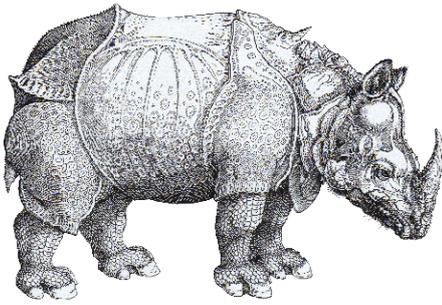


*Non multa, sed multum*



# SECURITY INDEX

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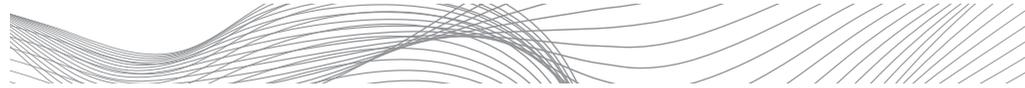
Global Edition

**Elena Karnaukhova**

## The Role of the Women in the Areas of Nuclear Nonproliferation, Disarmament and Global Security: the Case Study of Russia



MOSCOW, 2022



Editor-in-Chief: Dr. Vladimir Orlov

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Are our sex and gender so important for professional development in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament and can they become an obstacle in the XXI century? The goal of this research paper is to study the role of the Russian women in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security. The author examines in detail the career path of the Russian women in these areas, using the results of exclusive interviews and confidential surveys conducted in the summer and the fall of 2021.

This research paper is published with updates to the previous report in Russian which was published in January 2022 and available at: [www.pircenter.org/security-index/246-1470660](http://www.pircenter.org/security-index/246-1470660)

This occasional paper and other materials are available at: [www.pircenter.org/en/articles](http://www.pircenter.org/en/articles)

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## Author

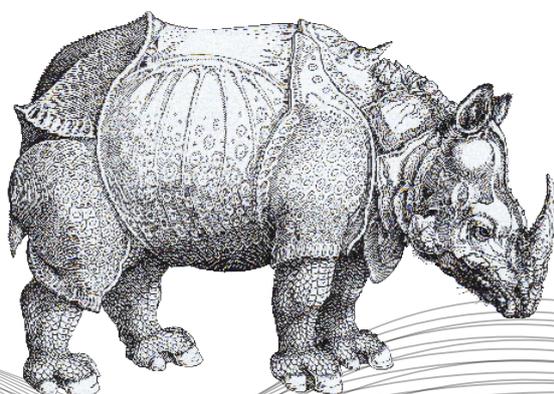
### **Elena A. KARNAUKHOVA**

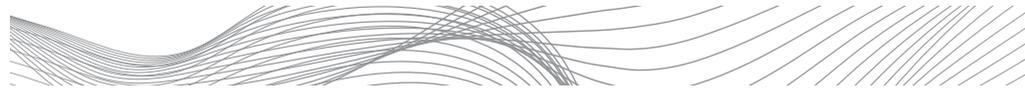
Deputy Director – Education and Training Program Director of PIR Center. Executive Secretary of the *Triologue Club International*. Executive Secretary of the PIR Center International School on Global Security. Executive Secretary of PIR Center Advisory Board. 3-year post-graduate student and the coordinator of Master’s program on International Security of the MSU School of World Politics. Holds bachelor’s and master’s honours degrees in International Relations with major in International Security from the School of World Politics of Lomonosov Moscow State University (2018, 2020). In 2015–2018 was the editor-in-chief of the student newspaper *Non Paper* of the MSU School of World Politics. Interned in State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation (2015), Russian Parliamentarian Club (2015), Ministry of Industry and Trade of the Russian Federation (2017), Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation (2016, 2018), Trade Delegation of Russia in the UK (2017, 2018), JSC Russian Export Center. In 2020–2021 worked as an Analyst, International Development, in Russian Export Center. Since 2022, she has been a member of the Gorchakov Club and the *Meeting Russia Alumni Community*.



Expertise: geopolitics in Central Asia, Arctic, new world order, theory of military-political coalitions, arms control, nuclear factor in international relations, international security and Russian foreign policy.

E-mail: [karnaukhova@pircenter.org](mailto:karnaukhova@pircenter.org)





# Contents

Highlights	5
Preface	6
Chapter 1. Does female factor in nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament areas really exist?	7
Chapter 2. Soviet era and the period of 1990s: how it became possible for women in Russia to join these fields	11
Chapter 3. Modern Russian women in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament	15
Chapter 4. So, what role do they play?	19
Conclusions	27
Appreciation	31

## Highlights

- When trying to analyze the role of Russian women in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament we usually face the lack or even the absence of gender data and gender statistics on these matters.
- Even if we find fragmentary facts ourselves, it is not clear what to do with them. It is not clear how and what indicators to consider, because life, especially the life of women, is a changeable thing, and even if a woman enters the fields of nonproliferation and disarmament there is no guarantee that she will want to and be able to remain in them. Thus, all our gender-colored conclusions have a priori conditional nature. Anyway, can we really talk about the female factor in the fields of nonproliferation and disarmament?
- All over the world, it's quite typical to consider the female factor in the spheres of nonproliferation and disarmament from a gender perspective. But in Russia gender perspective is underdeveloped. Nevertheless, there are many examples of Russian women who are engaged in the issues of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security.
- In the Russian context, the sphere of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security for many modern women is considered to be *purely men's business*, and many of them deliberately avoid this spheres, exactly if they do not build careers in the sphere of nonproliferation, disarmament and global security or are simply not interested in them *for the soul*.
- When analyzing the role of Russian women in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security we have identified a number of serious problems that hinder full-fledged career paths in these areas without regard to sexual and gender identity.



## Preface

I read Elena Karnaukhova's paper *The Role of the Women in the Areas of Nuclear Nonproliferation, Disarmament and Global Security: the Case Study of Russia* with great interest and would like to endorse it. Elena raised an important and timely topic, which, as I imagine, will raise many questions in a Western, or Western oriented audience. But I think she answered them in her paper's name.

The Russian society is more conservative and patriarchal than the Western society. One shouldn't generalize but I think that it is fair to say that most women in Russia have adopted to this reality – some out of their own passion and conviction, some just take it as a given, other feel that any efforts to change the status quo are doomed to fail. So, when we hear about gender problems we mostly think about really though issues like home violence and abuse.

Gender based discrimination in the professional field is much less on the radar here and is even sometimes looked at as a superficial problem. Not that there is no gender based discrimination in Russia – of course there is, but Russian women tend to look at it different from their Western counterparts. They think that gender focused discussions sometimes lack substance, are a bit hyped up and one sided. And Elena's paper reflects this trend very well I think.

I was one of the people she interviewed for her research and I remember her asking me if I ever faced discrimination in my professional career because I am a female journalist covering all things nuclear and cyber. My answer was “no”. I am having difficulties with work and life balance (having two small kids) but this has not really much to do with the gender aspect, I could be probably more successful if I focused exclusively on my work but having a family and caring for it is my choice.

I also remember telling Elena how offended I felt when one time I was invited to a panel and another time to a TV show and found out afterwards that it was of the female quota. This made me feel very unsure about my professional knowledge and record. I felt like I did not deserve the place I was given and have gotten it only because I have a vagina and boobs.

So, I invite everyone reading Elena's research to always remember that this paper is written from a certain perspective and it does not claim to be universal. If it raises controversies that is good: in discussing the differences we have we might also find the similarities.

Dr. Elena Chernenko,  
Special correspondent, *Kommersant Daily*

# The Role of the Women in the Areas of Nuclear Nonproliferation, Disarmament and Global Security: the Case Study of Russia

## CHAPTER 1. DOES FEMALE FACTOR IN NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION AND DISARMAMENT AREAS REALLY EXIST?

