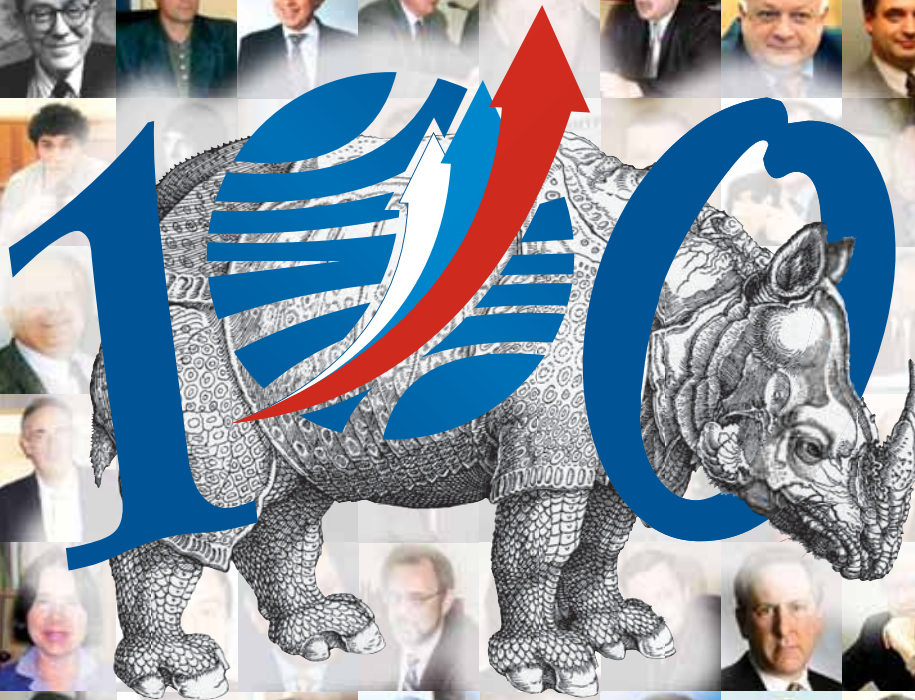


PIR CENTER INFORMATION BULLETIN 2012

PIRogue

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SECURITY INDEX JOURNAL:
Celebrating the Landmark 100th Issue

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PIRogue

PIR Center's bulletin, No. 8

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Top picture: *Security Index* journal Editorial Board meeting, March 10, 2011. Left to right: Vasily Lata, Vladimir Dvorkin, Ekaterina Stepanova, Vadim Gaponenko

Bottom picture: participants and lecturers of the International Summer School on Global Security — 2011.

Left to right. Bottom row: Przemyslaw Ozierski, Anton Kanashev, Alexander Cheban, Dmitrii Yantalets, Dmitry Chizhov, Murodali Khudoyorov, Yevgenij Sidorov.

Top row: Elmira Imamkulieva, Anton Baklanov, Marina Berberikh, Albert Zulkharneev, Batyr Mamedov, Andrey Baklitskiy, Tigran Harutyunyan, Yulia Lebedeva, Natalia Piskunova, Eugenij Belov, Aygozel Aramedova, Vadim Kozyulin, Ulyana Kozyulina, Vladimir Orlov, Nazira Mamatkanova, Artur Hakobyan, Sergey Tadtayev

On the front cover: authors and Editorial Board members of the *Security Index* journal (1994–2012)

REACHING ONE HUNDRED

*Some day you'll reach a hundred
And we'll sing, "Thank you that you're alive!"*
Vladimir Vysotsky

It's a special kind of pleasure to read through all the congratulatory emails. Especially emails like, "I congratulate the entire Editorial Team of the *Security Index* on your 100th anniversary". Believe me, that was far from the only such slip of tongue.

Our actual stats are as follows. The journal was born in November 1994, when the test issue came out. It was prepared by a small team of like-minded people in the editorial offices of the legendary *Moskovskiy Novosti* [Moscow News] newspaper on Pushkin Square. The official first issue was unveiled to a broad audience in January 1995, in the run-up to the NPT Review Conference.

So we are not actually 100 years old, we're only 18. But we have reached a hundred: the 100th issue of the *Security Index*. And I am glad that many of our readers, it seems, cannot even imagine a time when our journal did not exist.

We have really enjoyed that road, from No 1 to No 100. I had the task — and the honor — to edit and sign off to print every single one of those 100 issues.

The beginning was difficult. This piece of lyrics by my favorite Russian poet Vladimir Vysotsky just about sums it all up:

*By great good fortune you were born
Almost the same day your country was born.
You have lived through it all together.
Be thankful you're still alive.*

Back then, in 1994–1995, it sometimes felt as though "being born almost the same day your country was born" was a piece of really bad luck for the journal (and for its parent, PIR Center). At the beginning of new Russia, values and ethical criteria were eroded, and NGOs specializing in international security were seen as something unnatural. Now that we have reached a hundred, it is clear that the timing was not bad luck at all; it was actually our great good fortune. It was a time of great risks, but also a time when it was right and proper to take those risks and tread new paths instead of following in other people's footsteps.

That is why it has been so interesting. Always interesting. The heart of any journal's editorial team is the ideas and the authors. We have never had a shortage of either. I cannot remember a single instance of our editorial portfolio starting to look a bit thin. But I remember plenty of times when authors started taking offence at us for keeping their articles, excellent as they were, in a long line of similarly excellent articles awaiting their turn to be published.

On this day I would like to say a heartfelt "Thank You!" to every single one of our authors. Some of them are people who need no introductions. Others are young specialists whose careers our journal has helped to kick-start. There are in fact entire dynasties of authors: father and son, or father and daughter.

But there is one particular person who deserves our special gratitude. That person is Roland Timerbaev. Without his vast experience, without his energy, and his confidence that NGOs must play a more prominent role, without his ability to nurture a new generation of specialists, our journal would never have become what it is now.

As time went by, we started to feel that our chosen niche is too narrow, and we decided to add new topics to our regular coverage. Although nuclear nonproliferation remained at the center of our attention, it soon ceased to be our sole remit. We broadened our expertise and merged other PIR Center periodicals: *Voprosy Bezopasnosti* [Security Issues], *Khimicheskoye Oruzhie i Problemy Ego Unichtozheniya* [Chemical Weapons and Their Elimination], *Export Obichnikh Vooruzheniy* [Conventional Arms Exports], and *Rakety i Kosmos* [Missiles and Space] — with our flagship publication. We have also launched

new projects dealing with the new challenges and threats to international security and Russian national interests.

It was therefore entirely logical for us to move on from our old academic stomping ground. The road from *Yaderny Kontrol* to the *Security Index* took us twelve years. During that time we moderated our pace (at one point we were a monthly), gained a lot of substance (the first issues had just 16 pages; our 100th issue has almost 10 times as many), won an international audience by launching an English-language version, and, most importantly, attained a whole new level of quality of our output. Not a single piece of analysis is published in our journal without external peer review by the most reputable experts in the field. The Editorial Board, which maintains the quality standards and sets our development goals, is made of people of all political hues and stripes united by the depth of their thinking (more about them on pages 8 and 9). We also have 14 representatives of the journal in cities across the globe, from Prague and Kiev to Vladivostok and Tokyo.

When the Editorial Board met a year ago to set the outlines of the landmark 100th issue, we immediately decided against turning the issue into a *review of our success stories*. We also agreed that the necessary bit of tomfoolery to mark the occasion would be constrained to one of the back covers. Of course, we are going to have a party, all of us who have worked with me on one hundred issues of this journal over the years; we are going to have a laugh at the most famous and hilarious typos... But as the Russian saying goes, "You give your pleasures an hour, but you give your business the whole time".

The circulation of our 100th issue will be double the usual figure. In addition to our regular audience, we invite new readers to have a look with us at the future of the nonproliferation regime, which remains a cornerstone of the entire global security architecture. The Russian and English-language versions of our latest issue are gaining a new audience on Staraya Ploshad in Moscow, the home of the President's office, in the libraries of Tomsk and Paris, in the universities of Shanghai and São Paulo, in Riyadh and Sarov, Astana and Ankara, and, for the first time, in Pretoria.

In addition to the traditional printed version of this journal, we are also offering an electronic version; key articles from it have been highlighted in *PIR PRESS* newsletters and announced via *Twitter*. Our latest issues and the entire archive in Russian are now available on *elibrary.ru*, a major Russian online library. The English-language versions are available in the databases of our partner *Taylor&Francis*, the world's largest publishing house specializing in international relations. We are also glad to see that the electronic version of our journal is gaining new audiences among the decision makers and scholars in South Korea, Iran, Canada, Armenia, Turkey, the Czech Republic, Germany, Switzerland, and Brazil.

So everything is only just beginning for us and for our journal with this *one hundred*.

Finally, to those of you who keep asking us, *Why the rhino?* You will definitely find some hints inside. And if you're still curious, I can say only this: stick with us until the 200th issue, and I'll tell you.



