

KONTROL ERNY





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PIR QUOTES

"HISTORY IS A STONE THAT WE THROW INTO AN ENDLESS WELL, AND EVERY TIME IT REACHES THE BOTTOM, ONLY THE SOUND OF DESTRUCTION IS HEARD."

The manifestation of anarchy in international relations is increasingly observed within the transformation of classic geopolitical approaches of states and the inability of international universal organizations to fulfill their tasks of maintaining peace and security. Throughout the history of international relations, no system has been able to prove its sustainability and flexibility.

Decades after the formation of the Yalta-Potsdam system of international relations, we see its fragility.

Today, the words of the Enlightenment thinker Voltaire are more relevant than ever.

Read more

"History is a stone that we throw into an endless well, and every time it reaches the bottom, only the sound of destruction is heard."

Voltaire, 1759



HOT TOPIC

THE JCPOA: AN EXAMPLE OF DIPLOMATIC WILL IN THE FACE OF GEOPOLITICAL CHALLENGES



Mr. Roman Ustinov

The JCPOA is an example of successful diplomacy achieved through political will. Despite the aggression from Israel and the United States against Iran, the agreement demonstrated its effectiveness, although it ultimately became a casualty of the changing world order. The agreement faced difficulties due to countries maintaining outdated power structures. However, it is important to remain hopeful that new realities will lead to the return of diplomacy as the primary tool for resolving issues.

Read more

THE FUTURE OF THE START TREATY: CHANCES FOR AN AGREEMENT AND CHALLENGES IN THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS



Mr. Evgeny Buzhinskiy

In light of the growing challenges in the field of strategic deterrence, the issue of the continuation of the New START Treaty after its expiration in 2026 is becoming increasingly relevant. In a recent interview, Mr. Evgeny Buzhinsky shared his views on the likelihood of a new agreement between Russia and the United States, highlighting key factors that could influence the outcome of the negotiations.

Read more

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TEN YEARS AFTER THE JCPOA – LESSONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND THE FUTURE OF NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY



Mr. Andrey Baklitskiy
Dr. Leonid Tsukanov

A decade after the signing of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), the agreement's legacy remains a subject of significant debate. Was it a breakthrough that reshaped the nuclear non-proliferation landscape, or was it merely a temporary diplomatic maneuver that fell victim to the shifting dynamics of global politics?

In a recent interview with experts Mr. Andrey Baklitsky, Senior Research Fellow at the UN Institute for Disarmament Research, and Dr. Leonid Tsukanov, PIR Center consultant, the nuances of the JCPOA's impact on international diplomacy, nuclear governance, and the lessons learned from its breakdown are explored.

The discussion sheds light on the limits of diplomacy in the face of asymmetric power dynamics, the evolving role of sanctions, and the complex interplay of geopolitical interests that continue to shape efforts to resolve nuclear proliferation challenges. As the international community grapples with these issues, the question remains: Can the spirit of multilateral cooperation embodied in the JCPOA be revived, or are we witnessing the erosion of diplomatic avenues for conflict resolution in the nuclear domain?

PRESIDENT VLADIMIR PUTIN PROPOSED TO MAINTAIN THE START TREATY LIMITS: A STEP TOWARDS STABILISATION OR A NEW CHALLENGE?



Ms. Elena Chernenko

President Putin's proposal to extend the New START limits for one year after 2026 is a step toward stability and dialogue. If accepted by the United States, it would provide crucial time for negotiating a new agreement. The White House has responded positively, but challenges remain, including issues related to Ukraine and missile defense systems. September 22, 2025, will be a pivotal day for arms control efforts.

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

"THE ALASKA SUMMIT WAS ONLY THE BEGINNING OF A LONG NEGOTIATION PROCESS": INTERVIEW WITH THOMAS GRAHAM BY ALEXANDRA ZUBENKO

Amid the ongoing conflict in Ukraine and a renewed wave of diplomatic activity, the world's attention has focused on the outcomes of the recent summit in Anchorage, where the presidents of Russia and the United States met. Western media described the meeting as a "triumph for Putin," yet no concrete agreements, including a ceasefire, were reached. What was the main result of the talks? What positions do Moscow, Washington, Kyiv, and European capitals hold regarding a ceasefire, territorial



compromises, and security guarantees? These questions are addressed in an exclusive interview with PIR Center by **Mr. Thomas Graham** – former Special Assistant to the U.S. President and Senior Director for Russia at the National Security Council (2004-2007) and a Council on Foreign Relations expert.

