ahead. It must be mentioned unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests in 1985, removing NW from former Soviet republics, closing of military (with NW component) bases in several countries (Cuba, Vietnam, Georgia etc.) and evacuation of military contingents from former Warsaw pact countries and others.

With the breakthrough in the late 80s, with the breakdown of the Berlin Wall and Iron Curtain a number of breathtaking disarmament agreements including START-2 and CTBT were agreed and adopted. In the early 90s the vast majority of the world public believed that nuclear weapons had become an obsolete rudiment of the Cold War era. Proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev **abolition of nuclear weapons by the year of 2000** seemed neither super-optimistic nor unreachable.

Unfortunately these expectations didn't come true. Despite the global euphoria of the early 90s, the entrance into the 3d millennium marked neither the ultimate abolition of nuclear weapons nor any radical cuts in nuclear arsenals of major nuclear states. Moreover, the situation did become much more complicated and alarming with the withdrawal of the United States from the **Missile Defense Treaty**, which in its turn destroyed the **START-2 treaty**.

The only disarmament treaty that was reached was the **Moscow Treaty on Reduction of Offensive Potentials** which, in fact did not and does not ensure any effective cuts in strategic potentials as, unlike START treaties, it doesn't

presuppose any destruction of carriers. It doesn't presuppose any real destruction of nuclear warheads, which with no violation of the treaty can be simply set apart and stored on shelves. Also, unlike START treaties, it doesn't presuppose any verification mechanisms. To cut a long story short, the **Moscow Treaty proves to be a mere step-back as compared to START processes.**

We cannot say that it was Russia's fault. I hope we all remember how difficult it was at that time to bring US to sign at least something that would be legally binding. The obvious drawbacks of the treaty were not due to Russia's position, but completely due to that of the US.

Speaking about the present-day situation, we cannot say at all that now we live in a world that is safer than 25 years ago. There are no longer any **NO First Use doctrines**. Major nuclear states reserve in their doctrines **the right of nuclear weapons' use even against a non-nuclear attack or a non-nuclear state**. The new generations of nuclear weapons – the so-called small nukes are being developed. The US reserves the right to use them in its war with terrorism. Hence, nowadays **the use of nuclear weapons become much more real** and feasible than it used to be in bipolar world quarter of a century ago.

### **NEW CHALLENGES AND THREATS**

15 years expectations, that the end of Cold War will diminish arms race did not come into reality. To the contrary – Military budgets even increased more than for 45% up to 1 400 Bln US\$ in 2007 (USA -700 and 25 Bln for Nuclear Weapons; Russia- 45 and 2,5 Bln for Nuclear Weapons). Trade of weapons was increased to. However new challenges and threats to global security have risen, like the **WMD proliferation** and the prospect of their **acquisition by terrorist groups** – a thing unheard of during the Cold War era. Nowadays, with weakening non-proliferation regime this nightmare prospect becomes real.

To a considerable extent it is the fault of major nuclear states that failed **to fulfill their obligations under the NPT treaty** to ensure the abolition of their nuclear arsenals. They failed even to define a time frame for this process leaving non-nuclear countries strongly convinced that the major nuclear states would **preserve the present status quo i.e. their possession of nuclear weapons for an indefinite time**, denying other states to obtain their own nuclear weapons. Along with that, non-nuclear states are not provided with comprehensive **international guarantees of their sovereignty and security**. This situation raises a very strong concern, as it undermines the non-proliferation regime and stipulates other states **to develop their own WMD**.

Instead of consolidation of efforts against current global security threats by world's leading countries, we see consistent counterproductive process of constructing **new dividing barriers** in Europe and globally. Such barriers are created by the **unnecessary NATO expansion** to the east and the **deployment of US National Missile Defense in Eastern Europe**.

### **NATO enlargement**

NATO, a relict military alliance of the Cold War era has dramatically enlarged since the end of the Cold War. Despite the proclaimed new challenges and tasks, **not a single article in the North Atlantic Treaty has changed**. The same for the NATO nuclear policy. NATO failed to prevent armed conflicts in Europe and elsewhere. Nor does it seem able to effectively counteract terrorist threats. At the same time, by including new members NATO is **proliferating, in fact, its nuclear weapons and nuclear infrastructure onto the territories of its new members**. By doing this it weakens the safety of WMD and makes it **more accessible for terrorist groups**.