Vladimir Orlov,
President, PIR Center
Editor-in-Chief, *Security Index* journal

PIR STANDS FOR PEACE

2010 NPT Review Conference — Any Revelations at RevCon?



Roland Timerbaev, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, member of PIR Center Advisory Board



Vladimir Orlov at the NPT PrepCom 2010

In 2010 PIR Center President **Vladimir Orlov** became the first NGO representative to be included in the official Russian delegation at the NPT Review Conferences, thereby setting a precedent in modern Russian diplomacy. **Elena Geleskul**, coordinator of Ways towards Nuclear Disarmament Program, took part in the work of the nongovernmental section of the conference.

How had PIR Center prepared for the latest Review Conference in May 2010? First and foremost, it came with a nongovernmental White Paper entitled “NPT-2010: Strengthening the Regime”.



Its foreword was written by Russian Foreign Minister **Sergey Lavrov**, who praised PIR Center's contribution to preparations for the conference: “Nongovernmental organizations traditionally play an important role in the preparations for NPT review conferences and during the conferences themselves. In Russia, this topic remains in the focus of attention of PIR Center, which has for many years conducted systemic work on a wide range of international security, nonproliferation and arms control issues. The Center's research is well known and respected in Russia and abroad”.

PIR Center representatives have attended the last four NPT Review Conferences. But if people who stood at the very foundations of PIR Center (such as **Roland Timerbaev**) were to be included in that list, we could safely assert that PIR Center has been present at *every single one* of the NPT Review Conferences.

The presentation was attended by about 100 people, including **Libran Cabactulan**, Chairman of the 2010 NPT RevCon; **Sergio Duarte**, High Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Disarmament; heads of many national delegations at the conference; and representatives of the media and NGOs.



The launch of the White Paper was held on May 12, 2010, first at the UN headquarters in New York, and later at the Russian Permanent Mission at the UN during a reception hosted by **Anatoly Antonov**, member of the PIR Center Advisory

Board. The presentation was attended by about 100 people, including **Libran Cabactulan**, Chairman of the 2010 NPT RevCon; **Sergio Duarte**, High Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Disarmament; heads of many national delegations at the conference; and representatives of the media and NGOs.



Anatoly Antonov at the White Paper presentation, New York

Has the White Paper served its purpose?



Harald Müller, Director of the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt at the White Paper presentation, New York

As PIR Center President **Vladimir Orlov** said, “We realize that some of the recommendations are debatable. By deliberately including them we invite our colleagues from government agencies and the nongovernmental sector to take part in a broad discussion to improve these recommendations

and develop specific mechanisms of implementing them in 2010–2014”. And looking at the nonproliferation scene a year and a half after the Review Conferences, we realize that the agenda is now dominated by attempts to develop various roadmaps and plans of action for nuclear disarmament. So in answer to the question of whether the White Paper has served its purpose we can say that it has certainly outlined the way forward.

Is There Life After START?

On June 25, 2010 PIR Center, in partnership with the Ploughshares Fund, held the international conference “**New START Signed, What's Next?**” The event was attended by more than 100 participants from 18 countries. A greeting message to the participants was sent by **Sergei Prikhodko**, Aide to the President of the Russian Federation and member of the *Security Index* journal's Editorial Board.



Signing the New START Treaty

The importance of the conference and the level of the debate can be well illustrated by the list of the event's participants. It included the Head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Department for Disarmament and Security, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary **Anatoly Antonov**; US Assistant Secretary of State **Rose Gottemoeller**; Deputy Director General of the *Rosatom* State Nuclear Corporation, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary **Nikolay Spassky**; Head of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR) in 1996–2000 **Vyacheslav Trubnikov**; President of the Brookings Institution, Deputy Secretary of State in 1994–2001 **Strobe Talbott**; Contributing Editor at *The Washington Post*, Pulitzer Prize winner **David Hoffman**.



Steven Pifer, Nikolay Spassky, Vyacheslav Nikonov

The agenda of the conference included Russian-US regional cooperation, the search for common approaches on international security, and the next steps on the disarmament agenda. A separate event worth mentioning is the joint briefing headlined “**START Negotiations: Sharing Experiences**”, which was held by the heads of the Russian and American delegations at the New START talks, **Anatoly Antonov** and **Rose Gottemoeller**.



SuPR meeting in Gstaad, February 2, 2011

Super SuPR!

The conference “**New START Signed, What’s Next?**” was a venue for the launch of the **Sustainable Partnership with Russia** (SuPR) Group. The group was set up by PIR Center and the Ploughshares Fund on the day of the signing of the New START Treaty between Russia and the United States, on April 8, 2010. The main objective of SuPR is to facilitate efforts aimed at establishing sustainable and long-term partnership between the Russian Federation and the United States on two key international security issues: nuclear nonproliferation and nuclear disarmament.



SuPR includes six leading Russian experts on international security and Russian-US relations, and six of their American colleagues. To ensure greater transparency the group also includes one Russian and one American representative of the media.

In February 2011, SuPR held a meeting in Gstaad, Switzerland, to discuss the next US-Russian steps on nuclear disarmament, as well as cooperation between the two countries in the Middle East. The meeting produced a **list of expert recommendations, which was submitted to the White House and the Kremlin.**

Another SuPR meeting was held by PIR Center and Ploughshares Fund on December 6–7, 2011 in Washington, DC. The topic was «**Future of the Russian-US Strategic Dialogue: Beyond Deterrence – Building a Sustainable Agenda**». The key issue on the agenda of the meeting was the future of US-Russian relations after 2012, the year of presidential elections both in Russia and in the United States.



SuPR meeting in Washington, December 6, 2011

Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance **Rose Gottemoeller**, Special Assistant to the President and White House Coordinator for Arms Control and Weapons of Mass Destruction, Proliferation and Terrorism **Gary Samore** and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the USA **Sergey Kislyak** were among the keynote speakers of the meeting. SuPR members also held a briefing with top US experts on international security issues and bilateral relations.



Participants of SuPR meeting in Washington, December 7, 2011

In addition...

Коммерсант

In March 2010 the leading Russian broadsheet *Kommersant* started to publish the weekly calculations of the *iSi International Security Index* compiled by PIR Center.



In July 2010 PIR Center received a **special consultative status at the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)**. This has enabled a much deeper and more productive cooperation between PIR Center and various UN structures; the center's recommendations can now be presented at a broader international level.



Starting from the first issue of 2010 the international edition of the *Security Index* journal is published by **Routledge**, a division of *Taylor & Francis* and a leading global publisher of books and periodicals specializing in international relations and the social sciences. The English-language edition of the *Security Index* is now published in London and distributed around the globe by professionals from the *Routledge* publishing house; this has significantly increased the journal's international audience.

LEAFING THROUGH THE JOURNAL

LEONID RESHETNIKOV: There is little doubt that developing nuclear cooperation between Russia and the United States will not only facilitate closer relations between the two but also strengthen global nuclear security. The Russian and American expert communities are playing a notable role in forging bilateral partnership. SuPR can also contribute to US-Russian dialogue on issues of international stability.

How Useful Are SuPR Group Recommendations?
Security Index. 2012. № 3

FASCINATING WORKDAYS AT PIR CENTER

PIR Center is already past the stage when the organization was highly specialized. At the moment we are working on 20 projects that cover different spheres of traditional security as well as new threats and challenges. PIR Center's experts are both interested and competent in the Iranian nuclear program, Russian interests in Central Asia and conventional arms exports. You can judge the results of our work by the products created by PIR Center.

In 2010 as a part of the **Development of Russia's Nuclear Exports** project we gathered all the available data on Russian cooperation with other states in the sphere of nuclear power engineering. As a result, we are proud to present an interactive map that reflects peaceful nuclear cooperation between Russia and foreign countries and a unique selection of intergovernmental agreements that regulate this cooperation. The project has already proved a valuable source for any research in the sphere, which had hitherto notoriously lacked trustworthy information. The data is available at the PIR Center website: www.atom.pircenter.org/eng



Interactive map of Russia's peaceful nuclear cooperation

All research on the nuclear weapons programs faces the problem of scarcity of information; most of that information is classified or at least not widely available. At the same time, this information is in great demand among the scholars who study international security. The **Nuclear Five** project prepared by PIR Center within the bigger **Ways towards Nuclear Disarmament** Project and available at our website at www.nuclearfive.pircenter.org can help solve the paradox. Information about nuclear policies, nuclear forces, the command-and-control system, and the history of the mili-



Underwater launch of a US Trident II ballistic missile



PIR Center's Advisory Board meeting, March 23, 2011

tary programs and nuclear tests was gathered from open sources and is presented for all five official nuclear-weapon states in Russian.

In the course of its programs PIR Center actively cooperates with the international expert community, as well as international and national organizations. Our experts frequently participate in conferences and scientific meetings where open and constructive dialogue takes place. Below you can find a brief overview of our activities in 2011 and in early 2012.

