FROM THE EDITOR

7 The New Image of the Armed Forces: Phantom or Forced Reality – «For once, there has been some good news about the Russian army, – writes the member of the Security Index Editorial Board Dmitry Evstafiev. – It has been announced that the transition to the new image of the armed forces has largely been completed. But it must be remembered that main thrust of the Serdyukov reform is not actually aimed at strengthening our country's military capability. The reform aims primarily to save from total collapse what still can be saved, and to restore some basic order in the Russian army». Key words: military reform, aims of the reform, Russian Army.

INTERVIEW

11 Elena Knyazeva: «We study the experience of foreign armies not to copy it but to analyze and adapt it to Russian reality» – What is the international dimension of the reform? What is the role played by Defense Ministry experts in perfecting and improving international agreements and treaties signed by Russia? Acting head of the General Directorate for International Military Cooperation at the Russian MoD answers these and many other questions. Key words: military reform, international military and technical cooperation, arms procurement, international agreements.

15 Sergey Ponomarev: «Space capability is a strategic instrument» – Russia has a unique space capability. What are the tasks currently facing its space industry? We have put questions about the prospects of the space industry to the Deputy Head of the Russian Federal Space Agency, Sergey Ponomarev. Key words: space industry restructuring, GLONASS, small business in the space sector, education.

21 Dmitry Rogozin: «Fourth Ideology» – NATO has adopted a new Strategic Concept document at the Lisbon summit in November 2010. What does this new concept mean for relations between Russia and NATO? Russia's permanent envoy to NATO, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Dmitry Rogozin, answers the questions of the Security Index journal. Key words: NATO summit in Lisbon, NATO-Russia Council, European Security Treaty, military and technical cooperation.
Vitaly Churkin: «The main goal of all peacekeeping operations remains unchanged» – The need to improve the effectiveness of the UN Security Council, especially in areas such as peacekeeping, is becoming increasingly obvious. What are the main forms of peacekeeping now being used by the United Nations? How much of a priority is peacekeeping for Russia? Russia’s permanent representative at the UN and envoy to the UN Security Council Vitaly Churkin answers these and other questions.

Key words: UN peacekeeping operations, Russian peacekeeping missions, UN and CSTO.

SPECIAL EDITION: DOSSIER

Military Reform of 2008-2020: Facts and Figures. The reform has affected all the key areas of the Russian Armed Forces, including the numerical strength, the central command, the organizational and personnel structure, and the officer training system. PIR Center offers a detailed reference and analysis paper outlining the first results of the reform. Bliz-interviews with the representatives of the Public Board of the Ministry of Defense Oleg Gazmanov, Alexandr Kanshin, Alexandr Makeev and Valentina Melnikova are included.

Key words: military reform, military-administrative structure, structure of the Armed Forces, State Defense Procurement Program, armed imports, staffing.

ANALYSIS

Igor Korotchenko. The New Image of the Russian Armed Forces is Becoming Reality – The lessons learnt from the Five Day War with Georgia in 2008 resulted in a serious analysis of the state of the Russian army being undertaken. The two years that have passed since then is not a very long time – but more has been achieved over that period in developing the Russian military capability than during the country’s entire post-Soviet history, elaborates the editor-in-chief of the National Defense journal.

Key words: military reform, military-administrative structure, structure of the armed forces, state procurement program, arms imports, staffing.

Anatoly Anin, Rodion Ayumov. CFE Treaty: Past, Present... Future?.. – An average European probably does not think of the Adapted Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty as a pressing issue. The idea of a large-scale military conflict on the continent, with massive use of armor, artillery and aviation, seems absurd, a nightmare of military planners from the Cold War era rather than a real possibility. Meanwhile, life itself sometimes reminds us that attempts to solve problems through the use of force still remain part of European reality. Two Russian experts refer to the history and future of the CFE Treaty.

Key words: conventional forces in Europe, history of CFE talks, Adapted CFE.

Vladimir Verkhovtsev. Ensuring Safety and Security of Nuclear Weapons is One of the Main National Security Priorities – In the past half century, nuclear arsenals have become an important instrument of deterrence and a guarantee of security for their owners. But keeping the arsenals safe and secure is in itself a matter of the utmost importance. The Head of the 12th Directorate General of the Russian Ministry of Defense (2005–2010) tells about this issue in detail.

Key words: Russian nuclear arsenal, safety and security of nuclear arsenals, personnel policy.
Marcel de Haas. Russian Military Reform – Success or Failure? – The shortcomings in military forces of Russia that became apparent in the recent years prevent military power from being a useful tool in Russia’s security policy. The author of this article, a Senior Researcher of the Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, reflects on whether the reform is to succeed or fail, and what implications it will have for Europe.

Key words: rearmament, restructuring of the armed forces, State Weapons Program, Russian-Georgia conflict.

Andrey Frolov. The Future of Weapons in Russia – The State Armament Program (SAP) is the main document that sets the benchmark for military technology decisions in the longer term. The mere fact that work has begun on the SAP 2020 indicates that the government and the MoD are gradually adopting a long-term systemic approach to the development of the Russian Armed Forces. The prospects of the implementation of the Program are discussed in the article by a senior specialist of the State Corporation Rosatom Andrey Frolov.

Key words: State Armament Program, defense industry, aviation and air defense equipment, naval equipment.

Jean Maurin. Twenty-year experience of military reform in France – Transformation can be described as the introduction of new technology and advanced communication systems. But transformation is not limited to new technologies – in and by itself, no technology can resolve the problems of today or tomorrow. Brigadier-General, Defense Attaché of the Embassy of France in Russia writes about the French military reform.