When trying to analyze the role of the Russian women in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament, and global security we usually face the lack or even the absence of gender data and gender statistics at least in the Russian dimension. Hardly can we find a unified database with integrated information about how many female students enter specialized universities; what issues within nonproliferation, disarmament, and global security they examine in their qualification papers and PhD dissertations; where they work and whether they continue to deal with those issues after graduation. It is rather more difficult to compile statistics showing how many female researchers and how many female experts in Russia meet on the problems of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament, and global security. Finally, it is most challenging to count female diplomats, military women, and female intelligence officers specialized in nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security as this data is simply classified. Hardly can we impartially answer the question why and when a Russian woman comes into these fields and why and when she leaves it. For every Russian woman it is her own story.

The paradox is that even if we found fragmentary facts ourselves, it would be not clear what to do with them and which methodology we should use to prepare such gender statistics. It is not clear how and what indicators to consider, because life, especially the life of women, is a changeable thing, and even if a woman enters the fields of nonproliferation, disarmament, and global security there is no guarantee that she will want to and be able to remain in them for the whole life. Such seemingly unnecessary reflections lead us to one important conclusion. In whatever way we wish, all our gender-colored conclusions have *a priori* conditional nature.

Can we even talk about a female factor in the spheres of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament, and global security? No matter what country we take as example. Let's turn to our general practice.

Elena Karnaukhova



Firstly, the issues of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament are extremely sensitive for national security of any state. Most of the information is classified. While national (official) secrets and cabinet diplomacy exist, we cannot confidently determine who is behind the adoption of this or that decision, who participates in the drafting of any documents and who gives the recommendations to official decision-makers.

Secondly, our surveys and interviews<sup>1</sup> result that female scientists, researchers, experts and journalists do not always know whether their intellectual contributions really influence decision-making process or become a driver of changing approaches and policies in the fields of nonproliferation, disarmament and global security.

Thirdly, if a woman works in a practical field on the issues of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament (as state servant, commercial structure or NGO staff member, etc.), most often she does express not her own personal ideas, values, and attitudes, but the organization which she currently represents. To be more precise, her ideas, initiatives and projects would be based on the general corporate interests or official mainstream of foreign policy line. In particular, this applies to the national delegations taking part in negotiations, forums, and conferences on the issues of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. Female diplomats, if they are true professionals, are focused on their objective national interests, but not their personal opinion.

Fourthly, a woman can be much tougher, aggressive, and offensive than a man, contrary to the existing gender stereotype of her soft nature and desire to promote the diplomacy of peace and trust. Moreover, in order to achieve her goals and career growth, she can change her female subjectivity and adopt the qualities of behavior and character which usually men have.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> half of XX century American anthropologist and psychoanalyst Abram Kardiner proposed the concept of basic personality structure (BPS). His main idea was that personality was formed by common experience specific to any particular group of people or society<sup>2</sup>. This experience develops such characteristics of human behavior which let him or her adapt to this culture, achieve stability and comfort within its framework. This concept could explain why women in politics sometimes get masculine attributes. For

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.

<sup>2</sup> Kardiner A. *Psychological Frontier of Society*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. – 458 p.

example, a female employee of the Ministry of Defense is more likely to talk and to behave in the same way as her military male colleagues, because they represent a specific community with common views, ideas, and ways of communication, which are different from all the people, both man and woman, not from the military-defense environment.

“International security is a very masculine sphere. Therefore, a woman who is working in the field of international security most often adopts male qualities and plays male roles. Regarding the issues of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament, it is more important to point out the following. Firstly, these fields are very elitist and there are not so many high professional experts, in general. Secondly, in modern Russia, a generation of female professionals brought up in the spirit of Russian interests has not yet grown up to promote any initiatives within nonproliferation and disarmament in Russia itself but not on foreign scale,” from an exclusive interview with Dr. Anastasia Ponamareva, Head of Department of European Security at the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences (INION), and Deputy Dean for Scientific Work at the School of World Politics of Lomonosov Moscow State University<sup>3</sup>.

Fifthly, nowadays it is quite typical to consider the female factor in the spheres of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament from a gender perspective. It is important to note that among the feminist authors studying the problems of nonproliferation and disarmament, representatives of the Western states still dominate. But in Russia gender & nonproliferation or gender & disarmament nexus has not become a kind of a well-established tradition. Gender studies in Russia first appeared in 1990s. But since this time, it has been focused on gender equality and women empowerment regarding political and economic human rights.



Anastasia Ponamareva

Source: [www.fmp.msu.ru](http://www.fmp.msu.ru)

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.



“Gender Studies as a research field is very closely connected with Conflict Studies. That is why gender issues are so popular in both developed and developing countries. For the latter soft security, human security, phenomena of war and peace are extremely acute today, whether it is protection from violence against women or women’s participation in disarmament, reintegration and demobilization. Gender approaches have also affected nonproliferation and disarmament domains. In Russia many are interested in a gender perspective just because discussions within the theory of international relations have intensified. But even today many scholars associate gender with sex or directly with women, sometimes even reducing gender perspective to feminism. No, gender dimension of politics is not just about women. There should be no division at all into purely female and purely male in professional environment as it is necessary to evaluate a professional by his or her work, and not by the fact of belonging to a certain sex, age, ethnicity, religion, etc. Today in the Russian Federation, women rarely go into international security in general, and especially into the fields of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. They often do not understand how they could build a career path in these areas which have traditionally been considered as a male niche. But to influence the international situation, a woman does not need to hold any high-ranking official position at all. The most evident proof is the phenomenon of the first lady. Moreover, you can be a well-known political scientist with highly rated publications and active participation in top-ranked conferences,” from an exclusive interview with Dr. Natalia Piskunova, Associate Professor of the School of World Politics at Lomonosov Moscow State University<sup>4</sup>.



Natalia Piskunova

Source: [www.fmp.msu.ru](http://www.fmp.msu.ru)

<sup>4</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.

CHAPTER 2. SOVIET ERA AND THE PERIOD OF 1990s:  
HOW IT BECAME POSSIBLE FOR WOMEN IN RUSSIA TO  
JOIN THE FIELDS OF NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION,  
DISARMAMENT AND GLOBAL SECURITY

Of course, since a nuclear bomb was tested and the Cold War in the Soviet-American relations began, the issues of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament were a kind of *men's business*. In case of the USSR such situation was not the result or manifestation of discrimination against women. First and foremost, after Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) female employees were in high demand in other spheres as the main task was to reconstruct the country after heroic and devastating struggle against Nazism. Secondly, in the context of international relations (IR) ideologization and the Soviet-American confrontation, Soviet women had no place among the soldiers of the Cold War<sup>5</sup>. Thirdly, in USSR nuclear weapons issues primarily related to the sphere of responsibility of military servicemen. Thus, the Soviet Union did not accept at once the concepts of nuclear deterrence or strategic stability, and it slowed down the development of civilian analytics on nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament where Soviet female researchers might want to build an academic career.

Only in 1970s civilian analytical materials on nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament issues systematically began to arise being driven by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences (currently IMEMO RAS) and the Institute for US and Canadian Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences (currently ISKRAN). Origin and development of civilian analytics on nonproliferation and disarmament attracted Soviet female specialists as well. Experience of Dr. Natalia Bubnova is quite illustrative. Currently she is a Lead Researcher of the Section of Military-Political Analysis and Research Projects, and Staff Member of the Center for International Security of Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Science (IMEMO RAS). During our interview she recalled, "By the last year of education at MGIMO University, I began to think about my future place of work. It was very tense situation in the world with the war looming. It seemed to me that the most important problem was to prevent nuclear showdown, and I wanted to do something to help [change the situation]. So, I took pre-diploma internship in the Institute for US and Canadian Studies and then enrolled in post-graduate course there. From 1983 till 1992 I held several positions of a research fellow being specialized in the Soviet-American relations, US defense policy and problems related to nuclear disarmament<sup>6</sup>.

