



All the articles and materials in this issue without exception were written by PIR Center researchers, Executive Board members, and graduates. All of them represent the growing **PIR Center Community**, which includes all our colleagues and friends who have worked for PIR Center over its 20-year history as staff members or interns, received PIR Center stipends, or completed our educational and training programs.

This issue is a collective present from our graduates and our friends from the 800-strong **PIR Center Community** on the occasion of the organization's 20th anniversary.

**Editorial Board**

I N T E R V I E W

7 **Brave new PIR: Turning the 20 year journey into 2.0 generation** — Vladimir Orlov

PIR Center marks its 20th anniversary this year. How did that organization manage to overcome the many obstacles that lay on its path to such a jubilee? What are PIR Center's strengths, and what are its weaknesses? What is the bar its leadership has set for the near term, and what are the long-term goals? What kind of relations should be built between the state and civil society, including non-governmental research organizations specializing in international relations? The *Security Index* journal has put these and other questions to the PIR Center founder and President, Vladimir Orlov.

**Key words:** PIR Center, nuclear nonproliferation, Iran, information security, Central Asia, ASEAN, BRICS.

A N A L Y S I S

11 **Towards the 2015 NPT Review Conference: Seeming ease of 3rd PrepCom no harbinger of miracle** — Andrey Baklitskiy

A research associate of the PIR Center (who has been with PIR Center since 2011) looks at the ups and downs of the Third Session of the Prepcom ahead of the 2015 NPT Review Conference. Baklitskiy, who was involved in the work of the Prepcom as a representative of a Russian NGO, says there is a distinct lack of progress in implementing the 2010 Conference Action Plan; there is no progress at all on disarmament; and the conference on establishing a WMD-free zone in the Middle East is unlikely to be convened any time soon. These are just some of the problems that will have to be dealt with in 2015.

**Key words:** nuclear nonproliferation, PrepCom, NPT, WMDFZ in the Middle East.

21 **The CTBT and strategic relations between Russia, China and the United States** — Nikita Perfilyev

18 years after its opening for signature the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) is yet to enter into force. Expert Nikita Perfilyev (PIR Center staff member in 2007–2010, representative of the *Security Index* journal in 2009–2014) said that the US ratification could produce a series of subsequent ratifications creating a so-called domino effect. In order to facilitate US ratification process, the author suggests additional actions from Russia and China which could also have a positive spillover on the relations between the countries in general.



Suggested measures vary in practicality and political symbolism, but additional transparency between the three countries in the field of test-ban could foster a better climate of trust and enhance strategic stability.

**Key words:** *CTBT, United States, China, Russia, nuclear-test-ban.*

31 **Is Brazilian uranium enrichment a challenge to the nonproliferation regime?** — Maxim Starchak

A uranium enrichment program in a non-nuclear weapon state is always a serious factor of international relations and a challenge to the international nuclear weapons nonproliferation regime. Brazil has pursued a nuclear program for the past 60 years. Why, then, is the country's uranium enrichment program seen as part of the development of the national economy, and not as a threat to the nonproliferation regime? Maxim Starchak, assistant to the editor-in-chief of the *Security Index* (who has worked with PIR Center since 2006) offers his answer to that question.

**Key words:** *Brazil, nonproliferation regime, uranium enrichment, NPT.*

49 **Russia and Southeast Asia: towards nuclear partnership** — Ivan Zolotukhin

Ivan Zolotukhin (graduate of PIR Center's 2013 Education Program), from the Far Eastern Federal University (Vladivostok), looks at how Russia can make the best use of its competitive advantages in its relations with Southeast Asian countries, especially in the area of nuclear technologies and in dealing with nuclear security and safety problems. In the article, the directions of nuclear cooperation among Russia and Southeast Asian countries are highlighted as well as the opportunities, prospects, and interests of prospective partners are reviewed. The author points out that nuclear cooperation can be a guarantee of long-term Russia-Southeast Asian countries relations as well as foreground instrument for establishing positive image of Russia in the Asia-Pacific. However, the large-scale coordination of Russia's intentions and activity as well as consistence in achieving the goals are necessary for its successful implementation.

