



FEAR HATH A HUNDRED EYES...

The PIR Center is 15. Is it a lot?

15 years is a clear adolescence. However, our work has been so intense all this time that each year may count for two. Then one would realize that the PIR Center does not behave like a teenager. It is a well-established institution with significant track record and full of energy, new projects and creativity.

Since its establishment in April 1994 the PIR Center has become a respected, internationally recognized leading Russian research institution in the area of WMD nonproliferation. Its priorities for the last decade and a half have been arms control (especially with respect to nuclear weapons), WMD nonproliferation, and international security. In the recent years we have broadened the scope of research projects and paid attention to such issues, as global energy security; strategic challenges in Central Asia; small arms and light weapons; new European security architecture, and so on.

Meanwhile, traditional nuclear nonproliferation matters remain in the focus of our studies. A telling example is two round tables that we held in early 2009 within the framework of the “*Ways to Nuclear Disarmament*” project. They were devoted to the U.S.-Russian disarmament dialogue, one of the most debated topics today.

The PIR Center also continues to develop its educational programs. The International Summer School on Global Security has become one of the most successful and visible projects. In total, in the last 15 years various PIR educational programs have enrolled over 650 young experts from the government and academic institutions, Russian and CIS universities. In June-July this year we will conduct the 9th Summer School.

The key event of the coming months is the international conference on “*Multilateral Approaches to Nuclear Disarmament: Planning the Next Steps*”, which will take place in Moscow on July 3. The PIR Center organizes it together with its old partners. This important event will bring together politicians, diplomats, military and academics from Russia, the United States, the U.K., France, China, India, Norway, Switzerland, and some other countries and international organizations.

We have chosen this working, businesslike format, in order to celebrate the 15th anniversary of the PIR Center. We will also keep up with the good old tradition (which was established five years ago at the celebration of the 10th anniversary) and will give awards – the *PIR globes* for special merits and achievements in the area of WMD nonproliferation. The winners have nominated and selected by our readers, friends and partners of the PIR Center.

This row of celebrations will continue into the next months. We will launch it in Moscow, but it will end up in fall in Geneva. In late September – early October friends and members of our European branch – Centre russe d’études politiques (CREP) – will get together to discuss and



sum up three years of CREP's activities and exchange their views on the ways to form new mechanisms of European security and the role of Russia in this process. I have no doubt that this event will help to make long-term plans for our European branch and integrate it fully into the mainstream work of the PIR Center. This will be another proof of the international character of our work at the PIR Center.

As one may see, the PIR Center has recently drawn much attention to nuclear disarmament issues. I write this editorial in New York where the 3rd PrepCom session has just finished. Nuclear disarmament matters (Article VI of the NPT) were the main topic here as well. For the first time after a decade of stagnation many disarmament issues are on the agenda and have a chance to be implemented. Contrary to the previous PrepCom sessions, this year the participants were chiefly optimistic. There is a feeling of change – at least, at the emotional level. The discussion was substantive and none demonstrated any desire to bury it under various alleged procedural pretexts. The PrepCom participants welcomed the launch of the U.S.-Russian negotiations on further strategic offensive arms reduction, received with pleasure some positive news from Washington concerning potential progress in ratification of the CTBT in the next 12 months. The echo of positive dynamics can be heard in Geneva, where for the first time in many years there emerges a real chance to resume in full swing the work of the Conference on Disarmament. In early 2010 there may start official talks on the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT).

The current issue of the *Security Index* journal focuses on the U.S.-Russian dialogue on strategic offensive arms. We publish the articles by James **Goodby**, a veteran of arms control negotiations, and Edward **Ifft**, a connoisseur of Russia and a renowned arms control expert. Meanwhile, Gennady **Evstafiev** speaks in his short comment about the controversies behind the U.S. initiatives, while Sergey **Smirnov** dwells on the interconnection between offensive and defensive weapons and its impact on the negotiations.

It will be also quite thought-provoking to learn the opinion of the Russian governmental and nongovernmental experts – from Deputy Director of the MFA Department of Security and Disarmament Affairs Sergey **Koshelev** and Advisor to the Chief of the General Staff Alexander **Radchuk** to Vladimir **Dvorkin** and Anatoly **Diakov**, who represent the expert community. The situation changes quickly, so when you read this article, the United States and Russia are at the peak of negotiations. And this will hardly be an easy talk.

We try to look ahead and to see beyond the horizon of decades – this helps to overcome the effect of transitory decisions and conclusions. So in this issue the question that we pose is the future of nuclear arsenals possessed by Russia, the United States, other nuclear-armed nations. Will we be closer to the *nuclear zero*? Or will the next generation of experts make jokes about our naivety? George **Perkovich** in his commentary makes an attempt to suggest some practical solutions, or at least, specific first steps to be taken.

“Russia... will continue to create appropriate conditions providing for the nuclear arms reduction without detriment to international security and strategic stability,” says the National Security Strategy until 2020 approved by the presidential decree on May 12.

At the same time, when one reads it thoroughly, it becomes clear that along with traditional threats Russia starts to pay more attention to new challenges.

“The protection of national interests of the Russian Federation will suffer from the negative impact of recurring unilateral force approaches in international relations, contradictions among the key actors in world politics, the threat of WMD proliferation and its seizure by terrorists, as well as new advanced forms of illegal activities in the area of cyberspace, biotechnologies, hi-tech. Global information struggle will intensify, there will be more threats to the stability of industrial and developing countries, their socioeconomic progress and democratic institutions. Nationalistic sentiments, xenophobia, separatism and violent extremism (including the slogans of religious radicalism) will grow. The demographic and environmental situation in the world will deteriorate; the challenges related to uncontrolled and illegal migration, drug trafficking and trafficking in human beings, other forms of transnational organized crime will aggravate. The emergence of epidemics caused by new unknown viruses is quite probable. The shortage of fresh water will be more tangible.”

Moreover, traditional challenges are slowly being moved into the background.

Fear hath a hundred eyes. When one works all the time with security issues, sometimes he forgets about this popular saying.


The lists of challenges and threats are large, they become longer and longer all the time. There is a serious risk that the international security debate is *sold better* when there is more fuss about this or that aspect of security, when people start playing with the very words – *challenges, threats, dangers...* The global excitement about the *swine flu* is another indication how quickly and easily the proliferation of human fears, not even weapons, goes on and how they can be manipulated – nowadays in global scale.

The fears are not only the means of manipulation; they are the means of earning.

What is the role of this or that new challenge? How does it affect the *international security index*? We try to solve this problem without panic or whining. In our previous issue we spoke about water and energy security. This time we attempt to address the matter of food security and start the discussion on this topic, thanks to Alexander **Golikov**.

We also proceed with the polemics on European security. Dmitry **Polikanov** in his article reviews the current state and potential future of the NATO-Russia relations and makes some optimistic policy recommendations on how to improve the relationship. Meanwhile, Chairman of the Duma Defense Committee Victor **Zavarzin** in his interview presents the official Russian point of view and draws much gloomier picture.

We intend to continue the discussion on hopes, not only on threats. Our observer, Dmitry **Evstafiev**, points out that “*hopelessness* is not when everything is bad. *Hopelessness* is when there is no hope.” He assumes that the new intrigue, new *big game* is unfolding in the world – nations strive for global supremacy during some protracted transition period. The winner in this struggle will be the one, who “will give the world a new hope.”

If only this new *big game* is really under way... Businesslike celebration of the 15th anniversary of the PIR Center will be a good platform to discuss this matter as well. 

Vladimir Orlov



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