



PIR CENTER E-BULLETIN
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YADERNY KONTROL

**GLOBAL SECURITY AND
EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES**

BRICS AND MULTIPOLARITY

**ARMS CONTROL AND
NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION**

ATOMIC ENERGY

**2024 NPT PREPARATORY
COMMITTEE, GENEVA**



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PIR QUOTES

«HOW DO YOU THINK HISTORY WILL JUDGE YOU?»

History is a delicate fabric of memories, where achievements, failures, feats, and mistakes gradually lose brilliance over time. Great empires vanish from maps, and the names of once-famous individuals fade or are reduced to symbols, often disconnected from their inherent identity. The glory people once pursued so fervently can be forgotten or transformed into something superficial, like brands or stereotypes, reminding us of the contradictory nature of human memory and making us wonder: *how do you think history will judge you?*

Fidel Castro once answered this question, and his reflections make one wonder whether future generations will remember the events and people surrounding us. And, most essentially, this applies to everything without an exception...

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“There’s no point in worrying about that. And you know why? ... In a hundred years, people will look back at us as a bunch of uncivilized barbarians, not even worth remembering. ... Napoleon talked about glory, he was always worried about it. And yet, today in many countries, his name is more associated with a brand of cognac than with all the things he did on the battlefield. So I ask: Why worry?”

Fidel Castro, 2003



John Martin
Ruins of an Ancient City, 1810-1820

HOT TOPIC

ZAPOROZHYE NPP: ESCALATION ZONE



Dr. Vladimir Orlov
Mr. Sergey Semenov
Mr. Sviatoslav Arov

As of August 29, 2024, IAEA Director General Rafael Mariano Grossi is set to visit the Zaporozhye Nuclear Power Plant for the fifth time (since February 2022) to assess the nuclear safety and security amid the intensifying conflict.

In this context, we would like to recall and highlight the commentary of Dr. Vladimir Orlov and Mr. Sergey Semenov, as well as the one written by Mr. Sviatoslav Arov.

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«THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND STRATEGIC STABILITY SITUATION CONTINUES TO DEGRADE», – FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. MIKHAIL KONDRATENKOV



Mr. Mikhail Kondratenkov

The Preparatory Committee for the 2026 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) was holding its second session from 22 July to 2 August 2024 at the Palais des Nations in Geneva, Switzerland.

In this regard, we would like to share the speeches of Mr. Mikhail Kondratenkov, Deputy Head of the Delegation of the Russian Federation at the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 11th Review Conference of the Parties to the NPT.

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EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

«OUR MAIN EFFORTS ARE FOCUSED ON DEMONSTRATING THAT RUSSIA IS NOT ISOLATED IN THIS WORLD DESPITE THE SANCTIONS AND THAT ITS POLICY REFLECTS THE ASPIRATIONS OF GLOBAL MAJORITY»: INTERVIEW WITH DR. DMITRY POLIKANOV BY KSENIA MINEEVA

PIR Center interviewed Dr. Dmitry **Polikanov**, Deputy Head of Rossotrudnichestvo. During the conversation, we discussed the concept of Russian soft power, whether it is an effective instrument in international relations or merely an illusion, various aspects of the definition of soft power, Russia's strategies and objectives, and the effectiveness of these strategies in the global arena.



The interview was conducted by Ksenia **Mineeva**, former PIR Center Information & Publications Program Coordinator.