The interest of the Soviet/Russian female researchers in nucle-

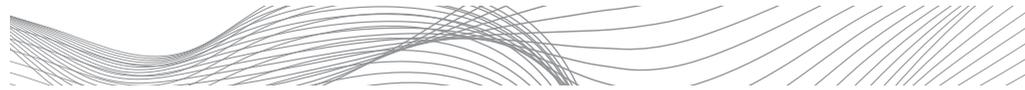
<sup>5</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted

<sup>6</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.



Natalia Bubnova

Source: [www.imemo.ru](http://www.imemo.ru)



ar nonproliferation and nuclear disarmament have been observed not only in Moscow, but in some regions as well. During 1990–2000s a kind of communities of nonproliferation and disarmament experts were being formed in Ekaterinburg, Novosibirsk, Saint-Petersburg, Tomsk. Female specialists have played an active role in this process. Among them there have been Dr. Larisa Deriglazova (National Research Tomsk State University); Dr. Vera Gavrilova (Novosibirsk State Technical University), Dr. Anastasia Malygina (St. Petersburg University); Dr. Ekaterina Mikhailenko (Ural Federal University).

“It should be stressed that there are many female experts and specialists in international relations and international security in modern Russia. Their examples in the most cases reveal a paradox that the emergence and increase of female experts in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation and nuclear disarmament do not automatically ensure the wide spread of gender (feminist) approaches to nuclear issues. Moreover, there are many traditional gender stereotypes inside gender approaches, especially in the studies of war. Thus, systematic and detailed academic discussions on them are needed,” from an exclusive interview with Dr. Tatiana Skorospelova, Professor, Associate Professor of the School of World Politics at Lomonosov Moscow State University.



Tatiana Skorospelova

Source: [www.fmp.msu.ru](http://www.fmp.msu.ru)

The development of nuclear education in USSR/Russia has a long tradition. Its rise took place back in the 1940s. It was aimed primarily at training personnel for nuclear industry enterprises. Education in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament is a separate branch of knowledge. In Russia it emerged in 1990s. From the very beginning, nonproliferation and disarmament issues have been studied primarily as a part of international relations education (on the basis of schools on IR or world politics) which has humanitarian nature. This has become a new factor in attracting more Russian girls and women to nuclear domain.

We can determine the following drivers of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament education development in Russia in 1990s:

- Intensification of international contacts between Russian and foreign relevant organizations (for example, in 1990s some Russian universities cooperated with the Swedish Radiation Safety Authority (SSM) or James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at Monterey (CNS)).
- Democratization of the entire nuclear agenda. Thus, in 1993–1995

Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR) published public reports on the risks of nuclear proliferation in the world (1993) and on the importance of Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) extension (1995). Since 1990s nuclear issues have become widely covered by the Russian media.

- Accumulation of basic knowledge and evidence base on the topics of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. In 1999, first textbook on nuclear nonproliferation was released, namely *Russia and Nuclear Nonproliferation 1945-1968* by Ambassador Roland Timberbaev, one of the founding fathers of NPT.
- The emergence of public diplomacy in the domains of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. Thus, PIR Center was established in 1994, as the first Russian nongovernmental organization dealing with nonproliferation, disarmament and global security.
- Promotion of interdisciplinarity in the IR theory and the rise of nongovernmental actors of IR in general. Women as well as men, or individuals, have become active players in international arena.

As the problems of international security were given greater transparency in Russia in 1990s they became more popular among Russian women attracting them in specialized discussions more often. Dr. Tatiana Shakleina, currently Dr. of Political Science, Professor, Head of Department of Applied International Analysis of MGIMO University, Honorable Scholar of the Russian Federation, told us within our interview, “In the early 1990s, closer cooperation began to develop between Russian female specialists in IR with American colleagues who were members of a women’s nongovernmental organization *Women in International Security (WIS)*. WIS advocated for a wider representation of women in various international and national government structures and helped women who worked in various fields, primarily in political and academic ones, in their career path. Since 1992 many seminars and conference on regional and international security were held under the auspices of WIS. They took place in Moscow, Washington D.C., Prague, Tallin, etc. In Russia *Women in Global Security (WINGS)* was established, and many women from academic sphere joined this organization. Members of WIS and WINGS did not oppose themselves to men. We wanted to work side by side in the atmosphere of sound competition and to support each other. It was a platform for dialogue, for our professional growth, it was a kind of public diplomacy”<sup>7</sup>.

Professor Tatiana Shakleina is one of the top Russian authors of numerous research works, in particularly, articles, monographs, textbooks on international relations, who consider the problems of international security, including its military-political aspects, nuclear and armament affairs as well. She is well known abroad



Tatiana Shakleina  
Source: [www.mgimo.ru](http://www.mgimo.ru)

<sup>7</sup>This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.



and recognized as one of the leading experts on Russian-American relations. Two editions of the anthology, compiled by her, are widely used in universities of the Russian Federation, namely *Foreign Policy and Security of modern Russia*, or *Vneshnyaya politika i bezopasnost' sovremennoj Rossii* (1999) and *Foreign Policy and Security of modern Russia*, or *Vneshnyaya politika i bezopasnost' sovremennoj Rossii* (2002)<sup>8</sup>.

Another bright example is Dr. Tatiana Parkhalina. She is a prominent Russian expert on European security, Euro-Atlantic relations within NATO. “After graduation from MGIMO University I became a professor of French in Diplomatic Academy. Gradually, I came to realize that I want to become a specialist in European security. I completed a post-graduate diploma in IMEMO and joined the team of the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences of the Soviet/Russian Academy of Sciences (INION). In 1998, I became a Head of NATO Documentation Centre on European Security Problems (established in the framework of an agreement between Russian Federation—Russian Academy of Sciences and NATO). Later it was renamed as the Centre for European Security Studies within the INION. Within my work, of course, I dealt with the issues of arms control, nuclear nonproliferation, and strategic stability as well. These are all important issues. Sure, I did not find support of my views for all the time, and I faced criticism too often. But I have been keeping doing my work, and my sexual/gender identity does not matter at all,” Dr. Tatiana Parkhalina shared her experience with us.

Dr. Tatiana Parkhalina is a Member of the Expert Council on International Relations at the Federal Assembly of Russian Federation. She is an Editor-in-Chief of the journal *European Security: Events, Assessments, Forecasts*, and of the scientific journal *Current Problems of Europe*. Dr. Tatiana Parkhalina is a member of PIR Center Advisory Board<sup>9</sup>.



Tatiana Parkhalina

Source: [www.inion.ru](http://www.inion.ru)

<sup>8</sup> Tatiana Shakleina biography from the MGIMO website. URL: <https://mgimo.ru/people/shakleina/>

<sup>9</sup> Tatyana Parkhalina biography from the INION website. URL: <http://inion.ru/ru/about/personalities/parkhalina-tatiana-glebovna/>

### CHAPTER 3. MODERN RUSSIAN WOMEN IN THE FIELDS OF NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION AND DISARMAMENT: CURRENT SITUATION AND MAIN PROBLEMS

In order to better get insight of the role the Russian women play in the spheres of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security, the author of this work conducted a series of interviews with the participation of 25 Russian women who dealing with nuclear issues. They belong to different age groups, professional communities, and do not have a single territorial affiliation. To maintain impartiality of the interviews results, the author of this research paper presents them in a confidential format.