The interview was conducted by Ms. Alexandra **Zubenko**, PIR Center Consultant.



PIR POST

RAILING AGAINST "FAREWELL TO ARMS" IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC: IS THE TREATY OF RAROTONGA STILL RELEVANT?



Mr. Artem Astvatsaturov

Hardly had the Treaty of Rarotonga entered into force in 1986 when the nuclear nonproliferation regime was jeopardized by numerous challenges of strategic stability. Undoubtedly, amid the current military activity of the AUKUS in the region, the South Pacific Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone (NWFZ) can be tantamount to an incurably ill old man knocking on death's door.

Regretfully, omens for the sustainability of the nuclear nonproliferation regime in the South Pacific are not great.

Read more

THE JCPOA AND THE INTEGRITY OF THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME: LESSONS AND CHALLENGES



Mr. Tariq Rauf

The JCPOA was signed in Vienna on 14 July between Iran and the E3/EU+3 (France, Germany, United Kingdom; European Union; and China, Russia and the United States). It is factually incorrect and misleading to refer to the JCPOA as the "P5+1" nuclear deal, because as the official title states the agreement is between the States parties as listed in the title of the agreement and it has no connection at all with the UN Security Council.

LANCASTER 2.0 OR THE NEW FRANCE-UK NUCLEAR COOPERATION AGREEMENT



Ms. Alexandra Zubenko

On July 10, 2025, France and the United Kingdom signed a historic nuclear cooperation agreement – the Northwood Declaration, already dubbed in London as the "Lancaster Agreements 2.0."

The agreement envisions closer collaboration between the two countries in nuclear and broader military fields.

Read more

JCPOA AT A DEADLOCK: DISPUTES OVER THE SNAPBACK MECHANISM AND THE FUTURE OF UNSCR 2231



Mr. Tariq Rauf

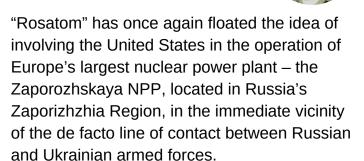
The reality is that the JCPOA is dead and has been for a long time. UNSCR 2231 expires on October 18, 2025, and that is that. What the Russian proposal of a six-month extension brings is only extending the charade of 2231. The best way forward is to let UNSCR 2231 slide into the realm of history.

During its presidency of the Security Council, the Russian Federation would be better served to propose that Iran continues to respect its obligations under the NPT and IAEA safeguards agreement.

ZAPOROZHSKAYA NPP: FROM APPLE OF DISCORD TO A PLATFORM FOR U.S.-RUSSIA COOPERATION?



Dr. Vladimir Orlov



Earlier this year, Mr. Alexey Likhachev cautioned that a "political decision" by Russia's leadership would be required for such a move. Now the situation is clearer: Mr. Vladimir Putin has publicly indicated that, in his view, such a turn could be a positive development.

Russia and the United States have accumulated considerable joint experience in the nuclear field through the so-called Nunn–Lugar Program, including cooperation on enhancing the safety of nuclear-hazardous facilities. Since then, several key Russian actors have maintained contacts with their American nuclear counterparts – for example, Mr. Sergey Kiriyenko, First Deputy Chief of Staff of the Presidential Administration.

TRAVEL NOTEBOOK

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE IN SHAPING THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL ORDER: OUTCOMES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM IN HONG KONG

Mr. Vadim Kozyulin, Candidate of Political Sciences, Professor of the Academy of Military Sciences, Chief Research Fellow at the Center for Military-Political Studies of the Institute of Contemporary International Studies at the Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Member of PIR Center Council, Consultant of PIR Center:

"Summing up the results of the International Colloquium in Hong Kong (July 4, 2025), dedicated to the role of artificial intelligence (AI) in shaping the future international order, one can note Hong Kong's aspiration to become a global hub of legal innovation. The event showcased the development of LawTech initiatives, the establishment of the International Organization for Mediation (IOMed), and the application of AI technologies for real-time translation. In the presentations of Chinese and Russian experts, there was a clear critique of Western dominance in technological regulation and a call for inclusive global AI governance free of discrimination. Discussions addressed the fragmentation of legal regimes, the absence of a binding international treaty on AI, the need for a 'Charter for the AI Era,' and support for the Global South. The Colloquium highlighted digital inequality – only 20% of developing states currently have AI strategies – and the urgent need for capacity building. The overall conclusion: minimizing risks and developing AI in the interests of all nations requires interdisciplinary and multilateral cooperation; Hong Kong positions itself as a key venue for such dialogue, while IOMed emerges as an alternative to traditional dispute resolution mechanisms."