On March 23, 2011, PIR Center and the ASEAN Center of the MGIMO University held an enlarged meeting of the PIR Center Advisory Board on the topic **"Myanmar in ASEAN: Regional Challenges and Russia's Interests"**. At the meeting, experts specifically discussed the preconditions for further *opening* of the Asian state. The importance of the discussion became fully evident only eight months later, when in December of 2011 US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton arrived to Nay Pyi Taw with the first official visit.

On May 19, 2011, when Russian officials were voicing the possibility of Russia withdrawing from the New START Treaty, PIR Center held a press conference at the *RIA Novosti* news agency. The headline of the event was **"European Missile Defense system: view of the Russian experts"**. The speakers included **Vladimir Orlov**, PIR Center President, and Lt. Gen. **Evgeny Buzhinsky**, PIR Center Senior Vice President. The news conference received generous coverage in many Russian and international media outlets.

On June 23, 2011, three months after the *Fukushima Daiichi* nuclear accident, PIR Center held an international seminar **"Nuclear Energy and Development of the Nonproliferation Culture: Covering New Regions"**. The venue chosen for the event was the International Science and Technology Center (ISTC). Among other experts, the seminar was attended by **Awadh Albadi**, Head of the Research and Studies Department at King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies (Saudi Arabia), and **Taswanda Taryo**, Deputy Chairman of Indonesia's National Nuclear Energy Agency (BATAN).

On September 30, 2011, PIR Center held an enlarged meeting of its Advisory Board on the topic **"Fifteen Years of CTBT: Assessing the Achievements and Prospects"**. The main report was delivered by the Executive



International seminar, June 23, 2011

Secretary of the Preparatory Commission of the CTBTO, **Tibor Toth**. The event was attended by members of the PIR Center Advisory Board, *Dialogue Club International*, officials from the Russian Foreign Ministry, Defense Ministry and the *Rosatom* State Atomic Energy Corporation, representatives of the expert community and officials from foreign embassies.



Tibor Toth

On November 8, 2011, Ambassador **Jaakko Laajava** arrived in Moscow. The visit came a month after Laajava's appointment as Facilitator of the 2012 International Conference on Establishing a Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone in the Middle East. Apart from officials of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Laajava had a meeting with **Ivan Trushkin**, Coordinator of PIR Center Program Nuclear Nonproliferation and Russia, in order to discuss prospects and approaches to the conference.

On February 24, 2012, in the city of Sarov, Russian Prime Minister **Vladimir Putin** held a meeting with national security and defense policy specialists. PIR Center was the only NGO represented by two experts, **Evgeny Buzhinsky** and **Vladimir Orlov**. The Senior Vice President and the President of PIR Center exposed their views on the issues of non-strategic nuclear weapons and the situation with the Iranian nuclear program.



(left to right) PIR Center Senior Vice President Evgeny Buzhinsky, member of PIR Center Advisory Board Academician Alexei Arbatov, Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin

TWITTER: THE NEW NUCLEAR BUTTON

Nuclear security issues have traditionally formed the core of PIR Center's area of expertise and remained at the top of its agenda. In



recent years, however, a radically new set of challenges and threats to international security has emerged. The rapid development of information technolo-

gies has resulted in an explosion of various cyber threats, which are transforming the traditional perceptions of international security priorities in the 21st century.

The cyber attack against the Iranian nuclear infrastructure facilities using the *Stuxnet* virus was one of the key international security developments in 2010. The *Arab Spring of 2011* has given rise to a debate in the international expert community about social networking sites as an extremely powerful information weapon, which can potentially destabilize entire regions in the blink of an eye.



The Arab Spring in the Middle East, 2011

PIR Center could not ignore the unprecedented rise of cyber threats. In 2011 it launched the **Global Internet Governance and International Information Security** project.



Mikhail Yakushev

The purpose of the project is to look for solutions to the key cyber security challenges, taking into account the international community's needs and Russia's national interests. The project is led by **Mikhail Yakushev**, a prominent Russian specialist on

cyber law and Chairman of the PIR Center Executive Board.

On April 29, 2011, Mikhail Yakushev took part in a meeting between Russian President **Dmitry Medvedev** and representatives of the Russian internet community. The participants discussed the development of the Russian segment of the World Wide Web; the Russian State Youth Library was used as a venue. The discussion centered on responsibility for information being published on the internet, regulation of the use of the cyber space, and protection of intellectual property. Another prominent subject during the meeting with the Russian president was personal data protection.

Mikhail Yakushev spoke of the so-called *virtual identities* and the *problem of anonymity* on the internet.



Russian President Dmitry Medvedev meeting with representatives of the internet community

"How can a person guilty of publishing one or another piece of information be identified? Absolute anonymity always means crime. It is not a human right. People whose blogs are read by tens of thousands or even hundreds of thousands of people – and that is more than the audience of some national television channels – these people are certainly aware of their responsibility for what they write".

The project aims to analyze the following problems:

- Global identification of internet users
- International regulation of information security
- Web 2.0 and social networks in the context of national and international security
- Global internet governance: problems of participation and control
- Information security of critical civilian infrastructure (including nuclear)

One of the special priorities of the project is the situation in Russia, whose vital interests have also been affected by cyber security challenges. That is why PIR Center is working on a number of issues related to the Russian point of view on problems of cyber security and internet governance. **We are looking for answers to the following questions:**

- What are Russia's national interests in the area of information and telecommunication technologies?
- What cyber security issues could become the subject of dialogue between Russia and its Western partners?
- What are the prospects for cooperation between the Russian government, the business community, the expert community and the general public in the area of cyber security and internet governance?

As part of the project PIR Center publishes analytical reports and works on articles for the *PIR Study Papers* series. Experts working on the project have represented Russia at the Study group on Cyber Security under the Council on Cyber Security in the Asia Pacific (Bengaluru, India, 2011) and at the London Conference on Cyberspace (UK, 2011). The project aims to make cyber security an established area of PIR Center expertise, along with our traditional nuclear security remit.

Social Networks: a Security Threat or Asset?

On July 6, 2011, in the framework of *Midweek Brainstorming Sessions*, PIR Center Junior Research Fellow **Oleg Demidov** pre-

LEAFING THROUGH THE JOURNAL

YULIA KISLYAK, ALEXEI SOKOLOV: Thus emerges the extremely serious problem of the improper and manipulative use of access to and influence over large audiences. Despite the underlying democratic principles of the Web, one can hardly rule out the possibility of using its resources and potential for achieving the foreign policy goals of the state. The shaping of public opinion through the Internet is becoming a key factor in the formation of the strategic priorities of society and affects the interests of all states.

Internet Technologies and Geopolitics
Yaderny Kontrol. Volume 6, No. 1.
Winter 2001.

sented his report **"Social Networking Services in the Context of National and International Security"**. The seminar attracted a lot of attention from experts, diplomats and officials. The event was attended by officials from the secretariat of the Russian Government, the Russian Ministry of Communications, the US Embassy in Moscow, the Russian Foreign Ministry's MGIMO University, the Russian Association of Electronic Communications, the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, and the Russian Foreign Ministry's Diplomatic Academy. Keen interest in the subject of social networking sites was highlighted during a discussion between the guests of the seminar, who offered their answers to the questions outlined in Oleg Demidov's report, such as:



Oleg Demidov

Could social networking services represent a national security threat? What could be the consequences of attempts by some governments to use social networking services for their own military and political ends? The article by Oleg Demidov has been published in the № 1, Winter 2012 issue of the *Security Index* journal.



Midweek Brainstorming Session seminar on cyber security at PIR Center

THE PATH OF THE RHINO: 100 ISSUES OF THE *SECURITY INDEX* JOURNAL



Yuri Baturin, the Advisor to the President of Russia on National Security, in his foreword to the first issue of the *Yaderny Kontrol* journal (November 1994):

"There is an increasing number of issues now being discussed in Russia which used to be off-limits, such as exports of sensitive materials and technologies, security, accounting and control of nuclear materials, etc... Other problems being discussed include the situation with the ratification of the START II and the Chemical Weapons Convention, or debates over the Russian nuclear weapons stationed in Ukraine. [...] There is a clear need for a truly professional publication targeted at both the expert community and the general public."



Vadim Kozyulin, Director of PIR Center's Conventional Arms and the International Arms Trade Treaty Project, who was a member of the *Yaderny Kontrol* editorial team in 1994.

"The editorial office of the *Moskovskie Novosti* newspaper, where PIR Center was born, was situated on Pushkin Square. The editorial office of another leading broadsheet, *Izvestiya*, was just across the square from us. The *Yaderny Kontrol* journal, the *Moscow News Confidential* newsletter (the predecessor of *Russia Confidential*), and the elite *Moscow News Club* (the predecessor of *Dialogue Club*) — all of these PIR Center trademarks were born back then as experimental projects. *Yaderny Kontrol* quickly acquired a large number of authors, from talented doctoral students to reputable nuclear professionals with decades of experience. One important distinction of *Yaderny Kontrol*, which remains to this day, is that the journal's editorial team was quite small. The job required versatile and creative people — and that is exactly the kind of people PIR Center became good at bringing up."