**Key words:** *nuclear energy, Southeast Asia, nuclear power plants, nuclear safety.*

63 **Iran: a nuclear-weapon state or a future energy superpower ?** — Yuri Fedorov

A realistic prospect of a settlement of the Iranian nuclear crisis emerged in the summer of 2014. For the first time since that crisis began, Tehran has demonstrated a real willingness to resolve it. If a solution is found after all, the geopolitical situation in the large region that lies between the Red Sea and Afghanistan — and especially in the Persian Gulf region — will change dramatically. Drastic changes will be in store for the global oil and gas market; the contours and the scale of those changes are still hard to predict with any accuracy. Yuri Fedorov, a member of the *Security Index* Editorial Board who has been with PIR Center since 1997, looks at the chances of Iran rapidly turning into a new *energy superpower*.

**Key words:** *Iran, oil and gas industry, nuclear program, energy policy.*

83 **Wariness of change. The Iranian debate on key international events** — Julia Sveshnikova

Negotiations on the Iranian nuclear program still remain the main subject for discussion in the Iranian political and academic environment, said the expert of HSE Julia Sveshnikova (with PIR Center since 2010). Different aspirations of political factions in Iran do not let give a precise answer to the question about the result of the next round of negotiations on the nuclear program, because the efforts by the proponents of détente with the West encounter conservatives' unwillingness to alter their non-aligned position. Survey of the expert commentaries gives an idea about the absence of the consensus on the nuclear agreement and negotiations with the West.

**Key words:** *Iran's nuclear programme, media, political faction, the expert community.*

95 **Key trends in modern terrorism** — Ekaterina Stepanova

Ekaterina Stepanova (with PIR Center since 2005), head of the peace and conflict research group at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO RAN), analyzes key trends in terrorist activity in the early 21st century using statistical data. One of the key trends is transnationalization and, in particular, regionalization of modern terrorism, she concludes.

That trend has become obvious in many areas, but its clearest manifestations include the situation in and around Iraq, and the rapid rise to prominence of the transnational ISIS group.

**Key words:** *terrorism, terrorist attacks, ISIS, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India.*

111 **WMD in Islamic fatwas** — *Kamal Gasimov*

In his article, the expert of the Center for Strategic Studies under the President of Azerbaijan Kamal Gasimov (graduate of the PIR Center 2013 Education Program) addresses legal judgments (fatwas) of the Muslim theologians on WMD and the atomic bomb. A special attention is paid to the reasons for which Muslim scholars address this issue, as well as methods and arguments they use to justify (or restrict) the creation of weapons of mass destruction. The research shows that Muslim scholars ('ulama') allow or prohibit WMD according to their political and theological beliefs.

**Key words:** *fatwas, theologians, law, creation of WMD, Iran.*

125 **New trends in U.S. defense procurement** — *Aleksey Rey*

In his article, the Director of the Center for Industrial Research of Institute for US and Canadian Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences Alexey Rey (worked for PIR Center in 1996–1998) describes new practices in US defense and national security procurement, and points out sources of inefficiency in the acquisition process and regulations. It is asserted that Russian defense industrial base suffers from anticompetitive and wasteful consolidation strategy, borrowed uncritically from the US experience.

**Key words:** *national security procurement, military programs, military-industrial complex, U.S. Department of Defense.*

R O U N D T A B L E

133 **Military and technical cooperation in new realities** — *Evgeny Buzhinsky, Natalya Kalinina, Vadim Kozyulin, Dmitry Litovkin, and Dmitry Chizhov*

Military and technical cooperation remains one of the main instruments in the policy of modern states. Arms exports are an important component of foreign trade and foreign policy aspirations of any country that wants to strengthen its role in the global arena. It is no accident that during the Ukrainian crisis the EU, the United States, and Ukraine itself decided to suspend arms trade with Russia. Will that suspension have an impact on Russia? Will Russia be able to reorient its defense industry and exports towards the Asian countries? Can the Russian defense industry meet the Russian army's demand for new and high-tech weaponry? PIR Center graduates, staff and Board members have discussed these and other questions at a round table.