#### *Education*

48% of respondents completed their education on the specialty *International Relations*. 36% of respondents got a degree in the spheres that basically do not relate to IR directly (22% - sociology; 22% - journalism; 22% - history; 22% - finances; 12% - pedagogics). Only 16% of respondents are specialized in international security (including nuclear factor in international relations).

#### *Career start in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament, and global security*

Only 12% of respondents started their career path in these fields consciously: 33% from them wanted to break down stereotypes about peaceful nuclear energy; 67% from them had a goal to become career civil servants dealing with nuclear nonproliferation. Other 32% of respondents touched upon the issues of nonproliferation and disarmament only partially as being specialists in other aspects of international security or even Russian domestic policy. 56% of respondents joined the fields of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament by random chance. TOP reasons why these 56% of respondents decided to stay in nuclear domain are the following ones:

- vital necessity to find a job (14,2%);
- opportunity to find your own niche in a study and be a unique specialist (21,4%);
- influence of a scientific supervisor, teacher, family member (husband, father) (21,4%);
- participation in specialized events, conferences, educational and training courses in Russia and abroad (43%).

At the same time, some of the respondents were motivated by such lofty goals as helping their country, working for the benefit of all mankind, strengthening the nuclear nonproliferation regime and disarmament process, developing Russian studies in the fields of nonproliferation, disarmament and global security, promoting in-



ternational cooperation and supporting the Russian official foreign policy line.

Regarding their current job affiliation, 60% of respondents continue to build career in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. Remaining 40% respondents have found prospects for self-realization in other areas of international relations and global security (although 50% of the latter may somehow deal with nuclear issues).

### *Role models and support from other people*

56% of respondents have a role model or some kind of authority for themselves. Among the names mentioned are the first female Soviet ambassador Alexandra Kollontai; Soviet diplomats–soldiers of the Cold War (Valentin Falin, Anatoly Dobrynin); US Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Rose Gottemoeller; Head of Vienna Center for Disarmament and Nonproliferation (VCDNP) Elena Sokova; and Mikhail Ulyanov, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the International Organizations in Vienna; own scientific supervisors, bosses or family members (husbands or fathers). 8% of respondents live in accordance with the commandment “You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the form of anything..,” and 36% of respondents found it difficult to answer the question at all or preferred not to answer it.

At the same time, 11 out of 25 women interviewed stressed that it was very important for them to get moral and expert support from male colleagues. Some of respondents pointed out that their scientific supervisors or experienced male experts in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security played a role in their professional progress. For example, some of them mentioned Academician Alexei Arbatov; Lieutenant-General (ret.) Gennady Evstafiev; Academician Andrey Kokoshin; PIR Center Founding Director Vladimir Orlov; Ambassador Roland Timerbaev; and William Potter, Founding Director of James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at Monterey (CNS), USA.

### *Career hurdles*

Conducted interviews revealed a number of hurdles that can slow down full-fledged career development of Russian women in the fields of nonproliferation, disarmament and global security. It should be emphasized that they do not have a direct relationship to sex or gender. Let’s get a better look at them.

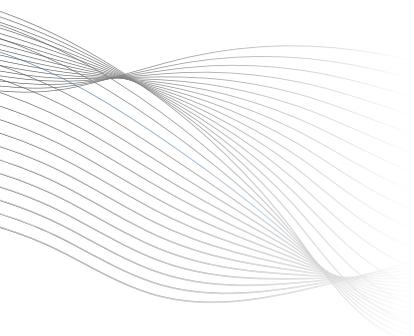
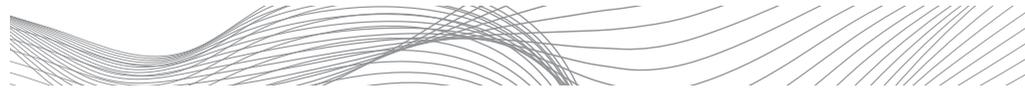
Firstly, education in the fields of nonproliferation and disarmament is still underdeveloped at the present stage. In the modern educational system of Russia there is a lack of specialized programs on nuclear issues. Usually, IR specialists learn about nuclear nonprolif-

eration and disarmament from general courses on international relations and international security. The lack of specialized knowledge and proper experience can lock a young female specialist mostly on administrative tasks which she, as a rule, often successfully copes with. And this success of *working with papers* leads to the situation when a young female specialist does not have time to develop and fully unleash her intellectual potential because in the eyes of her superiors and colleagues she remains just a *good performer*, whom it *would be traumatic to lose*.

Secondly, the issues of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament as a field of study is still at the stage of its formation. As one of our respondents noted, “you can count real high professional and experienced experts on these issues on the fingers of your hands. There are few specialists in nonproliferation and disarmament in general. So what can we say about the quantity of women who were not particularly interested in such problems before at all?”. Information on nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament issues was closed for a long time and still has a confidential nature. We still observe a shortage of specialists and training materials with correct and impartial data. Moreover, the system of transferring experience and knowledge in the fields of nonproliferation and disarmament has been not systematically established.

Thirdly, previously issues related to nuclear weapons were predominantly *in the hands of techies*, many of whom came from military circles. That is why, researches on nuclear factor in international relations have always been focused on arms control, strategic stability, some certain aspects of nuclear nonproliferation, where a rather technocratic language has been used as male specialists preferred to *talk about iron*, or military-technical characteristics. Some respondents note that they are not interested in *this iron* because *everything has been studied there for a long time and there can be no uniqueness*. It seems that studies on nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament have remained in place. And if both a female expert and a male expert decides to deal with arms control or strategic stability, she or he is more likely to stay in the shadow of predecessors. At the same time, if a researcher focuses on new aspects and topics within nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament, most likely, she/he will face either the distrust of *techies towards humanities* or the prejudice of *military towards civilians*.

Fourthly, we have insufficient capacity for public diplomacy in the spheres of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. In Russia there are only two NGOs specialized in nuclear issues, namely PIR Center and Center for Energy and Security Studies (CENESS). One of the main drivers of public scientific diplomacy in the fields of nonproliferation and disarmament is National Research Nuclear University MEPhI, which develops active contacts with the CTBTO Youth Group. As we can see, all three structures are located in Moscow. In this regard, young IR specialists living outside Moscow



have fewer opportunities to be engaged in discussions and project activities in the spheres of nonproliferation, disarmament and global security.

Top 3 specialized M.A. education and training programs in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament in Russia (arranged alphabetically, not in rating order):

1. International Dual Degree M.A. Program *Global Security, Nuclear Policy, and WMD Nonproliferation* (developed by MGIMO University, Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey and PIR Center);
2. M.A. Program *International Security* (developed by the School of World Politics at Lomonosov Moscow State University);
3. M.A. Program *Strategic and Arms Control Studies* (developed by St. Petersburg University).

“Russian public diplomacy is a continuation of its official foreign policy line. That is why we have mostly men at the head of the Russian NGOs dealing with international agenda. As practice shows, women prefer to engage in public activities and public diplomacy in the social sphere or in charity. But everything can change in ten years: now a lot of young women are entering the state service at the Russian Foreign Ministry. A lot of women work in the Presidential Administration, in the Government of the Russian Federation, and they hold leadership positions as well. However, it should be noted that women themselves do not rush to go into foreign policy and security domains. The task of the modern state is to help our woman combine household duties and career development,” from the exclusive interview with Dr. Natalia Burlinova, Founder and President of Public Initiative *Creative Diplomacy* (PICREADI)<sup>10</sup>.