### **Missile Defence**

#### **Threat level and strategic interests**

It is generally agreed that there is no current **threat that would justify building a missile defence in Europe**, only a potential future threat from Iran is driving the issue. The question is who the real enemy is here. In the current round of missile defence plans, is Iran a decoy for a system that is "really about" Russia?" Not that the US has anything to fear militarily from Russia or China. This is about the competition for future markets, free trade routes and raw materials. The Caspian region in its resources, oil and mineral gas transportation lines/routes – aren't they the real apple of discord and cause for competition? With missile defence, the US creates a **further component for its declared strategy of world dominance in all spheres: land, sea, air and space**.

Even if the present reaction from Russia to the plans of deploying US NMD in Europe may be perceived as exaggerated, there is a very real and present danger contained in the European missile defence plans: **that of the first-strike option**. US National Missile defence though claimed as global will remain an indispensable segment of the US strategic forces under US command and does clearly have an **offensive and not purely defensive nature**. Russia believes that the 10 interceptors and a guiding them radar in Eastern Europe are just a beginning of a much more global plan, which **eventually falls into the paradigm of the US strategy of world dominance**. One day the idea of successful pre-emptive strike with no risk of receiving an adequate response may become a too strong temptation.

### **New arms race underway**

The fears of a new arms race **are not unjustified**. The arms race is already underway and began with the US withdrawal from the ABM treaty. Let's look at the consequences of that step, which the US had to take in order to develop its missile defence. It happened at a time that, although the Cold War was over, nuclear rivalry between the US and Russia had by no means ended, both still having large arsenals, some of which was being kept on high alert. Their capabilities clearly are aimed at each other and not at "rogue states" or to defend against uncertainties of the future.

### **NPT Article VI obligation broken**

Article VI of the NPT obliges the nuclear weapons states to **cease arms racing** on the one hand, but also **to commit to total nuclear disarmament** and negotiate a treaty to regulate that disarmament on the other (the opinion of the International Court of Justice makes this interpretation clear). But while attempting to persuade Russia that **missile defence was not directed at them**, the USA put forward the proposal that Russia **should indefinitely retain an arsenal of a minimum of 1500 large nuclear weapons, on constant alert, in order to overcome the US missile defence system**. In other words, once missile defence is in place, the strategic balance can only be maintained if **Russia breaks its obligation** to Article VI. It only remains to be said that the NPT is dead.

#### **To summarize, the missile defence is forcibly deployed to:**

**Counter a currently non-existing threat with a low-reliability yet in the process of testing raw missile defence system in the countries where public opinion overwhelmingly opposes the deployment.**

#### **Meanwhile the MD deployment clearly leads to:**

1. Raising the incentive to test and to develop new weapons,
2. Increasing the need to continue the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons,
3. Killing the START process and endangering other arms controls treaties, NPT in first place.
4. Bringing the arms race into outer space (with deployment of MD segments there)
5. Creating a real first-strike option for the US and raising the temptation to use it
6. Creating the necessity to retain a large arsenal of nuclear weapons on high alert to maintain a strategic balance
7. Creating dividing lines in Europe and placing European unity (between "new" and "old" European states) as well as putting NATO unity at stake

### **NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT ADVOCACY IN RUSSIA**

It needs hardly to be said that in the present-day realities it **is not at all easy to lobby disarmament issues in Russia**. No political party or movement in the nowadays Russian political environment holds nuclear disarmament issues on their agenda. There are only small group -6 IPPNW members which advocate this issue. Main difficulty for antinuclear activity in the Russian Parliament- no one is expressing feelings to abolish immediately NW, because it believes not to be patriotic. Among symbols of superpower state only few remained and people will do not understand, why we shall drop one of them.

What makes things worse is that quite a considerable part of the Russian **general public shares such conservative outlooks**. Historical memory of different aggressions against Russia is viable. There is a strong public belief that Russia has already made too many unilateral steps in nuclear disarmament, but does not see any adequate follow-up on the US side. On the contrary, the NATO enlargement to the Russian borders, US NMD deployment in Eastern Europe or even in the Baltic states, Iraq and Yugoslavia wars, US development of small nukes, construction of new NATO or/and US bases and NMD in Central and Southern Europe (e.g. in Bulgaria and Kosovo) provide brilliant trump cards to the pro-nuclear advocates. In reacting to the US nuclear policies, conservative circles in the RF Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Presidential Administration and the State Duma hold a much greater influence than a decade ago.

In these circumstances it is **unrealistic to account on any unilateral cuts of the Russian arsenals** of strategic or tactical nuclear weapons. Russia's principle view on disarmament issues is based on a multilateral approach, otherwise it will negatively affect the regional and global stability.