ANALYSES

US STRIKES ON IRAN: TIMELINE AND OSINT DAMAGE ASSESSMENT

Ms. Alexandra Zubenko

As the UN Security Council debates the snapback mechanism on Iran, we aim to analyze the US and Israeli military strikes on Iranian nuclear sites in June to demonstrate that both diplomatic pressure and military action inflict only limited damage, while risking to undermine diplomatic momentum for a long time and alienating the world from the shared goals of nuclear nonproliferation.

On June 22, 2025, the United States launched a large-scale military strike targeting three major Iranian nuclear facilities located in Fordow, Natanz, and Isfahan near Tehran. The operation involved over 125 aircraft, including seven B-2 Spirit stealth bombers that dropped 14 GBU-57 Massive

Ordnance Penetrator bunker buster bombs, as well as Tomahawk cruise missiles launched from a guided missile submarine. The main strikes occurred between 2:10 and 2:35 a.m. local time, with the B-2 bombers focusing on the underground Fordow Fuel Enrichment Plant and the uranium-enrichment facility at Natanz, while the Tomahawks targeted the uranium-conversion facility in Isfahan. The following day, on June 23, Iran retaliated by firing missiles at the U.S. Al Udeid Air Base in Qatar, causing limited damage. A ceasefire was announced on June 24, although both sides accused each other of violations. The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) launched a final salvo of 14 missiles targeting Israeli military sites just minutes before the ceasefire officially began, citing it as retaliation for Israeli strikes. Although there were many breaches during the ceasefire from the Iranian or Israeli sides, there were no further US-Israeli strikes on the Iranian nuclear facilities after June 24.



STRIKES ON IRAN ARE NOT THE VICTORY MANY THINK

Mr. Linus Höller

Almost exactly ten years after the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action – the Iran deal – was hammered out by an international coalition of great powers, Israeli and then U.S. airstrikes against the Islamic Republic ushered in an entirely new era for the country's nuclear ambitions – and, quite possibly, for proliferation globally.



The Israeli and American strikes against Iran, setting aside serious questions over international legality, may appear as a victory for the powerful coalition. Indeed, Israel managed to kill many key figures in Iran's nuclear program and strike a host of nuclear-and missile-related facilities, while the U.S. bombs dropped from B-2 stealth bombers seemingly hit their marks, all of which happened at minimal cost to either Jerusalem or Washington. But indeed, the costs may still be forthcoming and may be significantly more severe than those imposed by the few Iranian missiles that made it through the defense systems while interceptors were still in stock.



PIR PRESS NEWS

PIR CENTER HELD A SEMINAR "HAWAII: LESSONS OF HISTORY: RUSSIAN FLAG, AND AMERICAN ANNEXATION"

PIR Center jointly with MGIMO University hosted a seminar on "Hawaii: Lessons of History: Russian Flag, and American Annexation." The event brought together participants from Russia, the United States, Switzerland, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Uzbekistan, China and other countries. The event was devoted to the history and geopolitics of Hawaii, focusing on Russian-Hawaiian ties, the annexation of Hawaii by the United States, and its contemporary significance.

The keynote speaker was Swiss historian Prof. Niklaus Schweizer, author of the book His Hawaiian Excellency. The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Annexation of Hawai.

Niklaus Schweitzer elaborated on the historical background of Hawaii, recalling the island's ties to Russia. His presentation, based on archival documents, revealed the complexity of Hawaii's history and its connection to global processes.

Niklaus Schweitzer also described the diplomatic efforts of the Hawaiian kingdom in the 19th century, including the mission to the coronation of Alexander III, and emphasized the religious roots of the conflict that ultimately undermined the monarchy in Hawaii.