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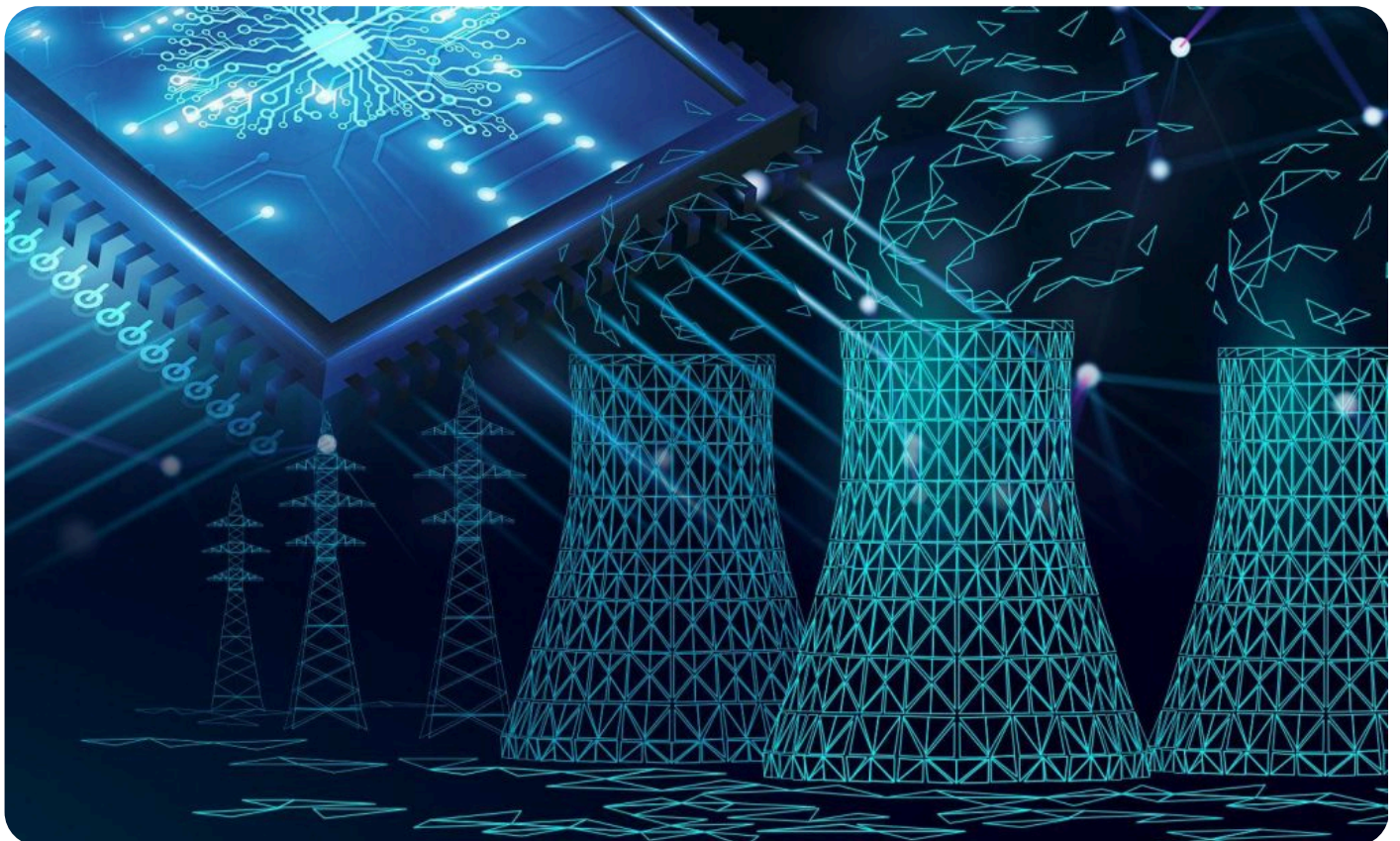


«THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS ONE OF THE MOST DANGEROUS THREATS TO GLOBAL SECURITY. AS MORE STATES ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE WORLD BECOMES LESS SECURE»: INTERVIEW WITH DR. VLADIMIR ORLOV BY TRENDING ECHOES PODCAST

Dr. Vladimir **Orlov**, Founding Director of PIR Center, gave an interview for the Trending Echoes Podcast led by TRENDS Research & Advisory. During the interview, Dr. Orlov reflected on the importance of transparency and international cooperation to prevent nuclear proliferation, the challenges of non-signatory nations, potential new nuclear-armed states, the need for disarmament, and the significance of COP28 in the UAE for addressing climate change and promoting environmental sustainability.