**Key words:** *military and technical cooperation, arms trade, defense procurement, armed forces, defense industry.*

C O M M E N T A R Y

147 **Does the Intermediate Nuclear Forces treaty have a future?** — *Evgeny Buzhinsky*

Experts are increasingly discussing the question of whether Russia should pull out of the 1987 Intermediate and Shorter-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF). What is more, several Russian officials have opined that the treaty no longer serves Russian national security interests. Meanwhile, it is not in U.S. interests to initiate the destruction of yet another disarmament treaty that is an important element of maintaining strategic stability. Another important consideration is that unlike the ABM Treaty, INF in no way hampers Washington's future military strategies. PIR Center Senior Vice President Evgeny Buzhinsky (with PIR Center since 2009) offers an analysis of the INF Treaty's background and contents.

**Key words:** *INF, intermediate-range ballistic missiles, land-based cruise missiles, ICBM, ballistic missiles.*

153 **Monster Mind to guard cybersecurity** — *Oleg Demidov, Elena Chernenko*

The United States is working on a secret program dubbed *MonsterMind*. The goal of the program is not only to deflect cyberattacks, but to deliver automatic retaliatory strikes against the suspected aggressor. Since attacks can be routed via third countries' territory,



and with no effective international confidence-building measures in cyberspace, such a program could trigger a serious conflict. PIR Center researcher Oleg Demidov (with PIR Center since 2011) and special correspondent of the *Kommersant* daily, Elena Chernenko (winner of PIR Center's 2012 Education Program), look at the cyber defenses program in the regional and global context.

**Key words:** *MonsterMind, cyberattack, cybersecurity, cyberspace.*

159 **Transformation of domestic instability threats in Central Asia — Ivan Safranchuk**

Over the past 10 years the post-Soviet countries, including the Central Asian states, have been facing a constant threat of color revolutions. The United States has, at the very least, been encouraging attempts by pro-Western elites in these countries to come to power. Washington has not limited itself to moral encouragement; it has also provided direct support, at least as far as information campaigns and propaganda are concerned. Ivan Safranchuk, professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) who worked for PIR Center in 1997–2001, offers his commentary on the threat of color revolutions in Central Asian states.

**Key words:** *Central Asia, color revolutions, domestic politics.*

L I B R A R Y

173 **From copying to setting new global standards: Chinese defense industry trends — Andrey Gubin**

"The process of modernization of the People's Liberation Army using foreign (not Russian) technologies has essentially become irreversible, and Western companies themselves have used Israel as a grey channel for such technology transfer. In other words, Russia bears no responsibility for China's growing military might, and it could not have prevented it using restrictive measures." We offer a review of: *Barabanov M.S., Kashin V.B., Makiyenko K.V. China's Defense Industry and Arms Trade. Center for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies, Russian Institute of Strategic Studies. Moscow, 2013* (Konstantin Makiyenko worked for PIR Center in 1996–1997. Andrey Gubin is a graduate of PIR Center's 2005 Education Program.)

**Key words:** *defense industry, weapons and military hardware, exports, armed forces, China.*

N E W B O O K S

177 *Kristina Apshai, Evgeniya Dorofeeva, Kristina Kucheeva, Sarah Norris, Ekaterina Sizikova —* PIR Center researchers and interns offer reviews of new additions to the PIR Center library.

L E T T E R S T O T H E E D I T O R

183 **Congratulations on PIR Center's 20th anniversary keep coming in — Sapar Isakov, Andrey Krutskikh, Ilya Sachkov, Bakhtiyar Tuzmukhamedov, Linton Brooks, and Tariq Rauf**

187 S U M M A R Y

191 A B O U T T H E A U T H O R S

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197 E N D . Q U O T E .

**On the disarmament formula**