# **Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy**

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Publishers of Disarmament Diplomacy

# ACRONYM INSTITUTE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 2009

# Report to the Board for January 1 to December 31, 2009

# 1. Summary

The Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy is a not-for-profit research organisation based in London, which works on international security and disarmament issues. In 2009, the Acronym Institute received grant funding from the Ford Foundation, Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, the Nuclear Education Trust, the Polden-Puckham Charitable Foundation and the Ploughshares Fund. We also carried out consultancy work for the International Panel on Fissile Materials (IPFM), the Scottish Government's Working Group on Scotland without Nuclear Weapons, the United Nations, and the Nobel Women's Initiative, as well as advising a number of governments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and academic institutions, particularly on issues relating to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), delegitimizing nuclear reliance in security doctrines, and further developing the conditions for a world free of nuclear weapons.

The Acronym Institute's grant-funded work is devoted to educational and scientific purposes and promotes awareness of security challenges and solutions. The Institute maintains a 'virtual' structure to keep overheads low and maximise flexibility. Nine personnel (one full time staff and eight part-time or project-specific consultants) contributed to the Acronym Institute's mission in 2009, carrying out their work from home or while attending meetings. Our core work included:

- promotion of CTBT verification and entry into force and work with the CTBTO and officials and NGOs in key countries where ratification is still necessary for the treaty's entry into force, with priority given to the United States, China, Indonesia, Iran, Israel and Egypt;
- close collaboration with relevant governments and NGOs to facilitate a positive, regimeenhancing outcome for the 2010 NPT Review Conference, with emphasis on strengthening compliance and implementation, nuclear disarmament and the Middle East;
- fostering a rethink on security and nuclear policy in Europe and within NATO, working with European parliamentarians, officials and NGOs to strengthen parliamentary and EU input on defence and nuclear issues;
- research and promotion of debate on the changing nature of deterrence and the need to delegitimize and devalue nuclear weapons in order to make progress towards achieving peace and security in a world free of nuclear weapons; and
- raising awareness among the public and elected representatives of the options regarding the future of UK nuclear weapons, including the costs, opportunity costs and political and security implications of replacing or renouncing Trident.

During the year, the Acronym Institute organised an international Conference on Nuclear Weapons and International Law in Edinburgh, Scotland, with high level participation from judges, parliamentarians and legal scholars. During the 2009 Preparatory Committee

(PrepCom) meeting of NPT parties, we organised a seminar at the United Nations on Outlawing the Use of Nuclear Weapons, with the Hon. Max Kampelman, eminent US arms control negotiator and advisor for successive US Presidents. Acronym also participated in a range of national and international meetings, particularly relating to the NPT, European Security and NATO, CTBT ratification (the Article XIV Conference, held at the UN), and UK nuclear policy. As detailed more fully in the 2009 Annual Report, the Acronym Institute was a featured speaker or presenter at a number of British and international meetings and conferences, among the most significant of which were: the Carnegie Endowment International Non-Proliferation Conference, Washington DC; Monterey Institute workshops on the NPT in Geneva/Annecy; the 'Top Level Group' of former UK ministers, chaired by former Defence Secretary Des Browne MP; the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (ICNND) meeting in Hiroshima, chaired by Gareth Evans and Yoriko Kawaguchi, as well as numerous seminars and discussions around the world to promote a successful outcome for the 2010 NPT Review Conference, including Berlin, Helsinki, Rio de Janeiro, Stockholm, and Wilton Park (UK).

Acronym staff attended the 2009 NPT PrepCom and UN First Committee and contributed to high level consultations at the Foreign Office and in the Westminster and European Parliaments. Prior to the UN Security Council Summit on nuclear security issues in September 2009, the Acronym Institute participated in a roundtable briefing by around 15 experts and policy-shapers chaired by the Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street, and attended by senior officials, including former and current Defence and Foreign Secretaries.

Rebecca Johnson's book on the CTBT, titled "Unfinished Business: The negotiation of the CTBT and the End of Nuclear Testing", was launched at the United Nations with a packed public meeting hosted by the UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) and the Office for Disarmament Affairs (ODA) during the 2009 NPT Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) Meeting in New York, with a distinguished panel that included the chief CTBT negotiators for the United States, Ambassador Stephen Ledogar, and for China, Ambassador Sha Zukang. Further well-attended meetings to publicise the book were hosted by the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBT0) in Vienna and by UNIDIR in Geneva, with focus on issues relevant to implementation, ratification and entry into force of the CTBT and lessons learned for future multilateral disarmament negotiations, including a long-awaited fissile materials treaty and possible future nuclear weapons convention.

Two issues of *Disarmament Diplomacy* were published during the year, with articles from international experts and young scholars as well as our own original research on the conduct and outcome of key multilateral meetings, including the NPT Review Process. These were distributed to an influential international mailing list and at many conferences and meetings, including the 2009 PrepCom and UN First Committee. Off-prints of key articles on the NPT, universalising nuclear security assurances, and the Middle East were additionally printed as separate reports to participants in various conferences, where they supported Acronym presentations and contributed to grow, and Acronym's periodic e-newsletters *Nuclear Non-Proliferation News* and *Proliferation in Parliament* were disseminated widely to interested parliamentarians, diplomats, officials, journalists and NGOs, receiving very positive feedback.