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«THE NWSS DO NOT WANT THE TPNW TO BECOME A NORM OF CUSTOMARY INTERNATIONAL LAW, BUT IF THERE ARE MORE THAN 100 RATIFICATIONS OR SO, IT WILL BECOME CUSTOMARY LAW»: INTERVIEW WITH DR. TARIQ RAUF BY ALEXANDRA ZUBENKO

The Second Session of the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) for the Eleventh Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference concluded in Geneva on August 2. Accordingly, PIR Center interviewed Dr. Tariq **Rauf**, Director of SIPRI's Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-proliferation Program, Board Member of Atomic Reporters, and Member of the PIR Center Advisory Board. During the conversation, we discussed the workflow during the 2024 PrepCom; Russia-NATO debates over the New START agreement and the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, focusing on ZNPP; the role of coalitions and regional blocks in facilitating the intra-P5 negotiation process; the issue of the TPNW, etc.



Alexandra **Zubenko**, an M.A. Candidate in the International Dual Degree M.A. Program “Global Security, Nuclear Policy, and WMD Nonproliferation” (MGIMO-MIIS-PIR Center), conducted the interview.

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«MONGOLIA SUGGESTS THAT NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES MUST NOT SILENTLY FOLLOW WHAT RUSSIA AND NATO ARE DOING NOW. I THINK MONGOLIA CAN BECOME AN EXAMPLE SHOWING THAT EVEN NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES HAVE POLITICAL WEIGHT AND CAN INFLUENCE THE GREAT POWERS»: INTERVIEW WITH H.E. AMBASSADOR JARGALSAIKHAN ENKHTSAIKHAN BY ROMAN KALININ

PIR Center interviewed H.E. Ambassador Jargalsaikhan **Enkhtsaikhan**. During the conversation, we discussed Mongolia's role in the international nuclear nonproliferation regime and Mongolia's path to becoming a state that has officially declared its territory free of nuclear weapons.



The interview was conducted by Roman **Kalinin**, PIR Center Research Fellow.

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HOW APPLICABLE ARE THE COLD WAR ERA NUCLEAR DEBATES TO THE CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE?



Mr. Maksim Sorokin



During the Cold War era, the question constantly arose – how many nuclear weapons one needs to deter a would-be adversary? Accordingly, this issue became a cornerstone of the Wohlstetter-Blackett debate. Generally speaking, Wohlstetter argues that successful deterrence implies large-scale damage, the certainty of one's intention, and, most importantly, the 2nd strike capability.

Conversely, Blackett's view entails limited damage, which is primarily a projection of risks associated with the usage of nuclear weapons.

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WHY HAS THE CONCEPT OF CYBER POWER BECOME SO PREVALENT IN NATIONAL DOCTRINES AND STRATEGIES RECENTLY?



Mr. Maksim Sorokin



The rapid advancement and diffusion of information and related technologies across the globe has been a prevalent characteristic of the modern era affecting national statecraft and how the militaries approach national power.

Essentially, it has led to the emergence of the concept of Cyber Power, which can be identified, according to Joseph S. Nye, Jr., as the capability to achieve desired results by utilizing electronic information resources within the cyber realm.

[Read more](#)

NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICT: LOOKING THROUGH THE LENS OF WATER SECURITY



Mr. Abdulaziz AlShehhi



Transcaucasia is considered one of the world's most vulnerable regions to a serious water scarcity threat. This threat to the region's water security has been weighing on achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which most countries have set for 2030, as water plays a significant role in people's livelihood, agriculture, and energy.

A decline in water levels in dams and hydroelectric plants means a decrease in the production of electrical energy and is thus a major threat to every sector. This goes to show how critical water is and how grave a threat water scarcity is.

[Read more](#)

PIR REPORT

ON THE OUTCOMES OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE TO THE 11TH NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE

The Second Session of the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) for the 11th Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference concluded in Geneva on August 2. It included the debates on the FMCT, the CTBT, the NWFZ, the provision of negative guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon states, the situation with ZNPP, and other topical issues.



Alexandra **Zubenko**, an M.A. Candidate in the International Dual Degree M.A. Program “Global Security, Nuclear Policy, and WMD Nonproliferation” (MGIMO-MIIS-PIR Center), attended the Session. We are pleased to share the principal findings Alexandra noted from the event.

