



Arms Control  
Association

# 2023 ANNUAL MEETING

**Reducing Nuclear Threats in a Time of Peril**

June 2, 2023  
National Press Club  
Washington, D.C.

#ACA2023

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# A Time for Action

Dear Arms Control Association members and friends,

Over the five-decade lifespan of our organization, we have played a part in milestone efforts to end nuclear testing, prevent proliferation, secure nuclear materials, slow the arms race, reduce deadly nuclear arsenals, and lower the risk of nuclear Armageddon. But today, the nuclear threat is higher than at any time since the depths of the Cold War.

In 2022, Russian President Vladimir Putin's invasion of Ukraine and threats of nuclear weapons use reminded the world that the threat of nuclear war has not disappeared. Earlier this year, the Kremlin suspended Russian implementation of the last remaining nuclear arms control treaty between owners of the world's two largest nuclear arsenals. For now, there is no regular bilateral dialogue on nuclear risk reduction nor any talks on a new nuclear arms control framework to replace New START.

As Russia carries on its reprehensible war against Ukraine, tensions between the United States and China continue to mount. Leaders in Moscow, and Washington continue to move forward with expensive and unnecessary nuclear modernization, and in China's case, a nuclear weapons expansion program. Without new arms control restraints, a three-way nuclear competition is possible.

Meanwhile, in the wake of the U.S. withdrawal from the 2015 Iran nuclear deal, there are renewed concerns about Tehran's nuclear weapons potential. In the absence of effective diplomatic engagement with North Korea, Kim Jong Un is diversifying his country's nuclear arsenal, creating proliferation pressures among allies, such as South Korea.

In response, some members of Congress and the nuclear weapons establishment are calling for the United States to abandon arms control and nonproliferation diplomacy and increase the size of its nuclear arsenal and to develop new types of nuclear weapons.

The American people are looking for responsible leadership to address these growing dangers. A recent national poll reveals that Americans across all age groups consider "nuclear weapons and nuclear war" to be the top potential cause of the end of life on Earth, with 66 percent saying they are "very concerned" or "somewhat concerned."

With such challenges, the Arms Control Association—and indeed the entire nuclear arms control and disarmament community—has an obligation and opportunity to provide innovative ideas, pragmatic solutions, and to engage others in the cause.

You can count on our team to be at the forefront of the effort to create new momentum for commonsense arms control and disarmament.

As always, thanks for your interest, your engagement, and your support.

Onward,



Daryl G. Kimball  
Executive Director

## Event Program

<b>8:00 a.m.</b>	<b>Registration begins</b>
<b>9:00 a.m.</b>	<b>Welcome</b> <b>Daryl G. Kimball</b> , Executive Director
<b>9:10 a.m.</b>	<b>Keynote Address</b> <b>Jake Sullivan</b> , National Security Advisor to President Biden
<b>10:15 a.m.</b>	<b>Coffee Break</b>
<b>10:30 a.m.</b>	<b>PANEL I:</b> <b>Preventing a Three-Way Nuclear Arms Race</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <b>Lynn Rusten</b>, Nuclear Threat Initiative</li><li>• <b>Jon Wolfsthal</b>, Center for a New American Security and Global Zero</li><li>• <b>Tong Zhao</b>, Program on Science and Global Security at Princeton</li><li>• <b>Thomas Countryman</b>, Arms Control Association, <i>moderator</i></li></ul>
<b>11:30 a.m.</b>	<b>Break for Lunch Service</b>
<b>12:00-12:50 p.m.</b>	<b>Keynote Address</b> <b>Ambassador Alexander Kmentt</b> , Director of Disarmament, Arms Control, and Nonproliferation at the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