# 2. Work and Accomplishments, January 1 to December 31, 2009

# 2.1 Promoting entry into force of the CTBT

Acronym's strategy for promoting entry into force of the CTBT centred on supporting efforts by the Obama administration and US civil society to achieve Senate ratification by demonstrating the importance and verifiability of the test ban treaty. During 2009, Rebecca's book "Unfinished Business" was published by the United Nations and proved to be a very useful tool in conjunction with seminars and one-to-one or small group meetings with diplomats and officials, especially from the target countries that have not yet ratified. Though it was not formally launched by the United Nations until May, she was able to give the book to a number of senior administration and Senate officials during meetings in Washington in April 2009 and again in September 2009, resulting in follow up discussions on specific aspects of the negotiating history. Acronym coordinated with UNIDIR and the Japanese, Norwegian and Dutch governments to use public book launch meetings in New York (during the NPT PrepCom), Vienna and Geneva to engage China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Israel, Iran and Egypt in discussions about what it would take for them to ratify the CTBT, recognising the importance of additional accessions to fostering a positive climate in the United States for CTBT ratification by the Obama administration. In addition to the UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs and the Executive Secretary of CTBTO, speakers at the book launch meetings included the heads of the US and Chinese delegations, Ambassadors Stephen Ledogar and Sha Zukang (now UN Under-Secretary-General), during the CTBT negotiations and verification experts from various countries. These meetings prompted very useful discussions on the importance of the CTBT and understandings with regard to zero yield and verification decisions taken when the text was negotiated and adopted 1994-96, which diplomats from the key target countries promised to report back on and feed into their ratification processes.

Rebecca participated in the CTBT "Article XIV" Entry into Force Conference and briefed international and UK media extensively on this issue. During the year Acronym also published articles from CTBT negotiators and verification experts and disseminated copies of "Unfinished Business" to diplomats, government officials and NGOs in many of the key countries, using it as a resource not only on the CTBT but on the strategies and tactics of governments and the role of civil society in achieving multilateral treaty objectives. While our focus in 2009 has been on the United States, China, Indonesia, Iran, Israel and Egypt, we are also developing strategies to promote signature and ratification in India, Pakistan and North Korea; however, it has become clear that progress will not be possible in these countries until US ratification has been achieved.

# 2.2 Fostering positive approaches for the 2010 NPT Review Conference

During 2009, Acronym's strategies for promoting a successful Review Conference took four inter-related forms: working behind the scenes with governments on practical proposals; strategising with the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) and other NGOs to translate the widely-shared desire for a nuclear weapon free world (and statements by President Barack Obama, the UN Secretary-General and other world leaders) into practical action; promoting debate on elements for a disarmament framework and plan of action for the 2010 NPT Review Conference; and work with diplomats from Egypt and the League of Arab States to focus on practical, NPT-deliverable objectives to make progress towards a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East.

In fulfilling these strategies the Acronym Institute worked internationally and in the UK. Rebecca and Carol participated in a number of meetings at the FCO and Downing Street, to discuss with senior officials how best the UK could contribute. While engaging with the government agenda in meetings on nuclear safety, security and non-proliferation, we also argued for Britain to play a more active role in working with all sides to take forward practical compromises on the Middle East (of intrinsic value as well as an essential component in efforts to strengthen the NPT with a successful review conference). In particular we continually raised government and parliamentary awareness that the UK needs to do more on disarmament, and the counterproductive international impact of the 2007 decision to renew Trident. We published articles and participated in various roundtables, studies and joint efforts with other NGOs to call for reconsideration of Trident replacement in light of the changed political conditions and to assist the UN, NPT and President Obama's efforts to devalue nuclear weapons and demonstrate to potential proliferators that nuclear weapons are not necessary for security, power projection, prestige or anything else. As part of these consultations, Rebecca participated in a briefing chaired by Prime Minister Gordon Brown in Downing Street in September 2009 before he headed to New York for President Obama's special session of the UN Security Council on nuclear issues.

Rebecca and Carol both attended the 2009 NPT PrepCom, participating in a range of government-led and NGO discussions. While Rebecca was invited to international meetings from the ICNND to the Finnish and Brazilian Foreign Ministries and regional institutes, Carol participated fully in the UN First Committee, covering disarmament and security resolutions across the board. As independent and respected analysts with access to senior officials from all sides, Acronym was in a position to discuss and test different proposals and possibilities with diplomats and officials from a wide range of different countries. Especially with respect to disarmament and the Middle East, we generated ideas and acted as a catalyst for a number of proposals that were incorporated into national positions and carried forward into wider debate, and in some cases, which came to fruition in the NPT review conference.

# 2.21 The NPT and the Middle East

During 2009, most of Acronym's work on the Middle East was accomplished in small track 2 meetings and behind the scenes with key governments, strategising how to take forward the commitment to developing a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East, to which NPT parties committed in the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East in ways that would be practical (and possible to deliver in the NPT context).