The *Security Index* was the first Russian journal to focus on international security. For 18 years now it has remained one of the leaders in a tough and competitive environment. The 100th issue of the journal came out in 2012. Now perhaps is a good time to look back.

Back in the mid-1990s, when Russia was in a difficult economic and domestic political situation, nuclear materials export controls became a serious problem facing the new post-Communist government. We gave the subject generous coverage and took part in various discussions; export controls was the main topic of many issues of *Yaderny Kontrol*. By the mid-2000s — and with our contribution — that problem had been solved, and the time came for us to venture into new territories.

Our journal has always been *one step ahead* of international trends. We wrote about the logical link between missile defense and nuclear reductions 14 years before the issue began to make headlines in connection with the New START Treaty. We predicted the establishment of a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Central Asia 11 years before the Treaty of Semipalatinsk was signed. We ran articles about the impact of the internet on national security back at the time when less than 1 per cent of Russians had internet access.

We have published articles by Presidents and Foreign Ministers, NATO Secretaries General and IAEA Directors General. The network of experts who have appeared on our pages spreads from Buenos Aires to Harare. In addition to our core subjects of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament, our authors have analyzed the impact of biotechnologies on agriculture, the efforts by the Caspian nations to preserve the stocks of sturgeon, the outlook for the Libyan and Myanmar nuclear programs, the threat of climate change and the ethical conundrums of nuclear weapons.

The *Security Index* has readers in the Russian Foreign Ministry and the US Department of State, the Embassy of Sri Lanka in France and the PRC State Council, the Russian Defense Ministry and the Pentagon, the Russian Cabinet and the US Presidential Administration, as well as universities, colleges and research centers all around the world. In response to our articles we receive letters from international organizations, ministries and governments of foreign countries. That is the kind of *soft power*, which many governments are trying — often with little success — to acquire.



The *Security Index* is a guide to the world of international security. For the Central Asian states, which have declared their region a zone free of nuclear weapons, the nuclear nonproliferation regime is a cornerstone of regional security.

In view of the growing threat of critical technologies and nuclear weapons falling into the hands of aggressive regimes, strengthening the nonproliferation regime will largely depend on deeper understanding of the nature of the challenges and threats posed by nuclear weapons.

Galiya **Ibragimova**, *Security Index* representative in Tashkent (Uzbekistan)



The *Security Index* is always very welcome in Vienna. The Conference on Disarmament, the IAEA and the CTBTO Preparatory Committee are just a few of the platforms where

experts discuss international and nuclear security issues almost non-stop, and quality analysis in this area is in high demand. I am absolutely certain that the journal will find an audience here, and that it has a great potential for development and cooperation in Vienna.

Nikita **Perfiliev**, *Security Index* representative in Vienna (Austria)



The *Security Index* has become a PIR Center *calling card*. It has earned itself a reputation of a serious information and analysis platform. It gives the leading experts an opportunity to voice their

opinion and debate the most pressing issues of nonproliferation, disarmament and arms control. To the readers the journal offers a chance to keep abreast of the key international security problems.

Aben **Dauren**, *Security Index* representative in Almaty (Kazakhstan)



We celebrate the 100th issue of *Security Index*, the outstanding Russian Journal on international security, and congratulate PIR Center and its Staff for this remarkable achievement. We, at the NPSGlobal Foundation, are proud of our long-standing friendship.

Irma **Arguello**, Founder and Chair,
The NPSGlobal Foundation
(Argentina)

100 issues demonstrate that *Security Index* has very well established itself among those scholarly magazines that aim to reach out to decision-makers, decision-shapers and the broader public. The journal helps to make the broader community understand that the views from Moscow and an open exchange with Moscow is of ever-increasing importance for us all.

Pal **Dunay**, Head of the International Security Program, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (Hungary)



All the copies of the journal that have come out since 1994 weigh a total of 40 tonnes, which is about the same as a T-90A main battle tank.

The shortest distance a copy of the *Security Index* travels to the reader is 5 kilometers. The longest is 13,495 km.



The *Rhinoceros* woodcut made in 1515 by the German artist Albrecht Durer. Despite its apparent invulnerability, three out of the five rhino species are on the brink of extinction. That is yet another security paradox we have to contend with.

The highest possible value of the *iSi International Security Index* is 4210 points. In the case of a global nuclear war, the *iSi* value will fall to zero.



«Nearly two decades ago, at the end of the Cold War, Vladimir Orlov and his team began an experiment – to publish a journal that was committed to more transparency in a field that had been tightly closed in Soviet times. Orlov's hope of creating more openness and deeper understanding of Russian security issues has been fulfilled in the first 100 issues of

the journal, known as *Yaderny Kontrol* in the early days and today named *Security Index*.

David E. **Hoffman**, Foreign Editor, *The Washington Post* (2001–2009), Pulitzer Prize-winning author (USA)

I offer my sincere congratulations to PIR Center on the occasion of the 100th issue of the *Security Index* journal. During my tenure as High Representative for Disarmament Affairs at the United Nations I relied on the *Security Index* for up to date information on vital security questions. I wish a successful continuation of this very useful publication.



Sergio **Duarte**, United Nations High Representative for Disarmament Affairs (2007–2012) (Brazil)



The international edition of the *Security Index* journal takes the best articles from the Russian version and circulates them around the globe. It is read by diplomats, government officials, journalists and experts from Washington and Tehran, Tokyo and London, Cairo and Riyadh, Beijing and New Delhi – a total of 50 cities in 15 countries, as well as influential international organizations including the UN, the IAEA, the OSCE, and the CTBTO Preparatory Committee.

Evgeny Petelin, editor of the international edition of *Security Index*: «In recent years it has become

fashionable to talk about the need for greater understanding between Russia and the outside world. The international edition of the *Security Index* aims to promote Russian international security analysis on the global arena. It offers researchers and government officials from the United States, Britain, Germany, France, China, India and other countries access to Russian experts' research and ideas, interviews with the leading representatives of the Russian establishment, and the latest assessments of the international situation. That in itself is a major contribution to achieving greater mutual understanding.





Ekaterina Stepanova, Leading Research Associate at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations RAS



Dmitry Evstafiev, Director of Public Relations Department of TNK-BP



Dmitry Rogozin, Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Government



Azer Mursaliyev, Editor-in-Chief of the Kommersant Publishing House



Vasily Lata, PIR Center Consultant

THE RHINO IN SHIRTSLEEVES

Members of the *Security Index* Journal Editorial Board

From: Ekaterina Stepanova
To: *Security Index*



My great-grandfather, Stepan Ivanovich Lyubarskiy, was the author of one of the first military monographs about the Spanish Civil War. He took part in developing plans for several of the largest campaigns during World War II, and he often wrote for the *Voyennaya Mysl* journal. I think he would be greatly surprised to learn that many decades later, on the 65th anniversary of Victory, *Voyennaya Mysl* carried an article by his great-granddaughter, and that her books on modern conflicts — essentially on the same subject, but covered by a civilian analyst — would be translated into Spanish.

One of the funniest stories that ever happened to me was on a plane. I had a sudden and irresistible urge (which was, very fortunately, suppressed by my travelling companion) to give a 10-dollar bill to an elderly gentleman who was shuffling along the aisle and shaking all the passengers' hands for some reason. I thought he was collecting donations. He turned out to be the former US President Jimmy Carter, who was flying to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. My very near *faux pas* would have been all the more embarrassing for the fact that my first doctoral thesis was on the subject of US foreign policy in the late 20th century.

From: Vasily Lata
To: *Security Index*



In the army, I have often had to take risks. But taking a risk must always be justified; that has always been my rule. I have never taken risks unless I was certain that the situation required it, and I have never risked people's lives. It is always better to be reprimanded than to commit a sin — that is what my parents taught me. Back when I was a lieutenant, the risks had to do with spillage of rocket fuel components during the fuelling of the *R-12* missile. Later on there were risks during my service in Belarus at the *Pioner* rocket complex. As a rule, those risks had to do with moving convoys along swampy forest roads of the Belarusian countryside.

I like traveling; I especially like road trips. I also like the Carpathian Mountains. It's a beautiful part of the world, and the people are very friendly, too. In 2011 I took a road trip along the following route: Moscow–Smolensk–Minsk–Brest–Lutsk–Lviv–Stryi–Dolyna–Kamenets-Podolskiy–Khmelnitskiy–Uman–Kremenchug–Dnipropetrovsk–Zaporizhzhya–Crimea–Donetsk–Zaporizhzhya–Moscow. It was an unforgettable experience.

I was introduced to PIR Center and to its founder and president, Vladimir Orlov, by Yevgeny Maslin, a member of the PIR Center Executive Board. I like the team, which, just like its leader, can work 24 hours a day if the situation requires it. The team which I myself led at the time had the same style and the same spirit.