**A positive sign** is the so-called Hoover Initiative proposed by former "hawks" George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger, and Sam Nunn in the article "**A World Free of Nuclear Weapons**". The authors call for a solid consensus for reversing reliance on nuclear weapons globally as a vital contribution to preventing their proliferation into potentially dangerous hands. Although admitting nuclear weapons' deterrence role, they believe that reliance on nuclear weapons for this purpose is becoming increasingly hazardous and decreasingly effective.

They propose urgent steps that would lay the groundwork for a world free of the nuclear threat.

- Changing the Cold War posture of deployed nuclear weapons to increase warning time and thereby reduce the danger of an accidental or unauthorized use of a nuclear weapon.
- Continuing to reduce substantially the size of nuclear forces in all states that possess them.
- Eliminating short-range nuclear weapons designed to be forward-deployed.

- Initiating a bipartisan process with the Senate, including understandings to increase confidence and provide for periodic review, to achieve ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, taking advantage of recent technical advances, and working to secure ratification by other key states.
  - Providing the highest possible standards of security for all stocks of weapons, weapons-usable plutonium, and highly enriched uranium everywhere in the world.
  - Getting control of the uranium enrichment process, combined with the guarantee that uranium for nuclear power reactors could be obtained at a reasonable price, first from the Nuclear Suppliers Group and then from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) or other controlled international reserves. It will also be necessary to deal with proliferation issues presented by spent fuel from reactors producing electricity.
  - Halting the production of fissile material for weapons globally; phasing out the use of highly enriched uranium in civil commerce and removing weapons-usable uranium from research facilities around the world and rendering the materials safe.
  - Redoubling our efforts to resolve regional confrontations and conflicts that give rise to new nuclear powers.
- We have information, that Russian MoFA has basically welcomed this initiative although believes that some of the steps need further evaluation and elaboration.

(i) Now it is a unique chance **to pull the nuclear disarmament out of stagnation, to stop further nuclear arms development, to prevent the outer space from the nuclear arms race.** A lot needs to be done to build political will and public opinion in favor of nuclear disarmament. Throughout its history IPPNW and its affiliates have educated decision-makers and general public, organized citizens in the nuclear states to protest and change their governments' policies.

#### **ACTIVITIES ON PARLIAMENTARY/GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL**

At the present there are 6 deputies of the RF State Duma who are members of IPPNW. IPPNW-Russia strongly supported and made a lot of lobbying for ratification by the Russian State Duma of major treaties in WMD sphere - **CTBT, START-2, ABM –treaty, Treaty on the Reduction of the Strategic Offensive Potentials.** Active work has been done in the field of conventional weapons, namely for the ratification of the Protocol 2 to the Convention on Conventional Weapons. IPPNW-Russia is now strongly facilitating the ratification of Protocol 5 to CCW on explosive remnants of war.

In spring 2006, due to its active position, IPPNW-Russia along with a number of other public organizations was invited by the RF Ministry of Foreign Affairs to become part of **Public Advisory Board under the auspices of MoFA.**

Since then to the present IPPNW-Russia leadership along with other members of the Public Advisory Board - representatives of most prominent in arms control and disarmament issues NGOs – have participated in a number of round-table discussion with the top-level officials in arms control and disarmament issues of the RF MoFA discussing various aspects of the Russian nuclear policies, non-proliferation and NMD in Europe issues. IPPNW-Russia along with other NGOs, apart of supporting new Russia's initiatives aimed at preventing arms race in the outer space, stressed the necessity of Russia's immediate resuming of disarmament negotiations with the US on strategic and tactical nuclear weapons to pull the global disarmament process out of stagnation. IPPNW-Russia also informed the MoFA about IPPNW's **ICAN campaign** aimed at the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons worldwide.

#### **Dialogue with Decision-makers**

One of the most effective programs of IPPNW (IPPNW-Russia) is the **Dialogue with Decision-makers (DWD).** These Dialogue Seminars and Meetings initiated by IPPNW in 1997 have taken place since then on an annual basis in the capitals of nuclear states such as **Moscow, Washington, Paris, London, Beijing, Delhi and Islamabad,** as well as in **Brussels** with high-level representatives of **NATO, European Commission and European Parliament.** The task of these meetings is to develop and strengthen a constructive dialogue between the decision-makers in nuclear issues (parliamentarians, nuclear physicists, governmental officials, and military establishment among other) and non-governmental organizations consistently calling for a constant step-by-step reduction of nuclear weapons and their final abolition.

Speaking about the most recent DWD meetings, in Autumn 2007 a series of such meetings took place in the **RF MoFA, British Parliament and Foreign Office in London, at NATO headquarters, EC, EU in Brussels.** A wide spectrum of disarmament and arms control issues, including the most sensitive ones like **Iranian nuclear program, Missile Defense deployment, Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe, nuclear disarmament prospects** were most openly discussed.