The motivation for this work was both the intrinsic value of this objective and in order to avoid the Middle East issue from derailing the 2010 Review Conference, as it has done or risked doing in past NPT and international meetings. As can be seen from the lists of our meetings and publications during the period 2007-2009, to which must be added numerous off the record one-to-one meetings in the margins of various conferences, we generated ideas and engaged in debate with a view to building support and leadership for practical NPT-related initiatives and to head off demands for unattainable gestures. Acronym was a prime mover in developing two proposals that were taken forward in 2009 and contributed to the success of the NPT Review Conference in 2010: the idea of the NPT Review Conference appointing a special coordinator to work intersessionally on facilitating implementation of the 1995 Resolution, especially in the region; and holding regional meetings to build confidence and facilitate the process (this idea was reconstituted as a proposal for a regional Conference, which was endorsed by the Review Conference and scheduled now for 2012).

# 2.3 European Security and Denuclearising NATO

In the run-up to NATO's 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary in April 2009, Acronym's strategy was to prevent readoption of the 1999 Strategic Concept and nuclear doctrine for a further ten years, to create conditions to enable the new US administration to contribute to different kinds of debates on reforming and denuclearising NATO than had been possible in the previous decade. This strategy was supported by work with other NGOs and diplomats (from NATO and also non-

NATO European governments, Canada and the United States) to encourage NATO nations to contribute positively to fulfilling the NPT's disarmament and nonproliferation obligations and link debate on NATO's mission and nuclear policy with the need for NATO's concept to be reformed for 21<sup>st</sup> century security challenges.

Through this strategy, Acronym helped to prevent NATO sweeping the nuclear debate under the carpet and also contributed to many NGOs' work by funding a NATO analyst (Martin Butcher) to monitor, blog, and disseminate reports on meetings of NATO ministers through the year. With this up to date reportage, Acronym published briefings and played a major role in getting countries to raise NATO nuclear sharing in NPT meetings, with a successful strategy to have these concerns recorded in the factual summary of the 2009 NPT PrepCom Chair, thus building on our work the previous year.

Through our NATO and NPT briefings and in private meetings with several NATO governments and parliamentarians Acronym argued for the Strategic Concept to be opened up and reviewed fully, with emphasis on the need to address and remove nuclear weapons from Europe and eliminate reliance on nuclear deterrence and weapons from NATO's strategic doctrines. Acronym briefed the media and contributed to concerns being raised that the US nuclear posture review must be consistent with President Obama's stated objective of a world free of nuclear weapons. We also worked with NGOs, parliamentarians and governments to raise questions about the utility of nuclear weapons and missile defences, liaising with Czech and Polish parliamentarians and civil society to oppose the establishment of ballistic missile defence (BMD) bases in those countries. We addressed NATO issues at meetings in Berlin, Amsterdam and Paris that included representatives from civil society and governments and helped to develop more effective European networking among parliamentarians and civil society on this issue, thereby increasing the questions feeding into NATO's process to develop a new strategic concept through 2009 and into 2010, where the issue will be decided.

### 2.4 Devaluing nuclear weapons and challenging nuclear deterrence

Carrying forward our work from 2007 onwards, the Acronym Institute continued to play a leadership role in heightening awareness among governments, parliamentarians and civil society of the need to challenge nuclear deterrence doctrines, delegitimise nuclear weapons and turn the apparent normative taboo on using nuclear weapons into a clearer legal prohibition.

The strategy was based on our analysis that outlawing the use of nuclear weapons would enable deep disarmament to be accomplished more speedily than is possible through traditional arms control processes while nuclear weapons are still regarded as a future asset, usable, legitimate and valuable for security, status or power projection. If nuclear weapons become unusable in doctrine and military and political perception, they will lose their value to possessors and potential proliferators alike. The more nuclear weapons are stigmatised as a legal and legacy problem, the more the nuclear weapon possessors will come to recognise that it is in their own interests to eliminate their arsenals as quickly as possible. By contrast, the traditional arms control process continues to treat nuclear weapons as a high value asset. Not only does this attitude continue to drive proliferation, but it also makes significant cuts in arsenals harder to achieve because opponents can portray reductions as 'giving up' something desirable. In the arms control model, notions of parity and fears that others will gain advantages give rise to numerous political and verification obstacles. As nuclear weapons are progressively delegitimised and their use legally (or at least practically) ruled out, such considerations become much less relevant and problematic, thereby facilitating deep disarmament and greater confidence.

As one of the first to develop the arguments and push for research and action to devalue nuclear weapons in numerous articles, speeches and meetings over the past four years, the