<p><b>1:00 p.m.</b></p>	<p><b>PANEL II: Reducing Nuclear Risks and Reinforcing the Taboos Against Nuclear Use and Threats</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Rebecca Davis Gibbons</b>, University of Southern Maine and co-chair of the Beyond Nuclear Deterrence Working Group at the Harvard Project on Managing the Atom</li> <li>• <b>Morton H. Halperin</b>, former senior official on defense and nuclear weapons policy in the Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Clinton administrations</li> <li>• <b>Amy F. Woolf</b>, Atlantic Council</li> <li>• <b>Daryl G. Kimball</b>, Arms Control Association, <i>moderator</i></li> </ul>
<p><b>2:00 p.m.</b></p>	<p><b>Coffee Break</b></p>
<p><b>2:15- 3:15 p.m.</b></p>	<p><b>PANEL III: The Iranian Nuclear Crisis: Is There a Diplomatic Plan B?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Kelsey Davenport</b>, Arms Control Association</li> <li>• <b>Ali Vaez</b>, International Crisis Group</li> <li>• <b>Dylan Williams</b>, J Street</li> <li>• <b>Barbara Slavin</b>, Stimson Center, <i>moderator</i></li> </ul>
<p><b>3:20 p.m.</b></p>	<p><b>PANEL IV: Risk and Regulation of AI in Nuclear Command and Control</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Paul Dean</b>, U.S. State Department</li> <li>• <b>Chris Meserole</b>, Brookings Institution</li> <li>• <b>Helen Toner</b>, Georgetown Center for Security and Emerging Technology</li> <li>• <b>Shannon Bugos</b>, Arms Control Association, <i>moderator</i></li> </ul>
<p><b>4:20- 4:30 p.m.</b></p>	<p><b>Closing</b></p> <p><b>Daryl G. Kimball</b>, Executive Director</p>

### Keynote Address



**Jake Sullivan** is the 28th assistant to the president for national security affairs (national security advisor). In the Obama-Biden administration, he served as deputy assistant to the president and national security advisor to then-Vice President Biden, director of the policy planning staff at the U.S. Department of State, and deputy chief of staff to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

During his time in government, Sullivan was a lead negotiator in the initial talks that paved the way for the Iran nuclear deal and played a key role in the U.S.-brokered negotiations that led to a ceasefire in Gaza in 2012. He also helped shape the Asia-Pacific rebalance strategy at both the State Department and the White House.

Following his service in the Obama-Biden administration, he was a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and also held teaching posts at Yale Law School, Dartmouth College, and the University of New Hampshire. He co-founded and co-chaired the advisory board for National Security Action, a nonprofit national security advocacy organization, and served on the advisory boards of a number of organizations involved in foreign policy and national security. Sullivan was a senior policy advisor on Joe Biden's 2020 presidential campaign.

He holds a B.A. in political science and international studies from Yale College; a M.Phil in International Relations from Oxford, where he was a Rhodes Scholar; and a J.D. from Yale Law School.



**Lynn Rusten** is vice president for the Global Nuclear Policy Program at the Nuclear Threat Initiative. From 2011 to 2014, she was senior director for arms control and nonproliferation on the National Security Council staff.



**Jon Wolfsthal** is a senior fellow in nuclear issues at the Center for a New American Security. He is senior advisor to Global Zero, serves on the Science and Security Board of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, and is a member of the U.S. Department of State's International Security Advisory Board. Before 2017, Wolfsthal served as special assistant to President Barack Obama for national security affairs and is a former senior director at the National Security Council for arms control and nonproliferation. He also served from 2009-2012 as special advisor to Vice President Joseph R. Biden for nuclear security and nonproliferation and as a director for nonproliferation on the National Security Council. Jon was also a senior research analyst with ACA from 1991-1995.



**Tong Zhao** is a senior fellow in the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, as well as a visiting research scholar at Princeton University's Science and Global Security Program. His research focuses on strategic security issues, such as nuclear weapons policy, deterrence, arms control, nonproliferation, missile defense, hypersonic weapons, and China's security and foreign policy. He serves on the board of directors of the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament and on the advisory board of the Missile Dialogue Initiative. Zhao is also an associate editor of *Science & Global Security* and is a member of the International Panel on Fissile Materials.