From: Mikhail Yakushev
To: *Security Index*



After graduation I did not have an opportunity to put to any use my training in space law. Because my Spanish was good I was sent to work with the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Latin America. I served in the Soviet embassies in Ecuador and Argentina. I had the usual diplomatic duties in the Soviet (and then Russian) embassy. But I kept looking for a chance to use my knowledge of space law, so while I was serving in Buenos Aires I joined the Argentine Society of Space Attorneys. Twenty years ago there were fewer than 500 such attorneys in the whole world. There aren't many more of them now. In Argentina I was the eleventh member of the Society... I also read lectures on space law theory at the University of Buenos Aires. I liked it a lot.

After the break-up of the Soviet Union the diplomatic service also went into decline, so I had to make a living by working as a lawyer. Highly qualified experts in international law were still in great demand. I provided legal advice in various areas, from forestry and the paper-making industry to civil aviation. When I was working for a foreign air carrier my attention was attracted by a new method of communication called the internet. Civil aviation uses its own proprietary telecommunication systems to ensure reliable communications with air traffic controllers, head offices, between the aircraft, etc. The internet was just one of many communication tools, although it was more complex. It became obvious to me early on that the internet had a great future — and that opinion has been borne out over the past 15 years. That is how I became one of the first legal experts in our country to start publishing research papers, articles and books on the subject of internet regulation and governance.



Sergei Brilev, Deputy Director of Rossiya TV Channel



Vladimir Dvorkin, Carnegie Moscow Center Consultant



Mikhail Yakushev, Chairman of the PIR Center Executive Board

The bookshelf

Members of our editorial team are also talented writers. Reading their works, one often wonders how multi-faceted these people are, and how they can surprise you even when you think you already know them very well:



Sergey Brilev. *Fidel. Football. Falklands.*

A Latin American diary whose author invites the audience to travel with him across the continent and take a new look at well-known facts. Was the Soviet Union involved in the Falklands conflict? Come on, of course it was!

Nikolay Spassky. *The Gogol Curse.*

A top-notch intellectual crime thriller, which offers a strangely absorbing mix of Soviet spying in Italy, canonization of saints, and Gogol's biography. It is a fascinating literary embodiment of a theory based on meticulous work in the archives.



Ekaterina Stepanova. *The Role of Illicit Drug Business in the Political Economy of Conflicts and Terrorism.*

Although this work is a serious piece of research, it reads like a thriller. It has the Taliban and the left-wing Columbian rebels, the military junta in Myanmar and transnational networks. It has everything you wanted to know, and more, about the link between drugs and armed conflicts.



Dmitry Polikanov. *AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa (The future of Russia?).*

How and why is the century's most horrible disease spreading in Sub-Saharan Africa? What are its implications for the Black Continent's population and economy? What lessons can Russia learn from it? It is hard to find more pressing or less understood questions.



From: Nikolay Spassky

To: Security Index



Everyone who thinks of himself as a specialist in international affairs, regardless of his or her particular specialization, must visit all the key parts of the world and spend some time there to talk to the people and get the feel of the place. One must travel with a positive attitude, because without such attitude it is difficult to understand another country or another culture. One cannot become a proper international specialist just by touring the world-famous European destinations.

As for Moscow, I used to like Metrostrovskaya Street, Gogol Boulevard, and the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. I used to come to that museum very often when I was a schoolboy, and then in later years as a student. Our institute, the International Relations faculty of MGIMO, was in Metrostroyevskaya. The place has changed a lot since then; I seldom visit it these days. But I still like old Moscow, the historical center of the city.

I like the phrase «Disaster equals opportunity». I don't know who coined it. But the phrase catches the essence of a positive and practical attitude to life which I like very much. In any situation, people must always stay positive.



Konstantin Eggert, Commentator at the Kommersant FM Radio Station



Nikolai Spassky, Deputy Director General of the Rosatom State Corporation



Evgeny Maslin, Director of the Branch, Aspect-Conversion



Yuri Fedorov, PIR Center Executive Board member



Dmitry Polikanov, Vice President of PIR Center

From: Dmitry Polikanov

To: Security Index



Let me tell you two stories which enabled me to take a sober look at the activities of humanitarian organizations. The first happened in 2002. I was part of a delegation visiting the camps of displaced Chechen people in Ingushetia. So, we are touring one of the camps. All we can see is row upon row of new green tents forming entire streets, and smuggling Ingush policeman wielding assault rifles. The camp is eerily quiet. The men are spending their whole time cooling themselves at the nearby river, the women are working or selling stuff at the roadside. We enter one of the tents. The people living in it immediately begin to complain: life is hard, we have to take turns to sleep, there's no electricity, it's very crowded, and so on. We really feel for these people; we imagine how packed and stuffy the tent must become at night. Then at some point we accidentally deviate from the ordained route and mistakenly enter the wrong tent. And what do we see there? A child sitting on a carpet in front of a spanking new television, playing some shooter on one of those game consoles which were a wonder even in Moscow back at the time. We are lost for words. "We did you get the game console?" we ask the kid. "My dad brought it," comes the reply.

The second such case happened in 2008, in South Ossetia. We are collecting requirements for humanitarian aid to the victims of the armed conflict. The list we are given contains all the usual items such as blankets, tents, candles, etc. But there is one very unusual item: pressing irons. A thousand of them, maybe even more. Well, we buy the irons. And then at the airfield, as we send off the air transport with the humanitarian cargo, one of the journalists asks, "What are the irons for? I thought they didn't have any electricity there?" And uncomfortable silence follows. Then the press secretary rallies: "Well, they are for the disinfection, to iron the laundry".

In other words, for all the nobility of humanitarian aid, one must keep in mind that there is a human factor involved on both sides. And all the usual human errors and motivations — i.e. miscalculations, nest-feathering instincts, or attempts to earn political dividends — are always present. That is why one must always try to keep sight of the facts on the ground.



Anton Khlopkov, Director of Center for Energy and Security



Sergei Prikhodko, Aide to the President of Russia on Foreign Policy and International Relations



Vladimir Orlov, President of PIR Center

THE GRASS IS GREENER WHERE WE ARE!

In 2011 the Cyber Security Working Group of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP) held a meeting in Bangalore, India. Even compared to Moscow the city looks like a teeming anthill. There's evidence of break-neck growth and



bustling activity everywhere. There are numerous construction sites, road works, metal frames, half-finished flyovers, and piles of construction materials. There are lots of people, too. According to Wikipedia, the population of Bangalore is 6 million people. My local driver Magi only laughs and reports that the figure is now more than 7 million.

Nevertheless, Bangalore is still a city of motorcycles and rickshaws; there are notably more of them on the roads than cars. Beijing used to be a city of bicycles. In Bangalore, there are next to no bicycles, but there is a huge number of motorcycles (not to be confused with scooters). Meanwhile,

the moto-rickshaws are not going out of fashion at all; they still compete successfully with taxis in the low-cost niche. Their design seems not to have changed at all since the 1970s, and it's impossible not to laugh the first time you see one of them.

Oleg Demidov, PIR Center Junior Research Fellow

Korean cuisine is undeservedly ignored by Moscow's oriental restaurants. Even those purportedly Korean dishes they serve bear little resemblance to a proper *bibimbap*, *kimbap* or *dwenjang-jjigae* — except of course the restaurants which have Korean chefs.



There were lots of things I missed when I returned from my internship in Seoul some years ago — but the thing I missed the most was Korean food, not just hot-and-spicy but very varied and unimaginably delicious. So the first thing I did when I came back to Korea five years later was to go to a small *siktang* — a diner with just enough room for 10 or 15 people. There are lots of them in the narrow Korean alleys. I ordered *bulgogi* (a kind of beef stew) with all the usual side dishes like rice, *kimchi* (pickled vegetables), *dubu* (Korean tofu) and *dwenjang-jjigae* (soya bean paste soup). My trip turned out to be a journey of gastronomic discovery:



the first official dinner of the conference to develop approaches to the Seoul Nuclear Security Summit was held in a traditional Korean cuisine restaurant.

Irina Mironova, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the Security Index

We tend to view Central Asia as a source of threats. But I would like us to follow the suit of our wise forebears and view the region as a source of colossal opportunities. In the hustle and bustle of modern politics we don't notice things which are truly precious. It should have been obvious to me but I was truly astounded to realize while on a trip to Dushanbe that the Tajik language, the language of Rudaki and Firdousi, now uses the Cyrillic script, our own Slavic Cyrillic script, which



has now become the Tajik script as well. And in Bishkek one of the theaters has a play by Ostrovskiy — but in the Kyrgyz language. I didn't realize it before, but then I suddenly felt the scale of it, and the enormous value of it. This is something unprecedented, these ties that will last for centuries. Are we truly going to act like feckless brats of great parents and trade all these riches for cheap glitter? I met very talented, open, friendly and beautiful people on my trip. Many of them are now going through hard times, but in every town and in every village there are memorials to the hundreds and thousands. Yesterday we were going through hard times ourselves, and they were standing shoulder to shoulder

with us to defend our Moscow. If we want to remain in Central Asia, we must be here, we must come here, work here, study here, and open for ourselves and for our loved ones this stunning and fascinating land. I am grateful to the OSCE Academy, to my colleagues, students and friends from all the Central Asian countries for the opportunity to do just that.