Acronym Institute was very influential in reframing the debate and encouraging governments and more mainstream academic institutions to tackle nuclear deterrence doctrines and justifications and consider ways to delegitimise nuclear weapons. We raised awareness of the need for new thinking by proposing and analysing different approaches for preventing the use of nuclear weapons and strengthening the norm of non-use. In the NPT context, we published articles to reframe the debate over 'negative security assurances', arguing that universalising security assurances would strengthen security and promote deterrence without nuclear weapons, with shared, universal responsibility to prevent and punish the use and threat of use of nuclear weapons. During the 2009 PrepCom Carol organised a sidebar meeting at the United Nations at which the Hon. Max Kampelman, Dr Patricia Lewis and Dr Randy Rydell joined Rebecca in discussing ways in which strategies to devalue nuclear weapons would facilitate and enable comprehensive nuclear disarmament. In presentations to NPT governments and UK and EU parliamentarians, Acronym persistently made the case that demythologising deterrence would be critical to the achievement of nuclear abolition and security. While we continued to promote reductions in existing arsenals, we highlighted some of the contradictions faced by cold war arms control in the 21<sup>st</sup> century international environment. Building on work with UNIDIR on disarmament as humanitarian action, Acronym developed and proposed strategies for achieving political and legal recognition that any use of nuclear weapons would be contrary to international humanitarian law amounting to a war crime and crime against humanity. In over five years of mobilising among governments and civil society on these themes, Acronym has played a critical role in moving these debates from the margins of disarmament and nonproliferation discourse to the mainstream, helping to reframe strategic considerations of how to accelerate a treaty-making process for the abolition of nuclear weapons.

### 2.5 UK nuclear policy and Trident replacement

A central part of Acronym's work during 2009 focussed on raising awareness of the political, security and economic costs and opportunity costs of replacing Trident, and keeping alive a strong public and political debate about UK security needs and whether Trident is necessary or useful for Britain's future.

The year began with Acronym's hosting of an International Conference on Trident and International Law in Edinburgh, which was organised together with the Edinburgh Peace and Justice Centre and Trident Ploughshares. This Conference facilitated debate among UK and international lawyers, judges and legal scholars with elected representatives and civil society, and also focussed on the role and obligations of Scotland, where the UK nuclear weapons are stored and deployed. A book reflecting the proceedings of this conference, with additional legal essays, is due to be published in 2010.

Rebecca continued throughout the year to fulfil her responsibilities as a member of the Scottish Government's Working Group on Scotland without Nuclear Weapons, working particularly closely with Professor William Walker on exploring Scotland's obligations under international law and the NPT. She also enabled former International Court of Justice (ICJ) Vice President Christopher Weeramantry to participate in direct discussions of the international legal issues in private with Scottish parliamentarians and Working Group members. The Working Group finished its work on the report in June, which was subsequently finalised and delivered to the Scottish Government by the Working Group's Chair and Minister for Parliamentary Business in August 2009. The Government published the report together with the Cabinet's response in 2009, sparking debate on next steps.

At the same time, Acronym has been working closely with the UK government and parliamentarians to explore how Britain could progressively denuclearise its defence policy and take more effective steps towards its declared goal of making the UK a "disarmament

laboratory" as part of efforts to build a world free of nuclear weapons. Acronym has been successfully working with other British NGOs to keep the debate on Trident alive by publicising that Trident renewal is not yet finalised, linking it to the wider international debate on a world free of nuclear weapons, persuading some governments to raise concerns about Trident and modernisation in the NPT context, and enabling a number of conservative and military critics to have their concerns aired more widely. We also networked with European and Japanese NGOs to raise questions about the role of nuclear weapons in their own defence alliances with the United States, and to support British civil society efforts to persuade the UK government not to renew Trident and to contribute more directly to multilateral nuclear disarmament efforts.

In 2009, Nicola and Carol played leading roles in various NGO networks and working groups, helping to coordinate joint efforts among UK civil society. At the same time, Rebecca and Carol were consulted on a number of occasions by the Foreign Office, which solicited ideas to feed into the Foreign Secretary's report titled "Lifting the Nuclear Shadow: Creating the conditions for abolishing nuclear weapons", published on 4 February 2009. After Carol and Rebecca had alternately participated in small, closed door briefings at 10 Downing Street, at the request of the Prime Ministers' senior advisors, which discussed various NPT options and raised concerns about the "credibility gap" between government statements on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation and the replacement of Trident, Rebecca participated in a roundtable briefing by around 15 experts and policyshapers chaired by the Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street, and attended by senior officials, including the Defence and Foreign Secretaries.

During the year, Rebecca and Carol participated in the Liberal Democrats' research and analysis on alternatives to Trident replacement. Carol and Rebecca were also closely involved in advising, resourcing and supporting Des Browne, Margaret Beckett, Baroness Shirley Williams, Lord Hannay, Sir Menzies Campbell and others in parliament and the House of Lords in raising questions about Trident renewal, laying the groundwork for the establishment of the 'Top Level Group' of former Ministers concerned to promote British policies that are more consistent with global efforts to make the world more secure and free of nuclear weapons.

In addition to Acronym's behind-the-scenes consultations with government officials, MPs and Peers, Carol, Nicola and Rebecca ensured that questions about the military and strategic utility, costs and opportunity costs of Trident were raised at numerous seminars, meetings and radio debates on UK defence issues. Although we often appeared to be a minority voice challenging the assumptions apparently shared by the military, academic and establishment figures that dominated such meetings, it was clear from the feedback we received that our questions resonated with concerns held by other participants (who may not have been in a position to raise them as publicly as we could). Acronym's involvement in such meetings and radio debates was welcomed because we were viewed as an organisation with both academic credibility – through our work on UK nuclear policy (such as the 2006 analysis of Trident replacement "Worse than Irrelevant") and on non-proliferation and multilateral security (the NPT, CTBT, UNSCR 1540 etc) – and also as interlocutors with access to and credibility with public, parliamentary, peace and security constituences that are willing to engage candidly and constructively.

