RUSSIA
*Published in Izvestia Daily, October 14 2010.*

**Moving from Nuclear Deterrence to Mutual Security**

The time has come to move toward a new stage of disarmament and realize the principal of multilateral actions that will become an important step toward forming a new world order for the 21st century.

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The year of 2010 has witnessed important events related to nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation with positive effects on the world security strengthening.

The presidents of Russia and the U.S.A. signed the new Strategic Nuclear Forces Treaty in Prague. If it is ratified, strategic relations between the two nuclear powers will become more invariable, transparent and predictable.

The multilateral nuclear security summit in Washington took a decision on better safety of radioactive sources.

The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons successfully adopted the Final document on strengthening of the Treaty, its conditions and institutions.

All these steps are undoubtedly useful. But so far they do not affect strategic nuclear ideology - mutual nuclear deterrence. Meanwhile, nuclear deterrence is paradoxical since it mostly refers to the threats of the last century, while a possibility of a massive armed conflict between the superpowers and their allies under present-day conditions of globalization and multipolarity is close to zero.

Moreover, nuclear deterrence is forceless against the threats of the 21st century such as weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and its carriers' proliferation, international terrorism, ethnic and religious conflicts, cross-border criminality, etc.

Which is even worse, sometimes nuclear deterrence spurs on WMD and missile technologies' proliferation or hampers deeper cooperation between the superpowers in dealing with such threats (joint antimissile systems development.)

Nuclear deterrence should not hamper cooperation among the key world players. Therefore it is necessary to negotiate lower armament levels basing on minimal sufficiency principle,
strengthen strategic stability in the context of equal and indivisible security for all, eliminate a possibility of the first nuclear strike or missile launch due to engineering failure or misjudgment of the other party's intentions or time shortage for decision-making by political leaders. The new SNF Treaty meets these objectives, but a lot should be done in this field.

The next phase of nuclear disarmament cannot be exclusively bilateral. Limitations and confidence-building measures towards third nuclear powers will be needed. Unlike the U.S.A., Russia's geostrategic position places the country within the striking distance for all nuclear nations, which have to be taken into account in the course of further nuclear disarmament.

The nuclear deterrence concept has become an absolute obstacle on the long and challenging way to universal nuclear disarmament. It is a known fact that in the U.S.A., Russia and other countries there are both advocates and adversaries of nuclear disarmament. Some of them just fail to shake off the Cold War ideological stereotypes. But there are many people who speak out rather definite and grounded worries in connection with this process. Such reasons cannot be just waved away; they should be most seriously taken into account in order to continuously remove actually existing obstacles on the way to further and deeper nuclear arms reduction.

In Russia many people still think that the country's nuclear strength is the principal feature of its superpower status, and if the nation abandons it, the U.S.A. and other countries will not reckon with Russia's foreign policy interests.

We are convinced that Russia's status in the world will be mostly supported by its economy modernization, living standards growth, its citizens' socio-political rights, freedoms and culture development. But since a threat of force projection is still applied in international relations, Russia has to maintain sufficient defense strength, including nuclear arms, to protect itself and its allies and defend its lawful interests.

Thus, the way to nuclear disarmament is paved through growing confidence among states and strengthening of international security and stability. The administration of President Barack Obama proclaimed a policy of multilateral approach to international security, strengthening its legal rules and efficient institutions, priority of democracy at disputes settlement and equal cooperation with Russia. It is important that these principles are implemented in practical foreign policy of the U.S.A. and its allies.

This equally refers to missile defense, conventional weapons and non-nuclear carriers, as well as outer space militarization. More far-reaching confidence-building measures will be required in the field of arms control in the nearest future.

Pondering over the long-term perspective we have come to the conclusion that the world without nuclear weapons is not simply the present-day world minus nuclear weapons. We need an international system mainly built upon other principles and institutions. The world free of nuclear weapons should not become the world free for wars by other WMD, conventional armed forces, the latest non-nuclear arms and systems built on new physical principles.
Not only great wars, but also local conflicts are in question. In fact, smaller countries now envisage nuclear arms as a means of neutralization of leading nations' tremendous superiority in conventional weapons. This is exactly one of the nuclear proliferation drives on the regional level that brings forth the threat of nuclear terrorism. Elimination of such threats requires new dependable instruments for peaceful settlement of local international and trans-border conflicts.

That is why implementation of nuclear disarmament idea - that should remain a strategic objective - will be possible only in the context of deep reorganization of entire international system. This will obviously facilitate handling of other key problems of the 21st century related to global economy and finance, energy supply, ecology, climate, demographics, epidemics, cross-border criminality, religious and ethnical extremism.

In such context nuclear arms are rather not an end in itself but one of the principal directions, precondition and a way to reorganize international life on more civilized basis, in literal sense of this meaning and in accordance with the imperatives of our century.