Albert Zulkharneev, PIR Center Education and Training Program Director

In the autumn of 2010, while on a trip to the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory (one of the US Department of Energy's



At the control station of *Reactor B*

16 national nuclear laboratories) I visited the Hanford Site. It was built on the banks of the Columbia River in 1943 as part of the *Manhattan Project*. The heart of the facility is *Reactor B*, the world's first reactor designed for industrial-scale production of Plutonium-239. The plutonium produced by the reactor was used in the device tested at Alamogordo and in the *Fat Man* bomb dropped on Nagasaki. The entire *nuclear* town of Richland, which sprang up on the site of an old Native American settlement when the Hanford Site was built, literally oozes the spirit of *Reactor B*. One of the high school football



teams is called Bombers, and the locals are genuinely proud of their role in putting an end to World War II. The reactor itself was shut down in the late 1960s and declared a historical site.

Ivan Trushkin, Nuclear Nonproliferation and Russia Program Coordinator

THE WORLD LISTENS TO US...



Participants of SuPR meeting in Gstaad (left to right): Victor Vasiliev, Richard Burt, Evgeny Buzhinsky, Leonid Gankin, February 3, 2011

European Vector

Centre russe d'études politiques, the European branch of PIR Center with headquarters in the canton of Geneva, was founded in Switzerland in August 2006. It is a nongovernmental, nonprofit organization incorporated in a form of an Association, with members from Russia, Switzerland, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Kazakhstan, Latvia and Spain, among others. Located at the very

heart of Europe in neutral Switzerland *Centre russe d'études politiques* is an ideal platform for international security dialogue between Russia and the European countries. It also has direct contacts with the United Nations Office at Geneva and the Conference on Disarmament.

Among the members of the *Centre russe d'études politiques* are Permanent Representative of the Republic of Belarus to the UN Office in Geneva **Mikhail Khvostov**,

Director for Russia and Central Europe at the World Economic Forum (1991–2006) **Macha Levinson**, President of the Roman part of the Joint Chamber of Commerce of Switzerland **Guy Mettan**, Senior Vice President of the Banque Pictet & Cie **Christopher Mouravieff-Apostol**, Executive Director of *Russkiy Mir* Foundation **Vyacheslav Nikonov**, Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe **Gerard Stoudmann**, Swiss bankers, European policymakers and legislators, and members of the leading European and US research centers.

For more information, please visit our website: crep.pircenter.org/eng



Left to right: Ivan Trushkin, Leonid Gankin, Mikhail Lysenko

...WE LISTEN TO THE WORLD



The Dow Jones index of Global Security

The *International Security Index (iSi)* is a joint project of PIR Center and *Kommersant*, Russia's leading publishing

house. The Index is a universal indicator of the state of international security.

Every day dozens of events in different parts of the world attract the notice of the

mass media, but only the most significant ones are highlighted. Regardless of whether any given event gets into the newspapers or not, each one of them affects the overall *temperature of security in the world*.

Climate change can be tracked by weather forecasts, and the state of the economy by stock market indices such as the *Dow Jones*, *Nikkei* or *RTS*. Thanks to the *iSi* Index, there is now an instrument of monitoring the changing state of global security.

International Expert Group

The value of the *iSi* index is updated every week with the help of a telephone survey of the *International Expert Group*, which includes experts from all over the world. We are proud to rely on the expertise of prominent specialists from Russia, Argentina, Brazil, France, Hungary, India, Iran, the PRC, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, South Africa, the USA, and Uzbekistan. The global outreach of the International Expert Group is the best guarantee of our impartiality.

For more information, please visit our website: isi.pircenter.org/eng

TRIALOGUE CLUB: 50 PERCENT BETTER THAN DIALOGUE



Meeting of the Trialogue Club International, March 30, 2011

Triologue Club International offers to its members a unique opportunity to communicate informally with the people responsible for decision making, and to get access to the most recent, sometimes even insider, first-hand information. If one wants to learn what the Russian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs really thinks on the Iranian nuclear program, or what the Chief of the General Staff makes of various peacekeeping operations, Trialogue is one of the very few options available.



Nikolay Makarov

"Maybe, indeed, Russia is not that as actively involved in solving peacekeeping tasks as it should be. But the armed forces are the instrument of last resort, used whenever the escalation of an armed conflict is imminent.

If we are asked to introduce our peacekeeping forces it means that a war is probable. My position as the Chief of General Staff is that I do not want to sacrifice our people for nothing, nor to risk their lives. All the possible instruments, be it diplomatic, economic or political, must be used in order to prevent the situation from deteriorating and to stop the conflict so that there is no need for sending peacekeepers."

Chief of the General Staff of the Russian Federation, First Deputy Minister of Defence **Nikolay Makarov**, speaking at the *Triologue Club* meeting, June 17, 2010

On the other hand, high-ranking guests speak in front of an equally distinguished audience. The club includes more than 30 individual and corporate members, including the embassies of the Czech Republic, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Romania, Spain, Switzerland, South Africa, Turkey, the NATO Information office in Moscow, and major national and international companies dealing with security issues. The speakers as well as the audience have a good grasp of the issues being discussed.

"I was probably the only foreign diplomat who had a chance to visit the Indian nuclear center in Hyderabad, where I got acquainted with the advances of the Indian industry in the nuclear domain, which were a direct result of long-lasting sanctions on India. Instead of participating in transparent international collaboration, Indian specialists had to rely on their own resources to produce some equipment the existence of which the rest of the world did not even suspect".

Hero of Russia, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to India (2004–2009) **Vyacheslav Trubnikov** speaking at the *Triologue Club* meeting, March 3, 2010.



Vyacheslav Trubnikov

LEAFING THROUGH THE JOURNAL

SERGEY RYABKOV: On the whole, we are very appreciative of PIR Center's work, including the *Russia Confidential* newsletter, which we in the Foreign Ministry call the *PIR Yellow Pages*. It really stimulates the intellectual debate, and it often goes several steps ahead of what officials and diplomats can afford to say out loud.

Further Sanctions Against Iran Pointless. *Security Index*. 2012. № 3

Each year members of the *Triologue Club* are invited to four meetings in Moscow and one abroad and can attend all other events of PIR Center. They receive the *Security Index Journal*, and the exclusive analytical newsletter *Russia Confidential* in Russian or in English.

Every month members of the *Triologue Club International* receive by e-mail a high quality analysis of international politics prepared specially for the occasion. The authors writing for *Russia Confidential* have analyzed the role Russia has played in China's "*Big Nuclear Leap*", shed light on potential political instability in Kazakhstan, made projections for the Russian foreign policy after the elections and answered the question of "What to expect from Afghanistan and what does it mean for Russia?".

Vadim Kozyulin reports from Islamabad, Galiya Ibragimova reports from Tashkent:

As the coalition nations gradually lose interest in Afghanistan, Moscow may have to assume the role of an informal coordinator of the anti-Taliban bloc. Russia has the largest stockpiles of weapons in the world. As such, it can be a natural source of arms supplies to the Karzai government. The first deliveries of small arms and ammunition have already been made.

Russia Confidential. January 2011

All members of the Club also have access to the full archive of *Russia Confidential*.

For more details about the activities of the Club and membership fees, please visit PIR Center website at: www.club.pircenter.org

THE PIR THAT BE



PIR Center extended Advisory Board meeting, March 23, 2011

The PIR Center Advisory Board is a community of friends, partners and colleagues, which allows to expand significantly our area of expertise in case of necessity and to raise the level of discussion through the participation of new specialists.

The best indicator of the interest in this format of scientific collaboration is the increasing number of the Advisory Board members: in 2010–2011, 11 individual and two corporate members joined the Board. Among them are Rector of the Academy of Labor and Social Relations **Evgeny Kozhokin**, Editor-in-Chief of the *Russia in Global Affairs* journal **Fedor Lukyanov**, Director of the Russian Institute of Strategic Studies

(RISS) **Leonid Reshetnikov**, Director General of the Russian Public Opinion Research Center **Valery Fedorov**, Director of the Center for Arms Control, Energy and Environmental Studies **Evgeny Myasnikov**, the *International Affairs* journal and the Argentinean Nonproliferation for Global Security Foundation.

The meetings of the Advisory Board in 2010–2011 covered a wide range of topics: from the nuclear fuel cycle in a nuclear weapons free world to the place and role of Myanmar in the South-East Asia, and from preparations for the NPT Review Conference to the future of non-strategic nuclear weapons in Europe.

On November 24, 2011, the meeting of Advisory Board was held in cooperation



PIR Center Advisory Board meeting, November 24, 2011



PIR Center Advisory Board members Eugene Miasnikov and Victor Koltunov

with the ASEAN Center at the MGIMO University. To get a complete and objective Russian view on the China-US relations in Asia, PIR Center made use of the formidable expertise of MGIMO, the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, RISS, the Institute of Oriental Studies and MacArthur Foundation.