**Thomas Countryman** is the chair of the board of directors for the Arms Control Association. He was the acting undersecretary of state for arms control and international security. He served for 35 years as a member of the U.S. Foreign Service until January 2017, achieving the rank of minister-counselor, and was appointed in October 2016 to the position of acting undersecretary of state. He simultaneously served as assistant secretary of state for international security and nonproliferation, a position he had held since September 2011.

### Keynote Address



**Ambassador Alexander Kmentt** is the director of disarmament, arms control, and nonproliferation at the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was a key architect of the 2017 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) and served as president of the first meeting of the states-parties to the TPNW held in June 2022 in Vienna, Austria.



**Rebecca Davis Gibbons** is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Southern Maine. She is a co-chair of the Beyond Nuclear Deterrence Working Group at the Harvard Kennedy School's Project on Managing the Atom, and author of *The Hegemon's Tool Kit: US Leadership and the Politics of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime*.



**Morton H. Halperin** has served in multiple senior roles on defense and nuclear weapons policy in the Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Clinton administrations. He is the co-author, with Thomas Schelling, of the influential 1961 book, *Strategy and Arms Control*. He has written and taught at Harvard, Columbia, George Washington, and Yale, and held leadership positions at the Center for American Progress, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.



**Amy F. Woolf** is a consultant specializing in nuclear weapons and nuclear arms control policy. She served as a specialist in nuclear weapons policy at the Congressional Research Service for over 30 years, where she provided Congress with broad-ranging and in-depth analysis on issues related to U.S. and Russian nuclear forces and nuclear arms control. She has also supported arms control dialogues in international venues. She has served as a consultant to the UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), a senior associate fellow at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), and a nonresident senior fellow in the Forward Defense practice of the Atlantic Council. Ms. Woolf received a master's degree in public policy from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.



**Daryl G. Kimball** has been involved in the nuclear arms control and disarmament field for three decades and has served as ACA's executive director since 2001. He has shaped the Arms Control Association's education and research programs and publications and led its policy advocacy campaigns on a range of issues, including halting new nuclear weapons production, ending nuclear testing, negotiation and ratification of New START, conclusion of the 2015 P5+1 nuclear deal with Iran, strengthening the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, and reinforcing the norms against nuclear use and threats of use.

## Panelists, Moderators, Keynote Speakers



**Kelsey Davenport** is the director for nonproliferation policy at the Arms Control Association, where she focuses on the nuclear and missile programs in Iran and North Korea and on international efforts to prevent proliferation and nuclear terrorism. She runs the Arms Control Association's project assessing the effectiveness of multilateral voluntary initiatives that contribute to nonproliferation efforts. She is a member of the advisory board for the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame, serves on the advisory committee for the National Committee on North Korea, and is a member of the board of directors for the Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellowship.



**Ali Vaez** is the International Crisis Group's Iran project director and senior adviser to the president. He led Crisis Group's efforts in helping to bridge the gaps between Iran and the P5+1 that led to the landmark 2015 nuclear deal. Previously, he served as a senior political affairs officer at the United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and was the Iran project director at the Federation of American Scientists. He is an adjunct professor at Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and a fellow at the Foreign Policy Institute of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.



**Dylan Williams** is J Street's chief lobbyist, responsible for developing and executing the organization's strategy for securing pro-Israel, pro-peace, pro-democracy U.S. policies in the Middle East. He joined J Street in 2009 after serving as counsel for foreign relations, trade, and immigration to U.S. Senator Olympia Snowe (R-Maine). Prior to working on Capitol Hill, Williams worked as an international trade law attorney for the federal government and practiced securities law in Hong Kong.



**Barbara Slavin** is a distinguished fellow at the Stimson Center and a lecturer in international affairs at George Washington University. Prior to joining Stimson, she founded and directed the Future of Iran Initiative at the Atlantic Council and led a bi-partisan task force on Iran. A career journalist, Slavin served as a columnist for *Al-Monitor*; assistant managing editor at the *Washington Times*; senior diplomatic reporter for *USA Today*; Cairo and Beijing correspondent for *The Economist* and as an editor at *The New York Times* *Week in Review*.



