



## SUMMARY

### F R O M   T H E   E D I T O R

7 **Russian Foreign Policy: Five Fundamental Contradictions** — *Vladimir Orlov*

Need for economic modernization and developments vs. new isolationism. Declared shift in geographic priorities towards Asia Pacific, and towards construction of the Eurasian Union vs. reality of United States as the number one rival/partner. Grand initiatives on the global scale vs. chronic impotence to achieve the goals of these initiatives. Need for modern conventional high precision weapons vs. old-time reliance on nuclear weapons. Understanding of increasingly important strategic roles played by cyberspace and outer space vs. complete failure to protect Russia's interests in these areas through diplomatic means. These are five major contradictions of the Russian foreign policy. But diplomats are unlikely ones who are to be blamed: this situation is a reflection of wrong or fatally ambiguous courses orchestrated from the Kremlin.

**Key words:** *Russia, CIS, US presidential elections.*

### I N T E R V I E W

11 **Leaving Afghanistan the U.S. Want to Strengthen Their Presence in the Asia Pacific** — *Zamir Kabulov*

What is the current disposition of forces in Afghanistan? Are there any prospects for a return to normalcy in the country in the wake of the ISAF drawdown, and how will it affect the security situation in Afghanistan and Central Asia? Why is Washington in such a hurry to pull out large number of troops, while at the same time retaining the military bases in the country? What are Russia's key interests in the region? *Security Index* correspondents have put these questions to the Head of the Second Asia Department at the Russian Foreign Ministry, the Special Presidential Representative for Afghanistan, and the Russian Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Afghanistan in 2004–2009.

**Key words:** *Afghanistan, USA, International Security Assistance Force, Taliban.*

19 **Iran, the Black List, and Russia's Presidency at FATF** — *Dmitry Feoktistov*

What are Russia's priorities in the sphere of combating money laundering? What are the key areas of Russia's interaction with FATF and FATF-style regional bodies? What will Russia's presidency at FATF focus on? The Deputy Director of Department on New Challenges and Threats to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs answers the questions of *Security Index* journal.

**Key words:** *FATF, the Financial Intelligence Unit.*

### A N A L Y S I S

27 **Nuclear Energy: Lessons from the Past, Current Issues, New Initiatives** — *Victor Murogov*

The role of nuclear energy as a factor of stability and sustainable economic, social and political growth will increase. In the case of long-term and full-scale development of nuclear power, we



have to start a discussion on measures that would help to achieve the consensus on solutions to the nonproliferation issue, and safe development of environmentally compatible NFC.

**Key words:** *nuclear safety, nonproliferation, nuclear fuel cycle.*

39 **Multilateral Approaches to the Nuclear Fuel Cycle: Between Past and Future** — Yury Yudin

Due to the fact that sensitive nuclear technology is a dual-use technology, the imperfections of current nonproliferation regime cannot be compensated by technical measures only. To solve this problem and control access to sensitive technologies, materials, and facilities, international institutional mechanisms that are non-technical in nature and involve the union of different political, economic, and diplomatic approaches must be used. These approaches are discussed in the article by the IAEA safeguards inspector.

**Key words:** *nuclear renaissance, nuclear proliferation, international uranium market, nuclear fuel cycle.*

57 **Nuclear Disarmament: Stressing the Key Impediments** — Vladimir Dvorkin

Calls for nuclear disarmament, with the eventual goal of a global *nuclear zero*, acquired so many supporters that any rational nuclear disarmament programs have been sidelined by idealistic proclamations. The author notes that the problem that needs to be resolved before discussing new strategic nuclear cuts with Russia is how to pool missile defense efforts in the United States–Russia–NATO format. The article also calls for parallel consultations on non-strategic nuclear weapons, conventional weapons in Europe, and the problem of Iran and North Korea — but missile defense tops the list of priorities.

**Key words:** *disarmament, nuclear zero, non-strategic nuclear weapons, European ABM.*

69 **The Little-Known Story of Nuclear Deproliferation: Why States Stop Military Nuclear Programs** — Harald Müller, Andreas Schmidt

Two German experts tackle one of the greatest puzzles of international politics in the last fifty years: the failure of nuclear proliferation to assume a pandemic-like dynamic. The second article of the two-article series looks into the reasons and preconditions for the state to stop its military nuclear program.

**Key words:** *nuclear weapons, deproliferation.*

85 **Uzbekistan: Unstable Factor of Stability** — Yuri Fedorov

Uzbekistan authorities often call their country a factor of stability in Central Asia. Indeed, the stability of the region to a large extent depends on the relationship of Tashkent with the neighboring countries. It is also true that if the control is lost, the situation in Tajikistan, southern Kyrgyzstan, and possibly even neighboring regions of Kazakhstan will destabilize. Therefore, the question arises: is *the factor of stability* stable?

**Key words:** *Uzbekistan, political elites and clans, Central Asia, and security.*

107 **The European Union in Search of Answers to the Challenges of the Arab Spring** — Dmitry Danilov

When it comes to European response to the events and challenges of the *Arab Spring*, many observers note that the EU was obviously unprepared for what has occurred in its immediate neighborhood. Not only are the states of the region close to the EU geographically and historically; in the current political context they are the most important recipients of the European Neighborhood Policy. However, the question is not much about how unexpected or unpredictable these events were, but how the EU should react to these problems.