Natalia Burlinova

Source: [www.picreadi.ru](http://www.picreadi.ru)

<sup>10</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.

Fifthly, even if a young IR specialist explore educational and training programs on nonproliferation, disarmament and global security, enters relevant public service, participates in specialized projects or conducts specialized researches, there is no guarantee that she (he) will be able to make significant progress in these areas throughout the entire life. We can list the following obstacles and career stagnation factors within nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security:

- rotation in the state (diplomatic) service;
- rotation of international organizations staff members, primarily within the UN system (including *annual break* or forced change in work activities profile);
- insufficient number of specialized think tanks, their concentration in Moscow and *de-facto* lack in the regions of the Russian Federation.

## CHAPTER 4. SO, WHAT ROLE DO THEY PLAY?

In Russian realities, we can identify the following typology of women who are engaged to the certain extent in the sphere of nonproliferation and disarmament:

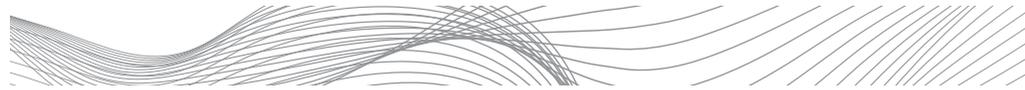
1. professor;
2. expert/researcher;
3. civil servant (career diplomat or deputy);
4. staff member of a commercial structure;
5. journalist;
6. public figure and activist;
7. international official;
8. staff member of NGOs.

Undoubtedly, each of them plays different roles, but implementing its expert, managerial or project potential. Each of them has her own psycho-type, interests, motivation and indicators of success, but all of these are based on their professionalism and not on sex or gender. We conducted several exclusive interviews. Below we mention just some examples of the Russian women who hopefully will give the source of inspiration and role models for those young IR specialists who have plans to connect their professional lives with the fields of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament, and global security.

### 1. Professor

Key role: to upbringing the younger generation of IR experts; to identify and support talented youth; to spread knowledge; to conduct research; to partake in relevant conferences and events; to promote international dialogue within public (science) diplomacy, etc.

Real life example: “After graduation from MEPhI I decided to



**Natalia Zhurina**

Source: [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com)

improve my English and take lessons of my former English professor Ms. Elena Tsyvkunova, MEPhI Associate Professor. She entirely changed my perception of the problems related to nuclear weapons. I became highly interested in nuclear issues which I once studied in MEPhI when I was more interested in peacekeeping (I even participated in a volunteer project and lived for one month in Rwanda helping victims of 1994 genocide against the Tutsi). But thanks to Ms. Elena Tsyvkunova I discovered the existence of CTBTO Youth Group. She also supported my initiative to organize some events in partnership with CTBTO. Thus, we held several telebridges to learn more about ban on nuclear testing. In 2017, MEPhI organized Moscow CTBTO Youth Group Conference with the support from Russian Defense Ministry, Russian Foreign Ministry, Russian Ministry of Education and Science and CTBTO Preparatory Commission. It gave birth to MEPhI science diplomacy development, and our students have actively joined CTBTO Youth Group. After a while I gained the position in Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (OPANAL). My colleagues and me are dealing with the issues of nuclear nonproliferation in our region,” from an exclusive interview with Ms. Natalia Zhurina<sup>11</sup>. Ms. Elena Tsyvkunova herself strongly believes that “it is very important for a professor, for a teacher to reveal a talent of each student, to show them hope and prospect, to become a mentor especially when we speak about nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament domains.”<sup>12</sup>

2. *Expert/Researcher (including analysts from think tanks, representatives of academia)*

**Key role:** to conduct and explore research; to develop recommendations; to prepare analytical materials for decision-makers; to partake in relevant conferences and events; to promote international dialogue within public (science) diplomacy, etc.

**Real life example:** I preferred to engage in expert, analytical and research activities. My aim is to be an expert in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation and the prohibition of biological and chemical weapons as well. In 2021, International Scientific and Practical Conference *Global Threats to Biological Security: Problems and Solutions* was held in Sochi, Russia. I presented my report and moderated one of the discussions. At the closing plenary session Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia H.E. Sergey A. Ryabkov positively assessed research and educational activities of St. Petersburg State University and their implications on strengthening the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BTWC). It is important for me that the results of my work would be useful to our

<sup>11</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.

<sup>12</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.

official diplomacy and track II diplomacy as well,” from an exclusive interview with Dr. Anastasia Malygina, Associate Professor, Faculty of International Relations, St. Petersburg State University<sup>13</sup>.

“I have been dealing with nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament since the early 2000s. For a very long time I have been looking for my niche in the study of these issues. In the second half of the 2010s, I turned to the problems of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) and NPT review process. In 2017, my research project won grant support from Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFBR). My colleagues and me participated in the series of events within the sessions of Preparatory Committee for X NPT Review Conference. We managed to discover a lot of new things and to gain many new contacts. Once I also took part in an anti-nuclear rally in Scotland. 90% participants of the rally were women advocating for the peace in the whole world. We discussed the problems of international security a lot, and these female participants were happy to have a talk with the representative of Russia. I even was interviewed by BBC Scotland,” from an exclusive interview with Dr. Ekaterina Mikhailenko, Associate Professor, Ural Federal University named after the first President of Russia B. N. Yeltsin (UrFU).

3. *Civil Servant (career diplomat, deputy, staff member of government agencies, etc.)*

Key role: to prepare information, reference and analytical materials; to maintain documents; to develop recommendations; to develop draft treaties, agreements and regulations; to cover official government line attitudes; etc.

Real life example: “I joined Federal Notary Chamber (FNC) system by accident. I met my future colleague on a business trip... After the meeting, I was invited to FNC foundation, which was involved in the introduction of information technologies in notarial activities... And when I moved to the Legal Department of the FNC five years ago, I started working on the issues of combating legalization [of proceeds from crime, financing of terrorism and financing of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction]. From my observations, gender factor does not matter in this sphere: ... women predominate among notaries. But there are male notaries who do not understand what is required of them to resist legalization. And there are female notaries who identify new risk factors for laundering through notarial actions. Everything depends on professionalism, not gender,” from an exclusive interview with Dr. Elena Volchinskaya<sup>14</sup>. From 1995-2012, she worked as a staff member for the Russian State Duma Committee on Security. Dr. Elena Volchinskaya participated in the develop-



Anastasia Malygina

Source: [www.sir.spbu.ru](http://www.sir.spbu.ru)

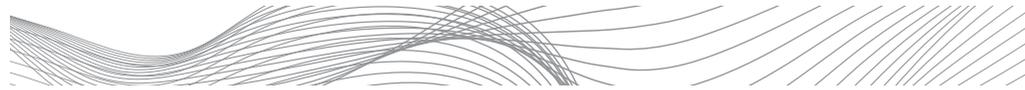


Ekaterina Mikhailenko

Source: [www.urfu.ru](http://www.urfu.ru)

<sup>13</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.

<sup>14</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted. Find more: <https://pircenter.org/blog/view/id/537>



Elena Volchinskaya  
Source: [www.lawinfo.ru](http://www.lawinfo.ru)

ment of draft legislation in data protection law and information security, including *On Commercial Confidentiality*, *On Personal Data*, *On Electronic Signatures*, and others. Moreover, she is the author of more than 120 monographs, academic papers, and reports on information security. Dr. Elena Volchinskaya is one of the initiators and supporters of conducting the international forum *Information Security in the Global Information Society* (Infoforum) under the auspices of the State Duma Committee on Security. Since 2015 she has been a member of PIR Center Advisory Board.

