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Modern Arms Control Problems

- Tactical nuclear weapons
- Strategic non-nuclear weapons
- Unmanned Aerial Vehicles
- Militarization of outer space
- Conventional arms control
Tactical Nuclear Weapons

- **Tactical Nuclear Weapons** include all nuclear weapons except for strategic nuclear warheads for ICBMs and SLBMs and nuclear bombs and ALCMs for strategic bombers as defined by new START Treaty; as well as nuclear weapons that have been retired from stockpile, are no longer functional and are in the queue for dismantlement.

- According to rough estimate, the number of operationally deployed Russian tactical nuclear weapons is **2-3 times** larger comparing to the USA.

- **How many?**
  - Russia – around **2000** (cruise missiles of various ranges, gravity bombs, torpedoes, and mines)
  - United States – **690** (100 SLCM Tomahawk, 190 warheads for the SLCM Tomahawk W-80-0 in warehouses, 400 W-61 gravity bombs, and out of these 200 are in Europe: Belgium, Italy, Netherlands, Turkey, and Germany)
Modern Agenda

- Measures to ensure transparency
  - More openness with respect to weapon stockpiles and warheads awaiting disposal
  - Separation of warheads and delivery vehicles
  - Security measures enhancing
  - Reaching a non-increase commitment
- Inclusion of tactical nuclear weapons in the new nuclear arms reductions treaty
Strategic Non-Nuclear Weapons

- Prompt Global Strike – United States military effort to develop a system that can deliver a precision conventional weapon strike anywhere in the world within one hour

- Lower level of responsibility for the use of such weapons, when compared with nuclear weapons, with comparable effect

- The problem of warheads identifying (the Russian early warning system cannot detect what kind of warhead the missile is equipped with)

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Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

- Currently there are around 3200 UAV sites with 10200 drones.

- The most advanced programs for drone development are in the US, Israel, France, Germany, the UK, and China.

Israel is the biggest exporter of UAVs. On the photo – Israeli medium-weight reconnaissance drone Searcher Mk. II, several of which were purchased by Russia in 2009.

- American heavy drone MQ Predator – the most numerous UAV of its class in the world.

- The current priority of UAV development is the creation of attack drones.

- Another promising area is super small reconnaissance drones.

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Russian Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

Heavy UAV «Dozor-600»

Test of the T-4 tactical drone in the Iskatel’ intelligence complex

Orlan-10

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American UAVs

- Heavy drone MQ-1 Predator
- The smallest UAV in the world (33 см) – American WASP
- Tactical drone RQ-8A Scout
- Bombardier CL-327 VTOL
- RQ-2B Pioneer
- Scan Eagle

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There are **125 countries** involved in space activity.

**20 of them** are the most active ones.

**780 devices** are located in the outer space.

**USA** – 425, **Russia** – 102, **China** – 22

**450 more devices** are supposed to be launched to the year 2015.

**40%** of them – for military purposes.

<table>
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<th>Country</th>
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Number of satellites ran by each country in 2012

Source: “Kosmonavtika” Encyclopedia

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Military space activities not covered by international agreements

Creation and use of space systems, which are able to perform the following:

- Radio and Communications reconnaissance;
- Communications and data relay;
- Surveillance, detection, and position-revealing systems

Creation and use of space combat weapons systems

- Outer space strike systems;
- Anti-missile and anti-satellite systems;
- Electromagnetic warfare systems and electro-optical suppression systems

Laser weapons
Beam weapons
Kinetic weapons
Electromagnetic weapons

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Russia's position on confidence-building and arms control in space

Russian Initiatives

The proposal to start developing a comprehensive agreement on non-deployment of any type of weapon in outer space and on the non-use of force or threat of force against outer space objects was offered during the 56th session of the UN in 2001.

The Russian-Chinese initiative was delivered at the Conference on Disarmament (CD) in 2002. The draft of the treaty was presented to the international community at the 2008 CD

Initiative for measures of transparency and confidence building on matters of non-space

• The inter-state exchange of information about their space policy;
• The exchange of information on major programs of exploration and use of outer space
• Verification measures
• Providing notification of space activities undertaken
• Consultations and seminars

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Conventional Arms Control (CFE Treaty)

Signed in Paris on the November 19th 1990.
Entered into force on November 9th 1992.
Expiration date – indefinite
Body for consideration of CFE related issues – The Joint Consultative Group (JCG)

Goals and objectives of the CFE Treaty

Restraints on the use of force or threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state
To replace military confrontation with the new concept of the relationship in the field of security between all States Parties on the basis of peaceful cooperation
To establish a secure and stable balance of conventional armed forces in Europe at lower levels
To avoid any military conflict in Europe
To achieve greater security and stability in Europe

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Main Limits of the CFE

**Combat Aircraft**
6 800

**Attack Helicopters**
2 000

**Combat Tanks**
20 000, including 16 500 active units

**Artillery (100 mm and higher)**
20 000, including 17 000 in active units

**Armored Combat Vehicles (ACVs)**
30 000, including 27 300 in active units

Politically binding declarations in connection with the signing of the CFE Treaty (BUT! outside its scope)

- States parties have agreed **not to increase the number of troops in their conventional armed forces** in Europe during subsequent negotiations.
- Participants agreed to limit naval aircraft to 430 units for the group of States Parties and 400 units - for one Member State.