**Key words:** *the Arab Spring, the EU, the European External Action Service, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria.*

141 **International Mechanisms for Combating Nuclear Proliferation and Russia's Interests: the Global Partnership and the ISTC** — Alexander Cheban

The article describes the application of the Global Partnership against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction, and the International Science and Technology Center. Using the example of the synergy of two international mechanisms, the author assesses the potential opportunity to exert a positive impact on strengthening the NPT regime by these relatively new tools of counterproliferation.

**Keywords:** nuclear non-proliferation and multilateral mechanisms, the Global Partnership, the International Science and Technology Center.

#### R O U N D T A B L E

- 169 **The Future of Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Options** — *Yevgeny Buzhinsky, Anatoly Dyakov, Alexander Kolbin, Victor Koltunov, Michael Kustovskiy, Yevgeny Myasnikov, Alexander Radchuk, and Vladimir Rybachenkov*

What should be included in the concept of non-strategic nuclear weapons (NSNW)? Should the negotiations be bilateral or multilateral? Will the initiatives for reduction of NSNW in Europe have positive results? The participants of the round table «The future of non-strategic nuclear weapons in Europe: problems and solutions» elaborate on these issues.

**Key words:** non-strategic nuclear weapons, European security, nuclear disarmament.

#### P O L E M I C S

- 181 **Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation: Two Polar Views from the United States** — *Christopher Ford, Thomas Graham*

How adequate is the idea of nuclear disarmament in the current international environment? What are the prospects for U.S. participation in the process of reducing nuclear arsenals? Is it possible to achieve the *nuclear zero*? How are the initiatives and actions of Russia perceived in the U.S.? We publish the correspondence of two U.S. experts who do not fully agree on these questions.

**Key words:** nuclear weapons, nuclear disarmament, START-3, Russia and the U.S.

#### C O M M E N T A R I E S

- 203 **Space as Russia's Soft Power Tool** — *Pavel Luzin*

From a political perspective, Russia's successful activities in space are characterized not only by the use of their results for achieving specific goals on the international arena, but also by indirect influence on its position in the world. This includes participation in international agenda formulation, impacting other players' goal setting and improving their credibility. However, Russia's potential in this sphere remains largely unrealized.

**Key words:** space activities, international cooperation, foreign policy of Russia, the Russian space program.

- 209 **Belarusian Political Class in a Crisis** — *Andrey Suzdaltsev*

Over the years, Belarus has often faced difficult political and economic problems. With Russian or Western help, the Belarusian authorities have always managed to find a way out. The large scale of the structural economic crisis that engulfed Belarus in February 2011 has destabilized the political situation. The author estimates the political and economic consequences of the crisis in Belarus, and the possible role of external factors in solving the problem.

**Key words:** Belorussia, economic crisis, economic reforms, Common economic space, political crisis.

- 219 **U.S. Military Operation Against Iran: Possible Scenarios and Consequences** — *Vitaly Tsygichko*

The possibility of the US military operation against Iran is a widely discussed international topic. International expert community is trying to answer the questions that form the core of the problem of confrontation between the United States and Iran. Will the United States use military force to resolve the Iranian crisis? What are the true aims of the U.S. in the region and real opportunities to achieve them by force? How is the conflict likely to evolve? What is the possible Iranian response? What would be military, political, economic and social consequences of a U.S. attack on Iran to the region and the world?

**Key words:** Iran, United States, nuclear weapons, the Middle East.

#### R E V I E W S O F R E C E N T W O R L D E V E N T S

- 234 **iSi Index in June-September 2012: Summer Tensions** — *Galiya Ibragimova, Irma Arguello, Yevgeny Buzhinsky, Konstantin von Eggert, Dayan Jayatilleka, Sergio Duarte,*



*Pál Dunay, Khalil Karaveli Andrei Kortunov, Sehlare Makgetlaneng, Abdulaziz Sager, Mehdi Sanaei, Yevgeny Satanovsky, Farkhod Tolipov, Nandan Unnikrishnan*

International Security Index *iSi* declined in summer, which traditionally is a politically calm period. It was pushed down by escalating violence in Syria, the lack of progress in the recent talks on Iran's nuclear program, continued volatility in the euro area, the increased threat of natural disasters and man-made disasters.

**Key words:** *Africa, Middle East, Afghanistan, North Korea, strategic stability, nuclear security.*

245 **A View by a Russian Liberal: Everything Flows, But Does Not Change** — *Yury Fedorov*

Nothing has happened in the summer of 2012 that had been predicted, expected, or feared. The attack on Iranian nuclear facilities did not occur. The armed intervention to Syria was not started. Greece was not excluded from the Euro zone. Russia did not announce the deployment of nuclear missiles in Kaliningrad, did not attack Georgia, did not announce emergency and there was no the overthrow of the ruling elite. The world politics moved by inertia.

**Key words:** *the U.S. presidential elections, Syria, Middle East.*

258 **A View by a Russian Conservative: Sad Notes on the Eve of the Second Wave of the Crisis** — *Dmitry Evstafyev*

The most dangerous regions in terms of global stability are those, which were considered the first candidates for destabilization in the first half of the 1990s. Despite the strange twists associated with attempts to slow down the formation of a multipolar world and create the *new world order*, the world politics seem to have come in its original state.

**Key words:** *the U.S. presidential elections, economic recession, Syria, China, USA, CIS.*

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F I N A L Q U O T E S

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