“To my mind, whatever China and the US are doing outside East Asia, in other parts of the globe, they are both to a certain extent guided by each other – i.e. the US by the factor of China, and China by the factor of the US. It seems that we should also take it into consideration. Parts of this larger context will be the European missile defense system, the *Arab Spring* – which is gradually becoming the *Arab Autumn*, and other events of that scale”.

Director of the ASEAN Center at the MGIMO University, PIR Center Advisory Board member **Victor Sumsky**



Acting Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Rose Gottemoeller, PIR Center Advisory Board member

At the beginning of 2012 PIR Center's *intellectual reserve* included 57 individual and 10 corporate members, including 34 holders of a PhD degree, three members of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian government officials, and representatives of Austria, Argentina, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Norway, the PRC, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, and the United States.

EDUCATIONAL SUMMER AT PIR CENTER



Participants of the International Summer School 2010

The International Summer School on Global Security is PIR Center's key education project and a unique platform for professional growth, open dialogue and promotion of nonproliferation culture. At the Summer School young talents try to find their calling in the area of politics and security; rookie diplomats and researchers meet the best experts and colleagues from around the world, and take part in lectures, seminars, debates and role playing games. The school helps to bring up a new generation of global security specialists, and welcomes new entrants to the international community of young professionals.

June 20 – July 3, 2010 – X International Summer School on Global Security (24 participants, 35 lecturers, 13 countries)

June 19 – July 2, 2011 – XI International Summer School on Global Security (23 participants, 32 lecturers, 11 countries)

A Summer School first: participants from all CIS countries plus **Abkhazia, Georgia, China, Poland, Romania and South Ossetia.**

New formats: debates, role-playing games, joint presentations and lectures by participants and lecturers, master classes, meetings with writers and journalists

Traditional and new partners: 2010 – *Russkiy Mir Foundation, NATO Information Bureau in Moscow, Carnegie Corporation of New York, the International Science and Technology Center, the Swiss Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sport, the John D. and Catherin T. MacArthur Foundation.*

New partners in 2011: *British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Russian Institute of Strategic Studies, the Nuclear Threat Initiative.*

Different views, common language

A whole new community of young international security specialists has coalesced around PIR Center's Summer School. What brings them all together? Common challenges? Yes! The CIS? Yes, but not just that. The key word is vocation. Among the participants are **diplomats, military officers, scientists, journalists, engineers and students.** And one of the main things they all have in common is the Russian language and interest in Russia and its politics, its approaches to international problems, its science and culture.

"I would like to note the extremely high level of experts, and a unique combination of discipline and friendly atmosphere. As a result even the most serious issues of diplomacy were discussed in a lively and creative climate. It is especially important that part of the program focuses on Russia, the Russian culture, Russian



Participants of the Summer School 2011 visit the Novospasskiy Monastery in Moscow

thinking, and speeches by such people as Yuri Vyazemskiy, Armen Oganessian, and Nikolay Spasskiy..."

Aleksandr Oborskiy, third secretary of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's Political Department, Kiev, Ukraine.

Hard Talk

Summer School discussions between young specialists and today's decision-makers are open, challenging and professional. To show, to explain and to prove – that is why distinguished guests visit the School. Issues including the strategic offensive weapons, relations with the United States, and the military-political situation have been discussed with Russian Deputy Defense Minister **Anatoly Antonov**, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister **Sergey Ryabkov**, and US Assistant Secretary of State **Rose Gottemoeller**. Pan-European security, as well as opportunities and limitations of Russian-NATO cooperation were the subject of debates with Ambassadors Vladimir Voronkov and Ron Keller, and NATO diplomats **Robert Pshel** and **Michele Duret**. India, Pakistan and foreign intelligence were covered by Army General, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and Hero of Russia **Vyacheslav Trubnikov**. The Swiss way of living and protecting the country were discussed with Colonel **Urs Zulzer** and **Simon Oigster** of the Swiss army.

"It was very interesting to converse with such competent people as Antonov, Ryabkov, Trubnikov, and others. Because of the relations that now exist between our two countries we are, of course, opponents. But

knowing that your opponent is a person of such high caliber is actually reassuring. The fact that we are dealing with such people gives us hope that we can develop pragmatic cooperation and reach mutual understanding." – **Georgiy Gvimradze**, Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Strategic Studies, Tbilisi, Georgia.



Nonproliferation, disarmament and international security



For five years in a row lectures by Ildar Akhtamzyan have received the top ranking from Summer School participants

The Summer School program includes detailed discussions of international regimes and possible ways of improving them; missile risks and missile defense; the situation with Iran and in the Middle East, North Korea and South Asia; prospects for peaceful nuclear energy development;

and nuclear security. As part of the preparations for the 2011 Summer School PIR Center held a competition for the best essay on the *The Nuclear Tipping Point* documentary. **Aleksander Cheban**, an Odessa National University graduate won the contest.



Aleksander Cheban: *"The film accurately conveys the general feeling of the international community's fatigue from nuclear weapons. Economic interdependence and the nature of modern warfare will enable the great powers to successfully avoid any outright conflicts and maintain relative stability even after they relinquish nuclear weapons. But there is also the difficult question of what to do if, in a world free of nuclear weapons, some nation launches a nuclear weapons program?"*

SELIGER: A CHARGE OF POSITIVE ENERGY



Participants of the Seliger Forum listen to the lecture given by Vladimir Orlov

July 5–6, 2010: Seliger 2010 International Forum

July 4–8, 2011: Seliger 2011 International Forum

Seliger is an international forum attended by thousands of participants from all over the world. The venue, Lake Seliger, offers stunning views of the Russian countryside. For PIR Center lecturers this was the most colorful event of 2010 and 2011.



Lake Seliger, Tver Region

In 2011 the organizers of the Forum and the Russian Federal Agency for Youth Affairs invited PIR Center to take part in the Forum for the second time. In 2010 we only held three round tables; in 2011 we offered a **full-blown course**, with **20 classes** focusing on key issues of international politics and global security.

The international shift of the Forum was attended by more than 700 students of leading Russian and foreign universities. PIR Center's classes attracted more than 250 participants of the *International Politics* section and other sections from **Russia, Algeria, Brazil, Britain, Croatia, Egypt, Germany, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Spain, and the United States.**

In 2010 Seliger participants discussed key European security, nonproliferation and disarmament issues with Lt. Gen. **Evgeny Buzhinsky**, Senior Vice President of PIR Center and **Dmitry Danilov**, Head of the European Security Department at the Rus-



(left to right) Dmitry Danilov, Evgeny Buzhinsky

sian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Europe and PIR Center Advisory Board member.

Army General **Vyacheslav Trubnikov**, Member of the Board of Directors of the IMEMO RAS institute delivered the central lecture of 2011, entitled **"Diplomacy and Intelligence in the 21st Century"**.



Vyacheslav Trubnikov

Vladimir Orlov hosted debates and delivered interactive lectures focusing on nonproliferation and disarmament. **Vadim Kozyulin** organized seminars on the subject of arms trade.



PIR Center experts participating in debates, Seliger 2011

One of the key topics was internet governance and international information security; a cycle of lectures on this subject was delivered by **Mikhail Yakushev**, Chairman of the PIR Center Executive Board. **Dmitry Polikanov**, Vice President of PIR Center, hosted a debate on the future of relations between Russia and NATO; he also led a practical class on preparing political speeches. Professor **Viktor Murogov**, Director of the International Center for Nuclear Education and Deputy Director General of the IAEA (1996–2003), and **Irina Mironova**, Assistant to Editor-in-Chief of the *Security Index* journal, hosted a debate on the future of the energy sector.



Dmitry Polikanov



Viktor Murogov, Irina Mironova

For PIR Center, participation in the Seliger Forum has been the first and very successful step in working with such a broad audience of young people. We will continue along this path.

"All the presentations and lectures organized by PIR Center at Seliger deserve the highest praise for their exceptional quality and for the very broad range of issues they covered. I think Vladimir Orlov was the best speaker at Seliger; he showed himself not just as a great public speaker but also as a brilliant lecturer. His complete openness and friendly tone in conversations with the students, and his engaging and lively answers to their questions had me completely fascinated with the subject and helped me to get actively involved in the lectures."



Jehangir Akram Malik

Jehangir Akram Malik,
MBA student, Pakistan, Participant
of the Seliger Forum 2011.

PRODUCING YOUNG TALENTS



Minute of fame at PIR Center Summer School

PIR Center has been involved in various education projects for some 15 years now; about 700 students, young scientists,

diplomats and military officers have taken part in those projects. But our internship program is where we are truly producing young talents. PIR Center continues to provide opportunities for students and graduates of Russian and CIS universities to become part of the global nongovernmental and expert community, and help them launch their careers in international security research and diplomacy. Our program of internships also provides excellent opportunities for foreign students to achieve a better understanding of Russian policies.