In March 2008 the 18<sup>th</sup> IPPNW World Congress took place in Delhi, India. **President of India Smt. Pratibha Devisingh Patil** received the IPPNW delegation and **Vice President of India Shri Mohd. Hamid Ansari** took part in the inauguration of the Congress. We were very pleased to see a high-level official representation from Indian side at the Congress and appraise a tremendous hospitality and contribution in organizing the Congress events.

IPPNW launched the **International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons — ICAN —** following our 17th World Congress in Helsinki. The focal point of the campaign — a Nuclear Weapons Convention — is the means by which abolition will be achieved and enforced under international law. We urge the nuclear weapon states, particularly

the United States, whose leadership is essential, to commence negotiations on a Nuclear Weapons Convention without further delay. IPPNW has urged all three candidates for President of the US to pledge to convene negotiations on a Nuclear Weapons Convention. Across the political spectrum, even within the nuclear weapon states themselves, nuclear abolition is being openly discussed as desirable, practical, and absolutely necessary if humanity is to survive the 21st century.

*“Unless we are moving steadily toward nuclear disarmament, I’m afraid that the alternative is that we’ll have scores of countries with nuclear weapons and that’s an absolute recipe for self-destruction.”*

—Mohamed ElBaradei, Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency, September 30, 2003

*“As long as any state has nuclear weapons, others will want them....As long as any such weapons remain, there is a risk that they will one day be used, by design or accident...And any such use would be catastrophic.”*

—Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission June 1, 2006

In 2008 and 2009, ICAN activists will make the case that, along with global warming, nuclear war is the greatest preventable danger facing humankind. IPPNW will promote the Nuclear Weapons Convention both inside and outside the UN, and will focus on specific medical issues, including the climate effects of regional nuclear war (“nuclear famine”), the use of highly enriched uranium (HEU) in radiopharmaceutical production, and the health impacts of an expanding uranium mining industry.

IPPNW successfully launched ICAN at the Non-Proliferation Treaty Preparatory Committee conference in Vienna, and at national launch events in Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, India, Norway, Sweden, the UK, and other affiliate countries. ICAN’s global partners, in addition to IPPNW’s network of more than 60 national affiliates, include the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in the UK, Mayors for Peace, the Abolition 2000 network of disarmament NGOs, the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, the Nobel Women’s Initiative, Mouvement de la Paix, and the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA). IPPNW’s abolition goals have also been reinforced by participation in the Middle Powers Initiative (MPI), and in a coalition of international lawyers and peace activists seeking a new advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice.

### **SOME FACTS ABOUT IPPNW**

IPPNW is the only international medical organization dedicated to preventing nuclear war and abolishing nuclear weapons. We recognize that the catastrophic health and environmental consequences of a nuclear war are at the extreme end of a continuum of armed violence that undermines health and security. IPPNW is committed to ending war and advancing understanding of the causes of armed conflict from a public health perspective. IPPNW is a non-partisan federation of national medical organizations in 62 countries, representing tens of thousands of doctors, medical students, other health workers, and concerned citizens who share the common goal of creating a more peaceful and secure world freed from the threat of nuclear annihilation.

#### **IPPNW History**

**Founded in 1980, IPPNW was an inspiration born of the Cold War.** Led by co-founders Drs. Bernard Lown of the US and Evgueni Chazov of the Soviet Union, IPPNW educated health professionals, political leaders, and the public about the medical and environmental consequences of nuclear warfare. For this effort, which united physicians across the Cold War divide, IPPNW was awarded the UNESCO Peace Education Prize in 1984 and the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985. Throughout the 1980s and the 1990s, IPPNW comprehensively documented the health and environmental effects of the production, testing, and use of nuclear weapons. In a series of well-researched, authoritative books and numerous articles and op-ed pieces in medical journals and the popular press, IPPNW spelled out the tremendous price nuclear weapons states are paying in their pursuit of nuclear weaponry.

#### **IPPNW’s highest priority programs and campaigns are:**

- International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) with the focus on Nuclear Weapons Convention
- Aiming for Prevention, encompassing our campaign to reduce and prevent injuries and deaths from small-arms violence
- Peace through Health / Medical Student Development

IPPNW-Russia efforts comprise the following main components:

- (ii) accumulation and systematization of data, shaping of strategy and defining tactical steps;
- (iii) building an organizational basis/infrastructure and developing networking with active IPPNW affiliates, activists and NGOs in the region;
- (iv) forming a group of experts on the nuclear issues, ensuring high-level standards of publications;
- (v) building public opinion, including media work; and
- (vi) building political will on both the governmental and parliamentary levels.