“As an undergraduate I went on internship at Federal Service for Technical and Export Control (FSTEC / FSTEK). After I got position in FSTEK Export Control Office. I was the only female in our department (nuclear engineering), but my male colleagues helped me a lot. I was even sent to the US to attend special courses on nuclear nonproliferation and export control. My colleagues and me drafted state expert reviews on foreign trade transactions with nuclear-related goods and technologies. I was also engaged in developing international cooperation. Thus, I helped our delegation prepare to the sessions of Nuclear Suppliers Group, I participated in forming Russian-Chinese working group on high-tech products exchange. I left FSTEK with class rank of the state civil service, namely *Advisor of the State Civil Service of the Russian Federation of Class 3*. For the past 6 years I have been working in RUSATOM Service where I have managed to make career from project manager to the head of major unit. I want to stress that there a lot of women in our organization and ROSATOM State Corporation as well. STEM spheres are becoming very popular in Russia, and therefore many female professionals are expected to join domains of peaceful atom, nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. At least, we have all the possibilities for this”, from an exclusive interview with Ms. Maria S. Roskoshnaya, Head of Global Trade Compliance and Digital Learning Department, RUSATOM Service<sup>15</sup>.



Maria Roskoshnaya  
Source: [www.rusatomservice.ru](http://www.rusatomservice.ru)

4. Staff member of a commercial structure

Key role: to promote international cooperation on peaceful use of nuclear energy; to implement project activities; to maintain international dialogue; to support IAEA mandate implementation.

Real life example: “For the whole life I have been engaged in developing international cooperation in different aspects. Most of all I love the issues of export control in nuclear sphere, and I have focused on these matters more than anything”, from an exclusive interview with Ms. Marina Belyaeva, Deputy Director of International Activities and Director of International Cooperation Department, ROSATOM State Atomic Energy Corporation of the

<sup>15</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.

Russian Federation<sup>16</sup>. Within the interview she recalls her favorite projects. Among them are creation of nuclear export control system in Russia, creation of guaranteed stock of low-enriched uranium (LEU) in Angarsk, and preparation of IAEA Conference *Nuclear Energy in XXI Century* in St. Petersburg in 2013.

#### 5. Journalist

Key role: to ensure impartial media coverage of nuclear issues; to conduct journalistic research; to preserve historical memory on nuclear issues; to maintain international dialogue, etc.

Real life example: “I am historian by my education. But I had been working in journalism for 10 years focusing primarily on domestic political and economic problems in Russia until I participated in the seminar held by PIR Center in partnership with Vienna Center for Disarmament and Nonproliferation (VCDNP) in 2011. Among participants there were high ranking professionals on arms control and nuclear nonproliferation. After this event I understood that I wanted to cover in our media issues of nuclear nonproliferation, arms control and strategic stability. I devoted much time to education to boost my expertise. Media coverage of such topics allows newsmakers to share their thoughts and concerns and lets journalists themselves impartially highlight the ongoing processes. It was so evident in 2020 when discussions on New START were going on, and administration of Donald Trump was trying to engage in dialogue on arms control with Russia and China. These three countries actively gave interviews to *Kommersant* Publishing House, and new term *Kommersant*-diplomacy originated. In 2021, I from my personal capacity signed a letter to the Presidents of Russia and the US on the eve of the Geneva summit in June 2021. Together with American colleagues we called our leaders to reaffirm the Reagan-Gorbachev statement that a nuclear war could not be won and therefore should not be fought”, from an exclusive interview with Dr. Elena Chernenko, Special correspondent of *Kommersant Daily*, PIR Center Executive Board member, and Co-Chair of the *Dialogue Club International*<sup>17</sup>.

#### 6. Public figure and activist

Key role: to participate in or to take civic initiatives; to preserve



Marina Belyaeva

Source: [www.iaea.org](http://www.iaea.org)

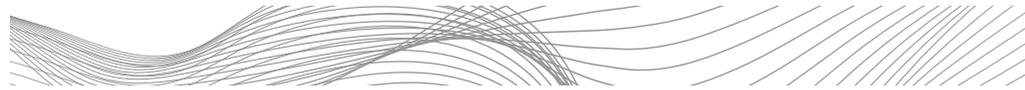


Elena Chernenko

Source: [www.pircenter.org](http://www.pircenter.org)

<sup>16</sup> Based on the interview materials from the series «Woman in Nuclear Show». It is being implemented as part of the project of the Council of the Eurasian Women's Forum «Women in the Nuclear Industry: Vector of Development» on the YouTube channel of the Foundation for the Support and Development of Women's Initiatives »Association of Women of the Nuclear Industry»

<sup>17</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.



**Lubov Soldatkina**

Source: [www.pircenter.org](http://www.pircenter.org)



**Ekaterina Lapanovich**

Source: [www.urfu.ru](http://www.urfu.ru)

historical memory on nuclear issues; to promote international dialogue; to carry forward peace, goodwill and humanism, etc.

In modern Russia a social movement is growing, and civic initiatives are becoming very popular. They are touching upon the issues of WMD nonproliferation, disarmament and global security as well. Thus, on September 6-7, 2021, International Scientific and Practical Forum *The Khabarovsk Process: Historical Significance and Modern Challenges* was held in Russia. Participants of the event discussed declassified archival materials about Japan’s preparation of a bacteriological war against the USSR. “I took part in the Forum as a representative of the All-Russian People’s Front, which supports the project *No Statute of Limitations (Bez sroka давности)*. The goal is to preserve historical memory on the genocide of civilians during the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945)... The Forum was resulted in a resolution in which the participants came to a consolidated opinion that the Khabarovsk process had marked the beginning of the creation of an international legal framework to prevent the use of biological and other prohibited weapons. Also, participants decided to prepare a modern edition of the materials of the Khabarovsk war crimes trial, to give public condemnation to the war crimes identified during the trial, to promote education of the younger generations in the spirit of humanism, kindness, mercy, and morality”, Ms. Lubov Soldatkina shares her impressions. Currently she holds the positions of the Head of the Direction of Expertise, Analysis and National purposes realization control services at the All-Russian People’s Front. Ms. Lubov Soldatkina is a member of PIR Center Executive Board<sup>18</sup>.

Many novice experts on nonproliferation and disarmament issues in Russia are actively joining international organizations and initiatives aimed at maintaining the regime of nuclear nonproliferation. For example, Ms. Ekaterina Lapanovich, Assistant of UrFU Department of Theory and History of International Relations, is a member of CTBTO Youth Group and Young Deep Cuts Commission (YDCC). The latter includes experts on nonproliferation and arms control from Germany, Russia, and USA.

### 7. International Official

Key role: to maintain the regime of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament; to popularize the issues of nonproliferation and disarmament; to promote international cooperation and dialogue; to implement project activities.

Real life example: “During my studies at MGIMO, I completed a pre-graduate internship at the Russian Foreign Ministry, and after graduation I joined Center for Energy and Security Studies (CE-NESS). After three years scientific and research activities I moved

<sup>18</sup> Soldatkina L. Dal’nevostochnyj Nyurnberg/ PIR Center Blog, 20 September 2021. URL: <https://pircenter.org/blog/view/id/518>

to Vienna to work at CTBTO Preparatory Commission... However, I have always been primarily interested in the diplomatic career. Now I am a staff member of the Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to the International Organizations in Vienna. I hope that in the future I will continue to focus on the issues of nuclear nonproliferation and arms control and to grow as a specialist in these areas”, from exclusive interview with attaché Ms. Anastasia Shavrova<sup>19</sup>.