Key words: military reform in France, Defense and National Security White Paper, organization of the French system of defense, France in NATO military structures.

Vasily Lata, Vladimir Maltsev. Missile Defense: Artificial Deadlock or Window of Opportunity for NATO-Russian Relations? – The decision to suspend for a time the deployment of the European ballistic missile defense system in often being portrayed as a reasonable geopolitical step, in view of Russia’s concerns over the deployment of strategic US military facilities close to the Russian borders. But this decision is actually part of a deliberate and careful strategy to push through another version of a strategic missile defense system. Two experts of the Strategic Rocket Forces Academy share their views on missile defense in Europe.

Key words: US defense policy, new missile defense architecture.

Eugene Miasnikov. Strategic Conventional Arms: Deadlocks and Solutions – Russia and the United States have a different view of how strategic non-nuclear weapons affect strategic stability. They also disagree on what types of non-nuclear weapons should be considered strategic. Strategic non-nuclear weapons can have a counter-force potential, and therefore can affect the strategic balance of forces between the United States and Russia. The article provides an analysis of the New START treaty limitations with respect to strategic conventional arms and discusses ways to solve the problem of strategic conventional arms at future negotiations.

Key words: new START Treaty, types of strategic non-nuclear weapons, differences in US and Russian classification.

ROUND TABLE

Jean Maurin, Vitaly Shlykov, Urs Sulser. International Experience and Military Reform in Russia – What are the main problems of the Russian military reform? Has Russia made proper use of international experience
in its planning of the reform? How else can that experience be used to help the country develop its military capability? PIR Center hosted a brainstorming meeting of Russian and foreign military analysts to discuss these and other issues.

**Key words:** military reform in Russia, military reform in Switzerland, military reform in France, personnel policy, defense spending, education.

**COMMENTARY**

137 **Viktor Litovkin. The Bulava: finally success, what's next?** – The development and testing of the Bulava missile would not have been worth all the attention heaped on it were it not for the fact that this program has become something of a symbol of the new post-Soviet Russia. This program is seen as a test of the Russian defense industry's ability to create new strategic weapons that can ensure our security, independence and sovereignty, and of the Kremlin’s ability to maintain a leading role on the international arena. Military observer, Deputy Associate Editor of Novoe Voennooe Obozrenie writes about Bulava of our hopes.

**Key words:** Bulava test launch, Moscow Institute of Thermal Technology, Matveyev Design Bureau, Russian defense industry.

143 **Vadim Kozyulin. Russian Defense Industry: a Recipe for Reincarnation** – The Russian army needs foreign defense technology and foreign-made weapons. The largest foreign defense contractors have long gone transnational, and it is often difficult to pin down their precise national identity. Defense industry cooperation would improve our political relations with European countries, enable our defense technology to catch up with the world leaders, provide the Russian army with the best weapons available and speed up the modernization of our own defense industry. Vadim Kozyulin is Director of the Conventional Arms Project at PIR Center.

**Key words:** US sanctions against Russia, prospects for weapons imports, licensed manufacture of foreign weapons, international defense industry cooperation.

149 **Albert Zulkharneev. Pool of Expertise for a Civilian Minister's Military Reform** – If our army is to become stronger, it needs the support of our public and of our experts. What is needed is intellectual support. Right now, our army does not have that kind of support, and there are very few people capable of providing it. Director of the Education and Training Program at PIR Center shares his views on how existing experience in nonproliferation education can be used in the military field.

**Key words:** Milyutin reform, role of education in reform, Serdyukov reform, army and civil society, formation of a pool of expertise.

**REVIEWS OF RECENT WORLD EVENTS**

157 **Galiya Ibragimova. The iSi Index in 2010: Final Resumé.** Earthquakes in Haiti, China and Chile, floods in Pakistan, volcano eruption in Iceland, heat wave and droughts in Russia... The weather made its noticeable impact on security dynamics in the world in 2010.

**Key words:** Afghanistan–Pakistan, Middle East, Korean Peninsula, Iran, nuclear security.

**HISTORICAL PAGES**

167 **Vitaly Shlykov. How It Was Done in America** – It has been more than twenty years since first plans were announced to phase out conscription in the Soviet Union and then in Russia. Politicians can make their promises –
but the question is, can it be done in principle in the foreseeable future? Some answers can be found in the USA, where first steps towards creating all-volunteer armed forces were made almost 40 years ago. Vitaly Shlykov is a Chairman of the Commission on Security Policy and Evaluation of Defense Legislation, a member of the Public Board of the Ministry of Defense Commission a founder of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy. 

**Key words:** phasing out conscription, all-volunteer force, the Gates commission, disaster of the 1970s, education policy.

**LIBRARY**

173 Pavel Luzin. Searching for a Military Genius. “It so happened historically that innovations in armament, technology and tactics have always changed the nature of warfare in very important ways. These changes then led to redistribution of power in the world and influenced the political setup of the countries in question. But these days advanced weaponry is not enough. Everything depends on information systems and organization.” Pavel Luzin is a researcher at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences and a former intern at PIR Center. 

**Key words:** revolution in warfare, culture of military innovation, high-tech warfare, Israeli military culture, Russian military culture, US military culture.

**BOOK REVIEWS**

177 Albert Zulkharneev, Galiya Ibragimova, Margarita Klochkova, Vadim Kozyulin, Aleksander Kolbin and Ivan Trushkin – PIR Center interns and staff review new additions to the PIR Center library.

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