PIR CENTER RECALLS MEMORABLE MOMENTS FROM THE HISTORY OF DUAL-DEGREE MA PROGRAM "GLOBAL SECURITY, NUCLEAR POLICY, AND WMD NONPROLIFERATION"

PIR Center is summarizing the achievements of the dual-degree master's program Global Security, Nuclear Policy, and WMD Nonproliferation which has been running since 2016. To date, 53 students from Russia, the United States, Austria, Brazil, Ireland, Spain, Italy, Canada, China, France, and South Korea have graduated from the program.

Among them: Mr. Adlan Margoev (Russia), Mr. Noah Mayhew (USA), Mr. Alain Ponce (Mexico), Ms. Alicia Rorabaugh (USA), Ms. Daria Selezneva (Russia), Ms. Natalia Artemenkova (Russia), Ms. Veronika Bedenko (Russia), Ms. Sara Marchert (USA), Ms. Annelise Plooster (USA), Mr. William Szymansky (USA), Mr. Yueh Yaun (China), Ms, Ellie Bedford (USA), Mr. Ryan Jacobsen (Canada), Ms. Alina Kazakovtceva (Russia), Casey Caruso (USA), Ms. Yekaterina Klepanchuk (USA), Mr. Taylor Lamoureaux (USA), Ms. Mara Ortiz (Spain), Mr. Aleksey Polyakov (Russia), Ms. Angela Skittone (USA), Mr. Jeremy Faust (USA), Mr. Tom Hickey (Ireland), Mr. Vladislav Chernavskikh (Russia), Ms. Erica Barbarossa (USA), Mr. Nikita Degtyarev (Russia), Patrick McDowell (USA), Ms. Anne Owen (USA), Ms. Inna Rodina (Russia), Mr. Sergey Semenov (Russia), Mr. Dong Suk Yoo (South Korea), Mr. Chase LeMay (USA), Ms. Sarah Erickson (USA), Alexandra Aladko (USA), Mr. Chon Kendall (USA), Ms. Daria Kheyrie (Russia), Ms. Rebecca Pantani (Italy), Ms. Galina Salnikova (Russia), Ms. Océane Van Geluwe (France), Mr. Spencer Erjavic (USA); Mr. Linus Höller (Austria); Ms. Jessica Martin (USA & Brazil); Ms. Grace Smith (USA); Ms. Aleksandra Zubenko (Russia) and others.



THE SUMMER SESSION OF THE TRIALOGUE CLUB INTERNATIONAL ON "RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS: WHAT IS THE FUTURE?" HELD IN MOSCOW

On June 30, 2025, the 126th Summer Session of the Trialogue Club International entitled "Russian-American Relations: What is the Future?" was held in Moscow.

Dr. Vladimir Orlov, Founding Director of PIR Center, Founding President of the Trialogue Club International, delivered opening remarks and presented an overview of the PIR Center's educational and research activities and plans of the Club.

The session was attended by members of the Trialogue Club International, in particular, ambassadors, embassy representatives, businessmen and experts from Germany, Finland, France, Mozambique, South Korea, Spain, Singapore, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, New Zealand, Japan, the USA, the Delegation of the European Union to the Russian Federation, the International Committee of the Red Cross Delegation in Moscow, and special guests of the President of the Club from Iran, Sierra-Leone, Thailand and others.

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PIR CENTER INTRODUCES A NEW SECTION ON THE WEBSITE "EXPERTS ON THE PROSPECTS OF THE NPT 2026 REVIEW CONFERENCE"

The next NPT Review Conference will start on April 27, 2026. Seems like a long time away? We at PIR Center disagree. It is high time we started preparing well in advance. This is especially true given the recent Israeli and American strikes on Iran's nuclear infrastructure, which have questioned the role of the international legal foundations of the nuclear nonproliferation regime. That is why PIR Center interviewed leading Russian and foreign experts and diplomats, including those who participated in the NPT Review processes throughout different years, on the prospects of the 2026 NPT Review Conference. The goal of the project is to highlight the key challenges and opportunities facing the upcoming Conference.

The result of this work was the creation of a special section on the PIR Center website – "Experts on the Prospects of the NPT 2026 Review Conference", which united comments from 17 experts from different countries: Russia, Canada, China, France, Kazakhstan, the UAE, and the U.S.