One of the greatest examples is Dr. Tatiana Valovaya, the first woman to head the UN Office in Geneva. Among other things, Dr. Tatiana Valovaya is responsible for coordinating the Conference on Disarmament. “...this is the only multilateral mechanism [on disarmament] that the world community has. We do not have other such multilateral formats on disarmament talks, so it is very important to keep it. Yes, there have been no new agreements on disarmament over the past twenty years, but we need this mechanism. Of course, in order to move more actively further and overcome a certain barrier that we have, we need the will of all states participating in the Conference... The Conference Secretariat is ready to provide all expert support for negotiations, expertise, and events with the participation of the expert community”, Dr. Tatiana Valovaya notes<sup>20</sup>.

#### 8. Staff member of NGOs (Russian or foreign)

Key role: to implement educational, scientific and research project activities; to prepare information, reference, and analytical materials for decision-makers; to bring up younger generation of IR specialists; to identify and support talented youth; to spread knowledge on nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament; to promote international cooperation and dialogue.

Real life example: For a long time, I worked at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at Monterey, USA (CNS). Once I suggested creating a similar think tank in Vienna. My idea was supported, and I prepared a business plan. But I had to postpone its implementation until better times. In 2010, the Government of Austria announced a tender for the opening of a research center in Vienna. We updated our business plan and won the tender. That's how Vienna Center for Disarmament and Nonproliferation (VCDNP) was created. Now we are implementing a wide range of projects to popularize the topic of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament, to prepare analytics, to hold various events, to meet with experts and diplomats, and to conduct educational courses. Now in Russia and in the world, there are a lot of initiative students and female students, in particular, who want to develop career in the spheres of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. But for most,



Anastasia Shavrova

Source: [www.facebook.com](https://www.facebook.com)

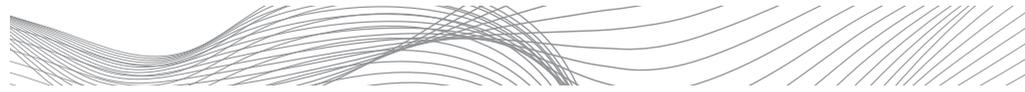


Tatiana Valovaya

Source: [www.un.org](https://www.un.org)

<sup>19</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.

<sup>20</sup> Tatiana Valovaya: ne dumayu, chto moe grazhdanstvo povliyaet na rabotu ofisa OON / RIA Novosti, 9 September 2019. URL: <https://ria.ru/20190909/1558401278.html>



**Elena Sokova**

Source: [www.pircenter.org](http://www.pircenter.org)



**Veronika Bedenko**

Source: [www.pircenter.org](http://www.pircenter.org)

nuclear issues reduce to Chernobyl or to a nuclear bomb. But everything is not just limited to that. Hardly when a person, especially a young woman, knows their prospects and opportunities in nuclear domain. It is very important for a novice specialist to be shown what opportunities he or she has for career growth in the fields of nonproliferation and disarmament”, from exclusive interview with Dr. Elena Sokova, Head of Vienna Center for Disarmament and Nonproliferation (VCDNP)<sup>21</sup>.

“I got bachelor’s degree at the Institute of International Relations of the National Research Nuclear University MEPhI and then graduated from the International Dual Degree M.A. Program *Global Security, Nuclear Policy and WMD Nonproliferation* developed by MGIMO University, PIR Center and Middlebury Institute of International Studies in Monterey, USA. I took an internship at Vienna Center for Disarmament and Nonproliferation (VCDNP) being supervised by Laura Rockwood, an expert on nuclear nonproliferation and IAEA safeguards [in 2013, she retired from the IAEA as Section Head for Non-Proliferation and Policy Making in the Office of Legal Affairs, where she had served since 1985, - author’s note]. Laura was just finishing her duties at VCDNP and was opening a new think tank in Vienna, namely Open Nuclear Network. After my graduation from Dual Degree M.A. Program in Nonproliferation Studies I got a position there. Among other duties, I am an expert on Russia. Therefore, I conduct researches in Russian, explain Russia’s positions on various issues, and keep in touch with Russian experts and diplomats. Of course, in my work I preserve neutrality and impartiality. Our main task is to ensure nuclear risks reduction... The work of an analyst does not always bring instant results and, in most cases, you have to rely on delayed feedback, which sometimes comes months after your publication was released or speech was delivered. For example, one day, when dealing with satellite images, I noticed activities on the reconstruction of a reactor at nuclear facilities at Yongbyon, North Korea. I published a small analytical note, adding comments from technical experts. Some time later, I received an email from a colleague from the IAEA. I was informed that my article was included in must-read materials list of the IAEA Department of Safeguards. Or once my good friend working at ROSATOM State Corporation wrote that my article on floating nuclear power stations, co-authored with my scientific supervisors, was widely discussed and cited in his unit. When such moments happen, you understand that your activities are really important and that you really play a role in the fields of nonproliferation, disarmament and global security”, from exclusive interview with Ms. Veronika Bedenko, Analyst, Open Nuclear Network<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.

<sup>22</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.

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Of course, these are not the only examples of Russian women who are engaged in the spheres of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament, and global security. But the following questions are being raised. Do they play a role in the fields of nonproliferation, disarmament, and global security precisely as women or as professionals? Is it necessary to be a relevant specialist on nonproliferation and disarmament, especially holding some kind of leadership position, in order to play any role in these domains? The above examples speak for themselves.

## CONCLUSIONS

“Our women have already proved everything to anyone!” “Why am I invited to be a speaking expert just because I have certain physiological characteristics?” “Why should I have my own feminine view in my profession? I have only one view, and it is based on the national interests of my country.” “Exactly I can play a role, but as a professional in my field, as an expert, not just as a woman.” “It is not a role of a woman! It is the role of a researcher!” These are the comments that we heard from respondents during our interviews. All these comments force us to think about the following question. Are our sex and gender so important for career growth in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament and can they become an obstacle in our XXI century? If a woman wants to play a role in the spheres of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security, she should cultivate her professional qualities, understand the topic and improve knowledge and experience base. Of course, areas of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament remains male-dominated. But how else can the situation be in the fields of international relations, which became accessible to the general public only 30 years ago?

“Fulfillment of women in the fields of nonproliferation, disarmament and global security is a problem of democratic development and equality of opportunities. It has nothing to do with gender. Gender is about the social aspects in international relations, about women and men together”, from exclusive interview with Dr. Larisa Deriglazova, Professor at Department of World Politics, Head of Centre for European Studies, National Research Tomsk State University.



Larisa Deriglazova

Source: [www.persona.tsu.ru](http://www.persona.tsu.ru)



As one of our respondents noted, modern Russia is the heiress of the country of victorious feminism. The Soviet Union was the first country that equalized men and women in political, social and economic rights. The division of professions into male and female actually ceased to exist: women were willingly recruited into party circles, taken to construction sites, they actively became doctors, teachers – all these professions were once purely male. During the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945), Soviet women fought against Nazism and fascism together with Soviet men. According to various sources, more than 1 million Soviet women were engaged in the Soviet armed forces. It should be stressed that these women were hired for combat specialties as pilots, snipers, anti-aircraft gunners, machine gunners and tank crew members.