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Grigoriy Myasoyedov
Alone with the chess game, 1907

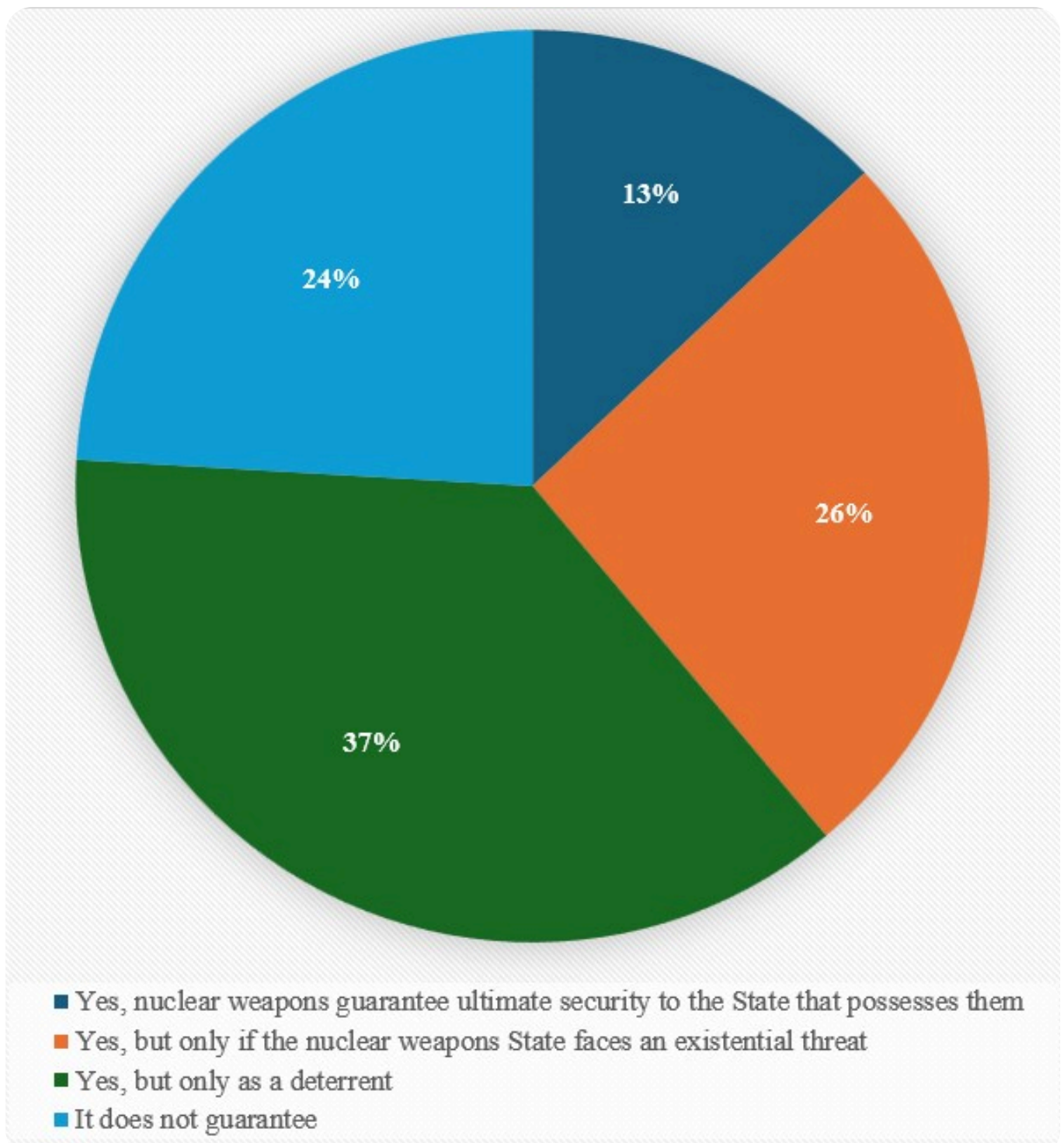
SURVEY

HOW WILL THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES ON ARMS CONTROL AND STRATEGIC STABILITY EVOLVE AFTER THE EXPIRATION OF THE NEW START TREATY?