NOTHING NEW UNDER THE SUN

DR. ADLAN MARGOEV:
HOW LONG WOULD IT TAKE IRAN TO BUILD A NUCLEAR
WEAPON?

Global Security:
A View from Russia for the Youth Around the World

NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION AND ARMS CONTROL

DIGITAL PAPERS



Moscow 2024

When would Iran be ready to produce a nuclear weapon? Even the US intelligence community was confused with its own assessments. In 2005, its experts estimated with high confidence that Iran was determined to develop a nuclear weapon despite the international obligations. But in 2007, they understood that Iran was not prepared to do so. If we turn to the 2007 US National Intelligence Estimate Iran: Nuclear Intentions and Capabilities, we will see how different the assessment of Iran's nuclear program became in 2007, and that means even some of the strongest intelligence communities in the world are not exempt from making mistakes.

PIR TEST

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING PROVISIONS IS NOT PART OF IRAN'S MAIN OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE JCPOA (2015)?



- a. Reduction in the number of installed uranium enrichment centrifuges at the Natanz facility;
- b. Limitation of uranium enrichment levels to 3.67% for 15 years;
- c. Transfer of 97% of enriched uranium stockpiles out of the country or their dilution;
- d. Iran's renunciation of the development and use of civilian nuclear energy.

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... Ambassador Timerbaev would joyfully say at such moments: "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 these sources are.

WE'VE HEARD THE GOSSIP THAT IRAN IS CONSIDERING WITHDRAWING FROM THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS (NPT) IN RESPONSE TO THE RESTORATION OF UN SANCTIONS... OR NOT?

We've heard the gossip that Iran is considering withdrawing from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in response to the restoration of UN sanctions. This move is seen as a reaction to the actions of the European "troika" – the United Kingdom, France, and Germany, which, in late August 2025, notified the UN Security Council of the activation of the sanctions snapback mechanism against Iran. If these sanctions are reinstated, Iran will likely be forced to reconsider its participation in the NPT.

Although Iran has not officially exited the treaty, there is growing domestic support for revisiting the country's nuclear policy. In response to international actions, Tehran has raised the issue of resuming uranium enrichment to levels exceeding 60% and restarting the production of nuclear centrifuges. This could escalate tensions with the international community and disrupt existing non-proliferation agreements.

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

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**



Ponamarev, Sergey V., Head of the PSB's External Asset Security Center **August 7**



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

Zulkharneev, Albert F., Head of the representative office of Rossotrudnichestvo – Russian House in Bishkek, member of the Expert Council of PIR Center since 2021 **August 25**



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



August 26

Demin, Sergey I., Regional Director of Rosatom International Network in East Asia; Member of PIR Center Executive Board since 2024 **August 31**





On **July 29** we marked the 70th anniversary of **Bruno Russi**, Colonel (ret.), Former Swiss Defence Attaché, Independent analyst, and PIR Center Advisory Board Member since 2023.



Mr. Vadim Kozyulin, Member of PIR Center Executive Board, PIR Center Consultant, Chief Researcher of the Center for Global Studies and International Relations of the ICIS at the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation sends his congratulations:

Dear Bruno! It is a true pleasure to congratulate you on your 70th birthday and celebrate this remarkable milestone with you! Throughout your distinguished career as Switzerland's Military Attaché in Moscow, you have shown not only exceptional professionalism but also genuine friendship toward the PIR Center and everyone you met here. Your philosophical outlook, profound appreciation for Russia, and the warmth you extend to people around you have touched many lives and left a lasting impression on your friends and colleagues. You continue to be fondly remembered and spoken of with esteem by those whose paths you have crossed – a testament to a life and career lived with integrity and heart. May this new decade bring you fresh adventures, joy, good health, and many more meaningful days spent with family and friends. With the deepest gratitude and respect, Vadim Kozyulin and the PIR Center Team.

YADERNY KONTROL



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Editor, design and DTP: Mr. Yuriy Shakhov

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PIR CENTER

Founded 31 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 27 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 planform 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)

PIR CENTER'S LIST OF ACTIVE PROJECTS 2025-2026

You may find the full list of the PIR Center's active projects 2025-2026 here: https://pircenter.org/en/pircenters-list-of-active-projects-2025-2026/

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