Overall, 2009 was a very busy year, laying groundwork for progress and achievements in 2010.

# 3. Meetings, Presentations, Publications and Dissemination of Ideas

### 3.1 Meetings and presentations by Rebecca Johnson

# During the year wherever her travel schedule permitted, Rebecca also participated in various information and strategy-sharing meetings with other NGOs including the Nuclear Weapons Policy Liaison Group, CND, ICAN, and Pugwash.

January 7-8, 2009, University of Hamburg, meetings with students and Public Colloquium on "Nuclear Non-Proliferation in a changing world".

January 16, Senate of the French Republic, Paris, Colloquium *Vers un Monde sans Armes Nucléaire*, gave presentation on "What are the key issues that the 2010 Review Conference will need to address in order to play a successful role in strengthening international nonproliferation and security?"

January 28-31, Berlin, Middle Powers Initiative Article VI Forum on *New Imperatives and Openings for a Nuclear Weapons-Free World*, presented paper in panel on "Reviewing NATO strategic concept".

February 3, 2009, Edinburgh, Acronym Institute co-organised a Conference on Trident and International Law: Scotland's obligations. Rebecca chaired the Conference and gave an opening overview of the issue.

February 4, Edinburgh, Scottish Government Working Group on Scotland Without Nuclear Weapons (Rebecca was appointed a member of this government working group in 2008).

February 18, Leeds University, seminar on Gender, Violence and Democracy, presented paper on "Women as Agents of NonViolence".

February 19-20, Amsterdam, IKV-Pax Christi, International workshop on nuclear disarmament in Europe, presented strategy perspectives on denuclearising NATO and the Strategic Doctrine.

February 28, Glasgow, Scottish National Party CND Conference.

March 2, 2009, St Andrew's, Scotland, Meeting with Prof. William Walker to finalise Scottish Government Working Group report.

March 11, Vienna, Hofburg Palace, OSCE Forum for Security Cooperation, Meeting on UN Security Council Resolution 1540, presented paper on "Integrating UNSCR 1540 with nonproliferation and disarmament regimes"

March 13-14, Annecy, France, Monterey Institute's Workshop on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty 2010: Time for a New Beginning, presented on "Nuclear weapons-free zones, security assurances for non-nuclear weapons states" with specific focus on the Middle East.

March 16, Pierrelatte and Marcoule, France, Meeting re dismantlement of France's military enrichment and plutonium facilities, including tour of the plants.

March 23-24, EU-ISS Working Group on the Future of Disarmament, presented power point on "A nuclear weapons convention: Moving from non-proliferation to disarmament?"

April 5-7, 2009, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Non-Proliferation Conference, plenary panellist on "International Expectations of the Obama Administration".

April 17-20, The Hague, Netherlands, 58th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs on *Justice, Peace and Nuclear Disarmament,* made plenary presentation on "International legal initiatives to prevent the use of nuclear weapons and pave the way for a Nuclear Weapons Convention".

April 22, Edinburgh, Scottish Government Working Group on Scotland without Nuclear Weapons.

May 10-15, New York, 2009 NPT PrepCom, held various sidebar meetings with a range of NPT delegations and diplomats.

May 13, United Nations, NY, Book Launch for Rebecca's book "Unfinished Business", hosted by UNIDIR, with speakers Stephen Ledogar, Sergio Duarte, Sha Zukang, as well as the author.

May 14, United Nations, NY, chaired Acronym Institute hosted meeting on "Time to Outlaw the Use of Nuclear Weapons" with the Hon. Max Kampelman, Dr Patricia Lewis and Dr Randy Rydell.

May 18-21, Washington DC, various meetings with Obama administration and Senate Foreign Relations officials, mainly about CTBT (distributed complementary copies of my book), and also attended ACA and Ploughshares meetings.

May 27-29, Geneva, Meetings with CD ambassadors regarding NPT, CD and FMCT.

June 2, 2009, London, FCO Peace and Security Liaison Group meeting.

June 2-3, Paris, EU Institute for Security Studies, 2<sup>nd</sup> working group meeting on "A New Farewell to Arms: Giving Purpose to Disarmament in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century", gave presentation on the 2009 NPT PrepCom and preparations for 2010.

June 5, London, FCO consultations on rethinking UK nuclear policy.

June 9, Vienna, CTBTO, Book Launch for Rebecca's book "Unfinished Business", hosted by CTBTO, with speakers Tibór Tóth (CTBTO Executive Secretary), as well as Rebecca.

June 10-12, Vienna, International Scientific Conference for CTBT verification.

June 13-14, Laxenberg Vienna, International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA), Processes of International Negotiation (PIN) seminar on the CTBT, presented paper on "The role of civil society in negotiating the CTBT".

June 17, Portcullis House, Westminster, Parliamentary roundtable on the NPT.

June 18-21, Wilton Park Conference on Managing Nuclear Weapons.

June 22, Scottish Government Working Group on Scotland Without Nuclear Weapons.

June 30, London, participated in seminar to launch the final Report of the IPPR Commission on National Security in the 21st Century.

July 13, 2009 London, FCO meetings on UK nuclear policy and preparing for the NPT.