[More](#)

RESULTS OF THE MAY-JUNE PIR CENTER SURVEY

DOES THE POSSESSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROVIDE A
GUARANTEE OF THE SECURITY OF A STATE?



NOTHING NEW UNDER THE SUN

DR. EVGENY MIASNIKOV: PROSPECTS FOR U.S. AND
RUSSIAN NUCLEAR CUTS IN VIEW OF NPT ARTICLE VI
COMMITMENTS, 2012



If Russia and the United States manage to find a way of addressing the missile defense problem they will be able to launch substantive dialogue on non-strategic nuclear weapons. One realistic option would be to undertake coordinated unilateral initiatives on nuclear weapons. Such initiatives would primarily involve the adoption and further enhancement of trilateral transparency measures (Russia, the United States, and NATO). In parallel with the implementation of these initiatives Russian and American specialists could work together on developing technical verification means and procedures for monitoring their nuclear warheads inventories.

[Read more](#)

DR. VLADIMIR ORLOV: WHAT IRAN NEEDS. WHAT RUSSIA CAN DO, 2012



Having visited the Middle East, Washington and now Brussels in the past few months, I keep trying to figure out the answers to the following questions: Who wants a war with Iran? And will there be a war? Tensions over Iran will soon reach a boiling point, and the world will slide to a war regardless of its wishes. In this climate, someone will inevitably get spooked and jump the gun. Given the situation, experts in Moscow are faced with three questions. First, what does Iran want? Second, is there a solution to the Iranian nuclear problem? And third, what can Russia do?

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H.E. ANATOLY ANTONOV: RUSSIA FORCED TO DEVELOP GLOBAL PROMPT STRIKE WEAPONS, 2013



One of the burning issues during the United States and Russian negotiations of the New START treaty was the issue of non-nuclear strategic offensive arms, which we sometimes call strategic offensive arms in non-nuclear configuration. It would be wrong to say that the issue of GPSW came as a surprise for Russian negotiators during work on the New START treaty, for it had not been there before. It is important to point out that the New START treaty, as well as START I, is a treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms. It is not a coincidence that the word “nuclear” is not here. It is not an omission on the part of the delegations, but the result of an uneasy compromise with the United States that has always tended to have new arrangements which would not relate to so-called conventional arms nor cover GPSW, but would apply only to nuclear weapons.

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BOOK REVIEWS

PIVOT TO THE EAST: A VIEW FROM RUSSIA



ASIAN TURN IN RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY: ACHIEVEMENTS, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS.

Anatoly Torkunov, Dmitry Streltsov, Ekaterina Koldunova. Aspect Press. 2023.

ISBN: 978-5-7567-1171-4 (published in Russian)



Mr. Sviatoslav Arov

There is a stereotype that the Russian Pivot to the East followed the Pivot from the West in 2023. However, in the monograph by Acad. Anatoly Torkunov, Dr. Dmitry Streltsov, and Dr. Ekaterina Koldunova, this stereotype is being defied with each new chapter. The book analyzes the stages of building relations between Russia and Asian states since the early 2000s – particularly with India, China, the DPRK and South Korea, ASEAN countries, Japan, and Türkiye. The monograph will be of particular interest to both orientalist researchers and international relations specialists in general.

[Read more](#)

MONGOLIA AS A NEW CENTER OF STRUGGLE FOR RESOURCES: PROSPECTS FOR RUSSIAN-MONGOLIAN COOPERATION IN NUCLEAR ENERGY, MINERAL EXPLORATION AND MINING



Roman Kalinin, Arslan Khatmullin.