Alexander Kolbin, graduate, Tomsk State University.
Research topic: *"Future of Chinese policy on nonproliferation and disarmament"*

"This is my first experience of working for an NGO. Working at PIR Center has been a dynamic experience; the work is not easy, but it is never boring, either. For me it has been an excellent opportunity for personal development and for learning how to be a part of a team."



Margarita Klochkova, graduate, Tomsk Polytechnic University.
Research topic: *"Prospects for nuclear cooperation in the CIS (with a focus on Ukraine)"*

"For me the internship at PIR Center has been a priceless experience. Everyone here has been very willing to share their knowledge and skills with me. I am now on warm and friendly terms with the entire team here, for which I am very thankful."



Yuliya Kryachkina, Master of Arts, St. Petersburg State University.
Research topic: *"APEC Summit 2012 – Approaches of China, South Korea and Japan"*

"One of the major problems for young

researchers is that they have very few opportunities to express themselves in their profession upon graduation. I hope PIR Center will always remain willing to work with new generations of graduates."



Clair Lucien, Master of Arts, joint program of the University of Kent and the National Research University – Higher School of Economics.
Research topic: *"Positions of the European NATO members on Russia's proposals regarding sectoral missile defense"*

"This has been a real professional challenge. I have learnt and understood a lot about the Russian position on key issues. This has been an excellent opportunity to feel what it's like to work for a professional think tank. Despite the language limitations I felt very comfortable in this friendly team."



Svetlana Klyuchanskaya, PhD student, Tomsk State University.
Research topic: *"Prospects for Russian-ASEAN cooperation in strategic areas (military-technical cooperation, space, nanotechnologies, nuclear energy)"*

"This is a challenge to test myself, to put my strengths, my knowledge and my skills to the test. Another important thing is that I am

LEAFING THROUGH THE JOURNAL

GENNADY EVSTAFIEV: The attention that has been paid to this problem since the late 1980s has enabled us to create a whole new constellation of specialists and experts in nuclear nonproliferation, development of nuclear programs, and physical protection of nuclear facilities. Hundreds of people who have received the necessary education and training are now analyzing the ongoing developments, identifying new trends and generating ideas. I think that is also a great achievement, and it is equally as important as the 1995 decision to extend the Non-Proliferation Treaty indefinitely.

Nuclear Weapons Have Outlived Their Usefulness As a Political Instrument.

Security Index. 2012. № 3

working in a unique, lively and highly talented team. Even more importantly, it is a stimulus for personal development, a starting point for understanding who I am, what I want to achieve and what I need to do in order to achieve my goals."

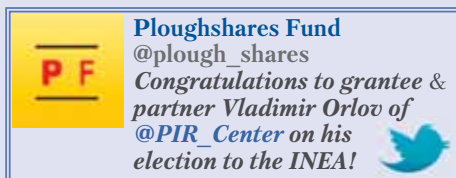


Andrey Baklitskiy, graduate, First Russian President Boris Yeltsin Urals Federal University.
Research topic: *"Russian peaceful nuclear interests in the Middle East"*

"I had a feeling of being part of the expert community. This has been an opportunity to see how it works from within, to feel how the whole system operates. It was not easy, but all the difficulties were more than compensated for by the fact that everyone at PIR Center, from interns to the President, has free access to information. For a graduate it is an incredible feeling, knowing that you have your finger on the pulse of international politics."

PIR CENTER EX MACHINA

The main element of PIR Center's presence on the internet is our site, www.pircenter.org/http://пир-центр.рф. The site is completely bilingual, which removes the language barrier and makes it an ideal platform for dialogue between Russian and foreign experts.



The site is regularly updated so as to fully to reflect the latest developments with the ongoing PIR Center projects; at the same time, the overall structure and layout of the site remain the same, making it familiar and easy to use. The site hosts the PIR Center blog (<http://pircenter.org/blog/>). Users can also find all the main PIR Center publications, including all issues of the *Security Index* journal since 1994. On the site our readers can sign up for PIR Center's newsletters *Yaderny Kontrol* (in Russian), *Vienna + Geneva* (in Russian) and *PIR PRESS* News (both in English and Russian) customizing the information and its layout according to the user's preferences.



PIR Center runs a **microblog on Twitter**, which makes it possible to report and comment on global security developments in real-time, and if necessary to hold live broadcasting, as we did for example during the 2010 NPT Review Conference in New York.

PIR Center is a nonprofit organization. If you like our projects, Russian and International editions of the *Security Index* journal, our e-newsletters, Summer Schools and internship programs, please help us to maintain and develop them. On the home page of our site, www.pircenter.org you will find the **Donate** button. By clicking it you can donate to us any sum you can spare. Credit cards and PayPal payments are accepted. We are grateful for your support.



PIR Center on the internet:

www.pircenter.org
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<http://pircenter.livejournal.com>
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PIR Center is actively present in the social media through our **Facebook page**; it also has a **Live Journal blog**. This has enabled us to reach new audiences and also offers greater flexibility in accessing PIR Center's expertise and providing feedback.



Vienna + Geneva. Alpha and Omega of International Security.



In March 2010, PIR Center's European Office (Geneva, Switzerland) unveiled its new electronic newsletter, *Vienna + Geneva*, a monthly Russian-language publication specializing in disarmament and nonproliferation. The newsletter covers the latest developments at the IAEA, the CTBTO and the Conference on Disarmament. With the target audience being Russian experts, *Vienna + Geneva* offers a selection of news reports, official documents, interviews and analysis focusing on the international organizations with headquarters in the two *security capitals of the world*. *Vienna + Geneva* has published exclusive interviews with Iran's permanent representative to the IAEA, **Ali Soltanieh**, the Director General of International Uranium Enrichment Center, **Alexey Lebedev**, the Executive Director of UN Office on Drugs and Crime, **Yury Fedotov**, and the Director-General of the United Nations Office in Geneva, **Kassym-Jomart Tokayev**.



Yaderny Kontrol.

Nuclear Control Online

The biweekly electronic newsletter *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control) offers a digest of the Russian media, PIR Center news and exclusive materials by PIR Center researchers, all focusing on WMD nonproliferation, disarmament and nuclear security. The first issue of the newsletter came out in 2000. As of March 2011, more than 420 issues of *Yaderny Kontrol* have been published in Russian.

To sign up for our electronic publications, please contact us at: pirpress@pircenter.org



«Since its inception in 1994, your publication has become one of Russia's most influential sources on matters of global security and nuclear nonproliferation. The papers published by the journal enjoy well-deserved recognition among expert and government circles in Russia and abroad. Russian Defense Ministry staff has always valued the *Security Index* as a source of objective analysis on the topical issues of nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction and arms control».

Anatoly Serdyukov,
Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation



«I am delighted to have been involved in the evolution of this publication from its foundation back in 1994. I study each *Security Index* issue with unfailing interest, avidly consuming its thought-provoking and factually balanced materials. The 100th issue is a good opportunity for launching new projects. I am confident that the *Security Index* will continue to develop further and delight its readers with top-quality materials».

Sergey Prikhodko,
***Security Index* Editorial Board member, Aide to the President of the Russian Federation**



«The 100th issue is a milestone in the journal's history and in the history of political research on the most topical international issues. We in the Foreign Ministry are always most interested in reading your latest materials; we eagerly await each new issue. Your journal is an excellent source of expert opinion. Any paper appearing in the *Security Index* always brings one into contact with an interesting, intelligent and relevant point of view. Let it continue to be the case».

Sergey Ryabkov,
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation



«*Security Index* has established itself as a serious and real factor in competent and professional opinion forming on a wide range of issues in nuclear nonproliferation, nuclear security, nuclear energy and nuclear arms control. Furthermore, it has earned a solid reputation not only in Russia but also in the CIS, Europe and the United States. I particularly enjoy the journal's style, which is equally welcoming of established distinguished authors and young researchers. I am privileged and glad to belong to this great common cause as a member of the *Security Index* Editorial Board».

Nikolay Spassky, *Security Index* Editorial Board member,
Deputy Director General of the State Atomic Energy Corporation Rosatom



«As a member of PIR Center Advisory Board, I am well acquainted with your organization's performance and regularly read the materials that appear in your Journal. I feel certain that *Security Index* will for years to come remain popular among the Russian and foreign scholars, and will retain the status of the top Russian publication that analyzes topical problems of national and global security on the highest expert level».

Nikolay Laverov, PIR Center Advisory Board member,
Vice President of the Russian Academy of Sciences



«The *Security Index* journal and its predecessor *Yaderny Kontrol* have been in high demand amongst decision makers in the nuclear field for many years, both in Russia and abroad. Recently, the journal has successfully expanded its spectrum to other security issues – drugs, cyber crime and energy security, to name just a few. The *Security Index* journal is always a welcome reminder of the wider picture, of how interconnected the world's problems are. It has become a must-read for many people here in Vienna, the hub of a number of security-related international organizations in the wider UN system».

Tibor Tóth, Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission
for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization

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