July 14, 2009, Portcullis House, Westminster, briefed Des Browne's Top Level Group on the 2009 NPT PrepCom and priorities for the UK to promote.

July 20, 2009, House of Lords, Westminster, Action for UN Renewal Conference, gave presentation on strengthening the non-proliferation regime by laying the groundwork for nuclear abolition.

August 4-6, 2009, Geneva, Palais des Nations, various meetings with CD ambassadors, mainly on the NPT, CTBR ratification, and paving the way for further multilateral negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament.

August 7, Geneva, Palais des Nations, UNIDIR-hosted launch for Rebecca's CTBT book "Unfinished Business: From the CTBT to the FM(C)T: lessons for the Conference on Disarmament", with a presentation also from Tim Caughley.

September 16, 2009, Downing St., Consultation on nuclear issues, chaired by the Prime Minister, with the Defence and Foreign Secretaries and key advisers.

September 17-18, Bradford University seminar on "Stepping down the nuclear ladder: Options for UK nuclear weapons policy".

September 21-27, New York, attended meetings at the UN, including the CTBT Article XIV Conference and the Sept 24<sup>th</sup> UN Security Council meeting of government leaders on UNSC Res. 1887, and held meetings and consultations with senior diplomats and officials from key governments and the UN.

September 28, University of Princeton, addressed post-grad Programme on Science and Global Security seminar (under auspices of Prof. Frank von Hippel and Dr Randy Rydell), "From nuclear non-proliferation to disarmament" and attended IPFM lunch.

September 29-30, Washington DC, meetings with Obama administration and Senate officials to discuss CTBT ratification and promoting the conditions for the NPT Review Conference to be successful. Also met with some US NGO reps, inc. NTI.

October 6, 2009, Westminster, Roundtable consultation on Issues Related to the NPT Review Conference, with a Special Focus on the Greater Middle East, hosted by Des Browne and Pugwash-UK.

October 8, London, French embassy consultations on the NPT.

October 10, CND International Conference with ICAN-UK, spoke on the strategy for mainstreaming the concept of a nuclear weapons convention through the 2010 NPT Review Conference.

October 15, Tokyo, Press Conference with Japanese NGOs and parliamentarians about key issues in disarmament and non-proliferation.

October 16-17, Hiroshima, International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, made case on behalf of NGOs for why the ICNND (Evans-Kawaguchi) should be bolder in pushing the envelope, particularly in relation to devaluing nuclear deterrence and creating the conditions for comprehensive multilateral negotiations on a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

October 17, Welcomed ICNND members and spoke at Hiroshima demonstration at the 'bomb dome'.

October 18, Public presentation with ppt on "Towards a World Free of Nuclear Weapons: Now is the time to act!" and meeting with Hiroshima Anti-Nuclear-Weapons Alliance (HANWA).

October 19, Tokyo, Meeting with parliamentarians and staff from the governing Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ).

October 20, Tokyo, Gave Peace Depot Lecture at Meiji Gakuin University on "The Road to a Nuclear free world – The need for new thinking and policies by the new Japanese government".

October 22-24, Helsinki, Kroc Institute for International Peace and Finnish Institute for International Affairs, Conference on "The NPT and a World Without Nuclear Weapons". Commissioned and delivered resource paper on Recent Nuclear Disarmament Initiatives and also stepped in to present powerpoint on "Evaluating the Non-Proliferation Treaty, including successes and challenges and role of Article VI" as the designated presenter was taken ill.

October 28-31, Rio de Janeiro, NPS Global (Argentina) and CEBRI (Brazil), International Seminar on Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation: The future of the NPT, presented powerpoint and analysis on the "Strengths and Weaknesses of the NPT regime and expectations for the 2010 NPT Review Conference".

November 5, 2009, Oxford University James Martin 21st Century School, "Getting to Zero" seminar series, gave presentation on "Dealing with Doctrines: Time to outlaw nuclear weapons use".

November 6-8, Stockholm, Swedish Network for Nuclear Disarmament, Reaching Nuclear Disarmament – the Role of Civil Society in Strengthening the NPT. Made several plenary and workshop presentations on "From Vision to Reality", "NPT 13 Steps: Unfinished Business" and "UK opposition to Trident renewal".

November 9, Uppsala, Uppsala Peace Museum, The Department of Peace and Conflict Research, The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation and the Swedish Section of IPPNW, "Working for a Nuclear Weapon Convention".

November 12, Cambridge University Student Pugwash and the British Pugwash Group, meeting on The Military-Industrial Complex, the Bottom Billion and the UN, provided commentary following Ambassador Jayantha Dhanapala's keynote address.

November 14, London, WILPF-UK Autumn Seminar on Women Challenging Security, gave keynote with powerpoint on "Women creating real security".

November 14, by video conferencing, Toronto Zero Nuclear Weapons Public Forum, organised by Canadian Pugwash Group, Science for Peace, Physicians for Global Survival, and Canadian Voice of Women for Peace, gave presentation as part of panel on "Arousing and Sustaining Political Will for the abolition of nuclear weapons".