Mongolia as a New Center of Struggle for Resources: Prospects for Russian-Mongolian Cooperation in Nuclear Energy, Mineral Exploration and Mining / PIR Center, 2024 – 43 pp. – (*PIR Center Reports Series* (№ 41)). (published in Russian)



Mr. Roman Kalinin, Mr. Arslan Khatmullin

PIR Center is glad to announce the release of the report (in Russian) “Mongolia as a New Center of Struggle for Resources: Prospects for Russian-Mongolian Cooperation in Nuclear Energy, Mineral Exploration and Mining.” The report’s authors are Roman Kalinin, a Research Fellow at PIR Center, and Arslan Khatmullin, a Senior Specialist in the Geology and Mining Department at Irkutsk Oil Company LLC. The report is devoted to the unfolding struggle for Mongolia’s energy resources and the prospects for Russian-Mongolian cooperation in the energy sector.

[Read more](#)

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES IN BRICS AGENDA. OVERVIEW AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS



Sviatoslav Arov. International Security Issues in BRICS Agenda. Overview and Policy Recommendations (Second Edition) / PIR Center, 2024 – 91 pp. – (PIR Center Reports Series (№ 40)).



Mr. Sviatoslav Arov

PIR Center is glad to announce the release of the report “International Security Issues in BRICS Agenda. Overview and Policy Recommendations,” authored by Mr. Sviatoslav Arov, PIR Center’s Research Fellow. This research paper is devoted to international security issues in the BRICS agenda. During its preparation, the key documents adopted by BRICS were studied. Particular emphasis was placed on the analysis of the official positions of the BRICS member states on nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament, as well as the attitudes of the BRICS members to the most burning international security issues: regional conflicts, the counter-terrorism, the Iranian nuclear program, the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, as well as cooperation in the field of nuclear energy and international information security.

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PIR TEST

WHICH OF THE NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONE TREATIES ALLOWS NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES?



- a. Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (Treaty of Tlatelolco)
- b. The South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Rarotonga)
- c. Southeast Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty (Bangkok Treaty)
- d. Treaty on Central Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone

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UNVEILING THE ANSWER TO THE PREVIOUS PIR TEST

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING *INTERNATIONAL TREATIES* DOES NOT INCLUDE THE PROVISIONS ON PREVENTING THE DEPLOYMENT OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (WMD) IN OUTER SPACE?



- a. Declaration of Legal Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space (1963)
- b. Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (1967)
- c. Proposed Prevention of an Arms Race in Space (PAROS) Treaty (2008-present)
- d. Agreement Governing the Activities of States on the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (1979)

Correct answer: Declaration of Legal Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space (1963)

GOSSIP COLUMN

Ambassador Roland M. Timerbaev was one of the authors of the NPT and founders of the international nuclear nonproliferation regime, a Soviet and Russian Ambassador, and our colleague at PIR Center for many years (1994–2010). He often became bored and restless at major international conferences because he did not like to listen to the platitudes that were often repeated there and was very happy to have coffee breaks. It was live communication with real people — exactly what he really valued — and the opportunity to learn the latest news, as well as unconfirmed information and *expert gossip* in the corridors, on the sidelines, over coffee... At such moments, Ambassador Timerbaev would joyfully say: “Well, now is the time for some good gossip”.

Hence the title of this column. PIR Center is not responsible for the accuracy of what our employees and authors heard in the corridors and on the margins of the conferences and told us without reference to the source. Although we know what are these sources.

> We have heard the gossip that the appointment of a new Russian Ambassador to the United States may not occur soon, signaling a diplomatic vacuum amid the growing tensions between the two States. Some experts believe the Kremlin sees little value in deepening dialogue with Washington, given the ongoing relationship crisis, despite the consistent emphasis on the importance of such dialogue.

The increasing tensions between Russia and the United States are evident in several key areas, including the dialogue on strategic stability. Furthermore, the topic of arms control is again coming to the forefront. However, unlike previous years when the parties regularly held bilateral consultations, the current situation could be more conducive to establishing dialogue. On the contrary, several recent statements from both sides suggest that neither Moscow nor Washington is striving for new rounds of negotiations on strategic stability.

For a significant period, the format of bilateral meetings on these issues has been the cornerstone of international security. Nonetheless, in recent months, the situation has undergone a notable change. The lack of mutual trust has made negotiations highly unlikely, painting a grim picture of current affairs.