*Germany (considering obligations to the unification of Germany) announced the restriction of the Bundeswehr to the level of 370,000 people, including 345,000 people in the Army and Air Force.*

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Flank Agreement 1996

The first Review Conference of the CFE Treaty in Vienna (May 1996)

Factors Affecting the Agreement

Raising the significance of the North Caucasian Military District (North Caucasus Military District)
Until the early 90's North Caucasus Military District was seen as the rear, and was allocated a minimal number of weapons. After the collapse of the USSR, the situation in the area became extremely tense, requiring increased Russian military presence in the interests of domestic and regional security.

Inadequate levels of weapons for the safety of a geopolitically significant region
After the distribution of the Soviet quota for the armaments, limited by the treaty (TLE) between the successor states of the USSR Russia acquired the right to keep on its flanks no more than 1,300 tanks (including in active units - 700), 1,380 armored combat vehicles (580), 1,680 artillery systems (1280).

Serious complications of economic and social plans related to the withdrawal of troops from the territories of other States.
Favorable conditions for the deployment of these forces existed in the North Caucasian Military District and in the southern part of the Leningrad Military District.

The agreement assumed:
Reducing the size of the Russian part of the flank area and refining levels of armaments really increased Russia's ability to satisfy TLE requirements in the old flank area after May 31, 1999.

New levels:
1,897 Tanks; 4,397 AFVs; 2,422 artillery systems

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CFE Adaptation of 1999

**Zone-group basis** on the basis of membership in military alliances of the Cold War

System of national (for all categories of TLE) and territorial ceilings (for ground forces) for each member state

**Decrease of national ceilings of TLE in the 19 NATO states**
4,800 tanks, 4,000 armored vehicles and more than 4,000 artillery pieces (~ 10 divisions mobilized NATO standard)

**Information Exchange and Verification** allow fast identification of significant cross-border transfers of armored vehicles and artillery (from the battalion level) and its concentration in excess of territorial restrictions (from the brigade-level)

**Lower territorial ceilings** for Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia

**Triple reduction applied to the temporary excess of the territorial ceilings of the NATO countries**

**Open character of the CFE Treaty** (any state can join it, first of all new NATO members)

**NATO countries provided the political guarantees of military restraint**

**Restrictions** for ground TLE deployment, **limitations** for the TLE limit spillovers between countries, **neutralization of the threat** of creating the potential for large-scale offensive operations

**Strengthening the security of each member state, regardless of affiliation to military-political alliances**

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The Russian TLE excluded from the flank limitations on the territories of Armenia, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, as well as in the Astrakhan, Volgograd and Pskov regions, the eastern part of the Rostov region and the repair plant in the village of the Kushchevskaya, Krasnodar region.

Flank arrangement for Russia in the Adapted CFE Treaty

- Parties shall have the right to exceed the territorial limit of conventional weapons for temporary deployments, to no more than 153 tanks, 241 armored combat vehicles and 140 artillery pieces.

The number of armoured combat vehicles used in peacetime internal security is not limited.

1380 AFVs → 2140 AFVs

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Joint statement by Russia and Georgia on 17 November 1999 on Russian military bases in Georgia and TLE

By the end of 2000, Russia will:

• Undertake to reduce the levels of its TLE (in Georgia) - they will not exceed 153 tanks, 241 armored vehicles and 140 artillery pieces;
• Withdraw (dispose of) TLE located at the Russian military bases at Vaziani and Gudauta and repair facilities in Tbilisi

By June 1st:

• Russian troops will be withdrawn from the bases at Gudauta and Vaziani;
• Russia and Georgia will determine the possibility of the use (including joint use) of those locations of military installations and infrastructure of the disbanded Russian military bases
• During 2000, Russia and Georgia will complete negotiations on the timing and modalities of the functioning of the Russian military bases at Batumi and Akhalkalaki and the Russian military bases in Georgia

Russia's commitment to withdraw (dispose of) Russian TLE from Moldova by the end of 2001

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The 2011 Vienna Document (VD-2011)

Agreed on November 30, 2011


The main innovation – a mechanism for regular updating of the VD-2011

Proposals that make precise textual changes in the provisions of the VD-2011

The decision is made at a meeting of the Forum for Security and Cooperation to change the provisions of the Vienna Document 2011 (“VD PLUS”). The changes take effect from the date of their adoption

VD PLUS provisions are equivalent to replacing the existing provisions of the VD-2011

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Prospects for the development of conventional arms control

Possible directions of development

1. Revival of traditional arms control in the form of a legally binding multilateral treaty (negotiating a new Treaty)

2. Serious adaptation of the Vienna Document-2011

3. Expansion of military cooperation