November 20, Oxford University James Martin 21st Century School, roundtable on Nuclear Deterrence: Prospects for Disarmament and the Future of Trident, hosted by Sir Crispin Tickell, Policy Foresight Programme

November 30, Brussels, European Parliament Subcommittee on Security and Defence hearing on "The non proliferation regime and the future of the Non-Proliferation Treaty", presented on "Is the perspective of a nuclear weapons free world realistic?".

December 3, 2009, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, London, participated in expert conference hosted by RUSI, the United Nations Association of the UK and the British American Security Information Council on "Towards Zero: Britain's role in furthering nuclear non-proliferation and multilateral approaches to disarmament".

December 14-18, 2009, Wilton Park Conference, Nuclear Non-Proliferation and the 2010 Review.

### 3.2 Meetings and presentations by Carol Naughton

### During the year, Carol participated in a number of regular and irregular information and strategy-sharing meetings with other UK NGOs including sessions of the Nuclear Weapons Policy Liaison Group and Pugwash.

January 15–17, 2009, Wilton Park, attended Conference on "NATO at 60: Towards a New Strategic Concept".

January 20, 2009, London, attended Global Strategy Forum: US Foreign Policy after Bush.

February 3, 2009, Edinburgh, helped organise and support the Conference on Trident and International Law: Scotland's Obligations, Dynamic Earth.

February 12, 2009, Finnish Embassy, London, Meeting with ambassador and diplomats to share information and strategies for the 2009 Preparatory Committee to the NPT in Geneva

February 20, 2009, London, 'Common Purpose' training conference, presentation on abolishing nuclear weapons.

February 25, 2009, Westminster, attended All-Party Group on Global Security and Non-Proliferation with Defence Secretary John Hutton speaking.

March 2-3, 2009, Geneva, Meetings with diplomats from a range of important countries to discuss the 2009 Preparatory Committee to the NPT.

March 4, 2009, German Embassy London, meeting with key personnel to discuss NATO and nuclear policy.

March 10,2009, FCO, London, Meetings with new staff covering Security Policy and NPT for the FCO

March 17 - 18, 2009 London, UK Government-hosted International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Conference: Securing Safe Access to Peaceful Power. Acted as rapporteur to one of the working groups and presented the findings to the conference.

March 25, 2009, Egyptian Embassy, London, meetings to discuss the 2009 Preparatory Committee to the NPT and a Middle East WMD FZ.

March 31, 2009, Politeia, London, attended address by the Shadow Defence Secretary Liam Fox on the Conservatives' Defence and Security policy.

April 16 – 20, 2009, Attended the International Pugwash Conference in the Hague.

April 27, 2009, Attended the IPPR Conference on National Security Strategy.

# May 4-15, New York, 2009 NPT PrepCom, held various sidebar meetings with a range of NPT delegations and diplomats.

May 13, United Nations, NY, supported UNIDIR launch for Rebecca's book "Unfinished Business".

May 14, United Nations, NY, organised the logistics for Acronym Institute meeting on "Time to Outlaw the Use of Nuclear Weapons" with the Hon. Max Kampelman, Dr Patricia Lewis, Dr Randy Rydell and Dr Rebecca Johnson.

May 22, 2009, London, attended meeting with various UK NGOs on NATO nuclear strategy.

June 9, 2009, London, presentation to the No Trident Replacement Group on the outcome of the NPT PrepCom.

June 10, 2009, London, Egyptian Embassy, Meeting with Deputy Head of Mission.

June 12, 2009, Manchester, Presentation on Iran and DPRK to the Nuclear Free Local Authorities Conference.

June 13, 2009, Speaker on abolishing nuclear weapons at Learnington Festival

June 30, 2009, London, attended the launch of IPPR Report on National Security Strategy

July 1, 2009, London, Consultation meeting at Downing Street on UK's nuclear policy

July 7, 2009, London, RUSI Conference on the Strategic Defence Review

July 13, 2009, London, Meeting with FCO communications staff on UK nuclear weapons policy

August 6, 2009, London, Meeting with MOD staff on Trident replacement, plus meeting with US Embassy staff to discuss the Obama administration and the NPT.

September 24, 2009, London, Meeting with MOD staff to discuss the Green Paper on the Strategic Defence Review.

October 12 - 30, 2009, UN New York, attended UN First Committee, and ran a teaching session with UN Fellows for the UN Office of Disarmament Affairs.

November 8, 2009, Newcastle, presentation on nuclear abolition to Medact meeting.

November 24, 2009, London, attended Seminar hosted by Global Strategy Forum on Iran.

December 14-18, 2009, attended Wilton Park Conference, Nuclear Non-Proliferation and the 2010 Review.

### 3.3 Published books, articles and reports

Rebecca Johnson, *Unfinished Business: the Negotiation of the CTBT and the End of Nuclear Testing*, United Nations, 2009.

Rebecca Johnson, 'The Missing Link: Political Decision and Will to Build and Manage Security without Nuclear Weapons', in Hannes Swoboda and Jan Marinus Wiersma (eds.), *Peace and Disarmament: A World without Nuclear Weapons?* The Socialist Group in the European Parliament (PSE), Brussels, 2009

Rebecca Johnson, **'Arms Control, Universality, and International Norms'**, in Jeffrey A. Larsen and James J. Wirtz (eds.), *Arms Control and Cooperative Security*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder Co. and London, 2009.