Many analysts fear that it could lead to a dangerous escalation. Without direct and open dialogue at a high level, the risk of misinterpretation and misunderstanding is heightened. In this context, the issues of nuclear weapons and arms control are particularly critical. The potential loss of deterrence mechanisms, a grave consequence, could lead to catastrophic outcomes.

Thus, it is unlikely that we will expect the appointment of a new Russian Ambassador to the U.S. and the resumption of bilateral dialogue on strategic stability. It is becoming increasingly clear that both sides are preparing for a prolonged phase of estrangement and confrontation.

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PIR TOAST

ON BEHALF OF PIR CENTER, WE WISH HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO OUR FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES WHO CELEBRATED THEIR BIRTHDAY IN JULY-AUGUST:



Potter, William, Professor, Director, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Middlebury Institute of International Studies, Monterey, USA, PIR Center Advisory Board Member since 2014

July 8



Ryabkov, Sergey A., Deputy Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation

July 8



Medrish, Mikhail A., Technical Director of Actor Information Systems, PIR Center Advisory Board Member since 2015

July 19



Burlinova, Natalia V., Founding President of “Creative Diplomacy,” PIR Center Advisory Board Member since 2022

July 22



Brilev, Sergey B., Correspondent and journalist, President of the Global Energy Association

July 24



Russi, Bruno Alois, Colonel (ret.), Former Swiss Defence Attaché, Independent analyst, PIR Center Advisory Board Member since 2023

July 29





Ubeev, Aleksey V., former Russian diplomat, former Senior Nuclear Security Officer at IAEA (2011-2015), Member of PIR Center Advisory Board since 2009

August 3



Spassky, Nikolai N., Deputy Director General — Director of International Relations Unit of State Atomic Energy Corporation «Rosatom»

August 10



Istomin, Igor A., Head of the Department of Applied Analysis of International Problems at MGIMO University, Member of PIR Center Advisory Board since 2023

August 10



Kortunov, Andrey V., Academic Director of the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC), member of PIR Center Advisory Board since 2003

August 19



Ozerov, Oleg B., Ambassador-at-Large of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Head of the Secretariat of the Russia-Africa Partnership Forum, Member of PIR Center Advisory Board since 2022

August 20



Torkunov, Anatoly V., Rector of MGIMO University, Member of the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences

August 26





Editor-in-Chief: Dr. Vladimir **Orlov**

Editor, design and DTP: Mr. Maksim **Sorokin**

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PIR CENTER

Founded 30 years ago, in April 1994, by Dr. Vladimir Orlov, PIR Center is a leading Russian nongovernmental organization dealing with international security, with the emphasis on nuclear nonproliferation and nuclear policy. PIR Center's portfolio currently consists of 36 projects combining research and consultancy, education and training, publishing and outreach, and networking and partnerships. Most recent addition to this portfolio (since April 2024) is an ambitious *Security Index Yearbook (Global Edition)*. With its vibrant 1200+ member-strong alumni community residing in 72 countries of the world, with its internationally renowned Summer Schools on Global Security, with its two MA Programs, and with its online training platform Nonproliferation.World, PIR Center is in the forefront of educating new generation of security and nonproliferation experts. As an independent think-tank, PIR Center is engaged in various formats of policy discussions on the most urgent topics of global and regional security agenda. PIR Center's status has been recognized by the United Nations with its consultative ECOSOC status (since 2010) and by the Russian Government, which has granted PIR Center a privileged status of a socially oriented NGO (SONKO) (since 2020)

NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION AND RUSSIA

Nuclear Nonproliferation and Russia Program is a core research program of PIR Center, which analyzes Russia's place and role in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) review process, the state of the arms control regime, the Russian-American dialogue on strategic stability and global security, the situation around Iran's nuclear program, the problem of the establishment of the Middle East WMD-Free Zone, the prospects for the development of nuclear energy, and many other topics. Furthermore, PIR Center is engaged in the preservation and transmission of the historical memory of the role of Russian diplomats and military officers in the shaping of the modern architecture of arms control, disarmament, and nuclear nonproliferation.

Editorial work on this paper was completed on October 7, 2024.

PIR Center: <https://pircenter.org/en/>