What is more, Soviet women actively went to work in intelligence services. Some of them achieved significant results on the armament issues. Thus, Elizaveta Zarubina managed to obtain valuable information that Germany had been developing new types of weapons, namely the world's first ballistic missiles V-2. The Soviet women took part in developing nuclear program of the USSR playing executive roles as well. Their participation in resolving nuclear issues was one of the factors of creating the first Soviet atomic bomb in a very short time. Famous Soviet intelligence agent Leontine (Lona) Cohen managed to ensure the flow of information and classified materials, f.e. atomic bombs diagrams, on Manhattan Project to the USSR. Some of the information on atomic weapons were received by the Soviets thanks to Melita Stedman Norwood who had access to the British nuclear weapons program. For 40 years she passed secrets on nuclear technologies to the Soviet KGB. These examples let us assert that women also contributed to establishing strategic stability between the US and USSR/Russia and to promoting their military-technical potential of mutually assured destruction.

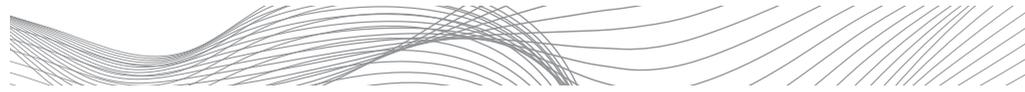
Women in modern Russia are no less active. They build their own business, head educational institutions or charitable foundations. Russian women willingly join the intelligence service, the armed forces, they become career diplomats, go to work abroad as well. All doors are open for them – it remains only to find their own. The problem is that the very topic of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security attracts not many young specialists. One of our respondents shared her observations with us. Now researches and projects related to nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament have become less funded around the world. Moreover, young people are interested in completely different issues, in particular, cybersecurity, terrorism, ecological problems and climate change. As she noted, the older generation of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament experts sometimes does not have somebody to talk to and to pass experience to, and such situation bothers them a lot. As Dr. Tatiana Valovaya stressed during XIII RISA Convention of 2021, young people do not consider the problems of nonproliferation and

disarmament as a danger, while climate change is the main threat for them. From her point of view, the youth participation in discussions on disarmament issues is extremely important because if a large-scale conflict occurs, climate change would be a problem of secondary importance.

Our attempts to analyze the role of Russian women in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security have raised much more serious issues than a typical and widely discussed problem of their empowerment in these areas. To be more precise, we identify:

- the problem of attracting women and men to these spheres;
- the problem of supporting women and men in these spheres;
- the problem of rejection of gender stereotypes;
- the problem of overcoming chauvinism in science;
- the problem of developing civilian analytics and ensuring the flow of experts into the state service personnel, and not just the other way around;
- the problem of maintaining the interest of young people in the issues of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament, and global security.

Now everyone is too much concentrated on their careers, on positions, although it is more important to do what you love and what is interesting for you. I have always been guided by this idea. I started my professional career working in the field of foreign policy journalism. After that, I turned to analytics, entered PhD course. Then, I dived into IR theory and political philosophy. Anyway, all my life I have been dealing with military-political issues, with its most diverse aspects. But how else can be when you are an international relations specialist? If you are not interested in international security issues, it would be better for you to change your profession. I had a chance to work in the analytical unit Institute of Military History of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation. Moreover, I was invited to become a member of the Academy of Military Sciences (Russia). Sure, there are not many women in the Academy, but they are all professionals, and this is the most important thing. In general, woman's professional growth is not an issue of discrimination, it is a ques-

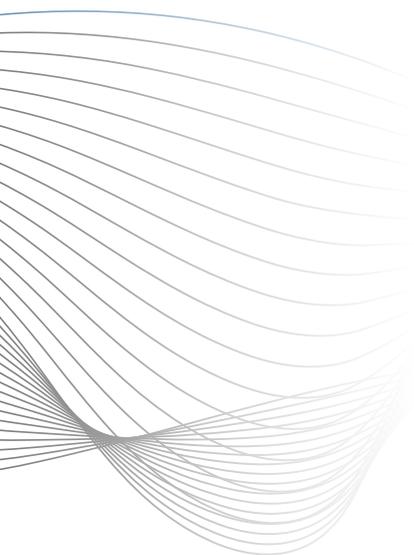


Tatiana Alekseeva

Source: [www.fb.ru](http://www.fb.ru)

tion of the main orientation whether to live at the expenses of others, or to work hard, but not so much for money as for self-realization. And if we really have any gender problems in Russia, they only address the necessity to relieve a woman from double burden, in particular, from stress and pressure both at home and work, but not to help her become a head of official department dealing with nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament or a head of specialized NGO”, from an exclusive interview with Professor Tatiana Alekseeva, Head of Department of Political Theory, MGIMO University, Honoured Scholar of the Russian Federation, Dr. of Philosophy<sup>23</sup>.

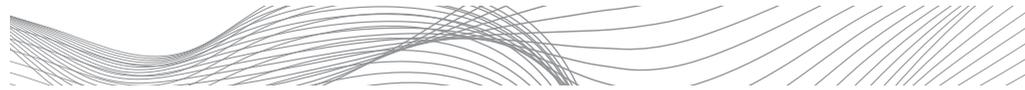
Basically, not so many women in Russia are interested in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security. But there are enough of those who deal with nuclear issues professionally or just for the soul. Of course, this is a matter of everyone’s choice because everyone has their own areas of interest and preferences. In fact, as one of our respondents drew our attention, in order to play a role in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security, it is not necessary to hold high positions, constantly be in public eyes all the time and even be a specialist on these matters. The most colossal contribution to the preservation of the nuclear nonproliferation regime and security in the world is made by our upbringing and education, norms and values that a person receives in her or his family and exactly by our inner circles, which form our moral and ethical norms of behavior for many years to come. And in this context the role of women as real women – as mothers, sisters, grandmothers, wives and girlfriends – is considered to be incredibly great and important. And you should never forget to play this role in your life. ■



<sup>23</sup> This refers to the surveys and interviews that the author of this research paper conducted.

## Appreciation

The author thanks all those women who had taken part in the surveys and interviews, which formed the basis of this research work. Professionalism of these women, their enthusiasm, talent and intelligence evoke boundless respect and admiration. The author hopes that this research paper will not only highlight the role of the Russian women in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament, but also inspire new achievements, give strength to move forward on such a complex and contradictory career path as global security.



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The Role of the Women in the Areas of Nuclear  
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## SECURITY INDEX

*Security Index* Occasional Paper Series Global Edition - reports, analytical articles, comments and interviews that reflect the positions of Russian and foreign experts on the current challenges to global security and Russia's policy in this area. The goal of the series is to provide a clear analysis of international security problems and to offer specific and realistic solutions for them. The series replaced the Security Index journal published by PIR Center in 1994-2016.

The authors and editors of the series welcome comments, questions and suggestions, which readers can email: [inform@pircenter.org](mailto:inform@pircenter.org).

## EDUCATION IN THE FIELDS OF NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION, DISARMAMENT AND GLOBAL SECURITY

In 2022, the world nonproliferation community celebrates the 20th anniversary of the Report of the UN Secretary-General *United Nations Study on Disarmament and Nonproliferation Education*, which was published on August 30, 2002. The report contained 34 recommendations to promote education and education in the field of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. The report was developed by a Group of Governmental Experts, whose members were appointed by a special resolution of the UN General Assembly. It laid the foundation for the education agenda in the field of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament at the UN level. Among the members of the Group of Governmental Experts was the founder and director of PIR Center Vladimir Orlov, as a U.N. consultant on disarmament and nonproliferation education (2001-2002). The prepared Report of the UN Secretary-General formed the basis of UN General Assembly Resolution 57/60 *UN Study on Disarmament and nonproliferation education*. The 20th anniversary of the Report and the Resolution itself is a great occasion to take stock.

We hope that the materials of this research paper prepared by Elena Karnaukhova will also contribute to the development of the discussion on the promotion of education in the fields of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and global security.