Rebecca Johnson, 'United Kingdom', in Reducing and Eliminating Nuclear Weapons: Country Perspectives on the Challenges to Nuclear Disarmament', International Panel on Fissile Materials (IPFM), University of Princeton, 2009.

Rebecca Johnson, 'Enhanced Prospects for 2010: An Analysis of the Third PrepCom and the Outlook for the 2010 NPT Review Conference', *Arms Control Today*, June 2009.

Rebecca Johnson, 'Nuclear powers come in from the cold', The Guardian, July 7, 2009

In addition, other presentations were published on the websites of conference organisers' websites, with links to the Acronym website where appropriate.

# 3.4 Disarmament Diplomacy

Disarmament Diplomacy 90 (Spring 2009) - contents

Editorial: Leadership, Hope and Realistic Security

**Towards 2010 and Beyond: Security Assurances for Everyone** *Rebecca Johnson* 

**Challenges for the Nonproliferation Regime and the Middle East** Sameh Aboul-Enein

**Towards 2010 and Beyond: Proposals, Positions and Prospects** *Michael Spies* 

**Challenges for the NPT: Iran and North Korea** *Michael Spies* 

**Trident: Still the Wrong Weapon at the Wrong Time for the Wrong Reasons** *Nick Ritchie* 

### Gordon Brown, Speech on nuclear energy and proliferation, 17 March 2009

# Will President Obama meet the Challenge to Control the Conventional Arms Trade?

Natalie Goldring

#### Towards a new US Nuclear Posture

Joint statement by President Medvedev and President Obama, 1 April 2009 President Obama's Prague Speech, 5 April 2009 A New Strategic Posture for the United States and a Nuclear Weapons Complex to Support it From Counterforce to Minimal Deterrence: A New Nuclear Policy on the Path Toward Eliminating Nuclear Weapons

### Disarmament Diplomacy 91 (Summer 2009) - contents

### Editorial: Needed: Good Leaders to Cut the Nuclear Posturing

#### **Laying Substantive Groundwork for 2010: Report of the 2009 NPT PrepCom** *Rebecca Johnson*

First draft of recommendations to Review Conference NPT/CONF.2010/PC.III/CRP.4, 7 May 2009 Second draft of recommendations to Review Conference NPT/CONF.2010/PC.III/CRP.4/Rev1, 13 May 2009

#### **Nuclear Testing and Proliferation – an Inextricable Connection** *Thomas Graham Jr. and David Hafemeister*

# Unfinished Business: Lessons from the CTBT Negotiations

Rebecca Johnson

### **A Fissile Material (Cut-off) Treaty: Some Observations on Scope and Verification** *Paul Meyer*

#### **Japan's Challenges and Dilemmas over Nuclear Disarmament** *Masa Takubo*

### **Midpoint between Review Conferences: Next Steps to Strengthen the BWC** *Nicholas A. Sims*

### **Towards a Negotiating Mandate for an Arms Trade Treaty** *Michael Spies*

### **The Conference on Disarmament in 2009: Could do Better** *Rav Acheson*

Ray Acheson

### Disarmament News Review

Obama and Medvedev agree framework for strategic arms talks NATO launches Strategic Concept review UK publishes Roadmap to 2010 Iran nuclear talks at critical stage Second North Korean nuclear test underscores urgency of CTBT and disarmament

# 3.4 Media, website and electronic news services

During the year, the Acronym Institute website continued to post key documents and links, prioritising developments in proliferation and disarmament, the UK nuclear debate, European security, and meetings and developments relating to disarmament and security in the United Nations, including the NPT. The two new electronic news services: *Nuclear Non-Proliferation News* and *Proliferation in Parliament*, have been well received and are disseminated on email and through the website.

Rebecca Johnson, Carol Naughton and Nicola Butler also contributed through interviews and information to CNN, BBC, Al Jazeera and NHK news, and articles in Reuters, AFP, AP, the *Washington Post, New York Times, The Guardian, The Independent, Chugoku Shinbun, Asahi Shinbun,* Nature, New Scientist, Scotsman, Sunday Herald (Scotland) and various NGO publications.

# 4. Institutional Establishment

The Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy is a non-profit company 'limited by guarantee', registered in England and Wales in 1996, No. 3149465

### **Mission Statement**

Knowledge is power and should be shared, used and accountable. The Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy conducts research and publishes information on international relations and negotiations leading to agreements and treaties to reduce the threats from nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional weapons. We work towards the full and informed participation of the community of nations and their citizens, with the aim of increasing international awareness of the need for more effective measures to demilitarise relations between states, promote human security and protect the environment.

### Personnel (staff and paid consultants) for 2009

Executive Director and Editor of Disarmament Diplomacy, Dr Rebecca Johnson Deputy Director and Web Manager (to November), Nicola Butler Senior Associate, Carol Naughton Assistant Editor, Henrietta Wilson Consultants on UN, Michael Spies and Ray Acheson Consultant on UN and small arms, Dr Natalie Goldring Geneva intern, Nafiseh Baeidi Nejad Book keeper, Julia Clancy.

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Signed on behalf of the Board Sir Hugh Beach, Chair