**Paul Dean** is the principal deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance. He concurrently serves as the U.S. commissioner to the U.S.-Russia Bilateral Consultative Commission, the compliance and implementation body for New START. From 2018-21, he served as the legal counselor at the U.S. Embassy in The Hague. Dean was the head of the U.S. Treaty Office from 2011-14 and later led the Office of Nonproliferation and Arms Control and the Office of Management in the L Bureau. In 2009-10, he served as delegation legal adviser for negotiation of the New START Treaty and later as the lead executive branch lawyer for the treaty's ratification.



**Chris Meserole** is a fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution and deputy director of the Brookings Artificial Intelligence and Emerging Technology Initiative. His current research concerns the impact of AI on international and domestic security, with a particular focus on policies and governance models that can arrest the rise and spread of digital authoritarianism.



**Helen Toner** is director of strategy and foundational research grants at Georgetown's Center for Security and Emerging Technology. She previously worked as a senior research analyst at Open Philanthropy, where she advised policymakers and grantmakers on AI policy and strategy. Between working at Open Philanthropy and joining CSET, Helen lived in Beijing, studying the Chinese AI ecosystem as a research affiliate of Oxford University's Center for the Governance of AI. Helen has written for Foreign Affairs and other outlets on the national security implications of AI and machine learning for China and the United States.



**Shannon Bugos** is a senior policy analyst at the Arms Control Association, where she researches and writes for *Arms Control Today* on nuclear disarmament, hypersonic weapons and emerging technology, the defense budget, and U.S.-Russian arms control. Previously, she was the communications and writing manager at Truman Center for National Policy and Truman National Security Project.

## INFORMATION. INFLUENCE. IMPACT.

Since 1971, we've provided authoritative information, news, and analysis on a range of weapons-related global security challenges and pragmatic solutions to eliminate the threats posed by the world's most dangerous weapons.

Our timely research, reports, issue briefs, fact sheets, e-newsletters, and our flagship journal, *Arms Control Today*—all available online at [armscontrol.org](http://armscontrol.org)—make us the go-to resource for diplomats, reporters, scholars, students, and citizen advocates the world over.

We don't simply observe the world around us. The Arms Control Association is a "think and do" tank that aims to advance pragmatic solutions to steer policy outcomes in a safer and saner direction.

Today, we're working to:

- Head off a new global nuclear arms race and advance nuclear disarmament.
- Narrow the role and slash the cost of U.S. nuclear weapons.
- Promote effective nonproliferation diplomacy globally.
- Reinforce the hard-won norms against nuclear testing, nuclear use, and nuclear threats.
- Reinforce the taboos against chemical and biological weapons.
- Advance tomorrow's arms control solutions to address destabilizing new technologies.



## HOW DO WE DO ALL OF THIS?

ACA has always been a relatively small, but impactful organization thanks to its dedicated, highly professional, dynamic, creative, persistent, and hard-working staff, fellows, interns, and our stellar board of directors.

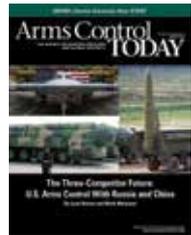
**Shaping the debate:** The news media is where the public and many policymakers and elected officials get most of their information.

Our experts are among the most widely cited and highly trusted sources in the field for reporters.



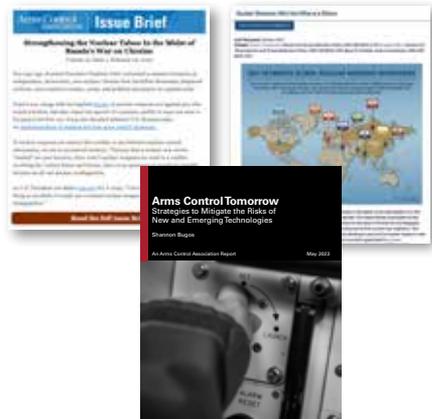
**Arms Control Today:** Since it was launched in 1974 as a monthly publication, *Arms Control Today* has served as an authoritative source of information and a platform for ideas and debate on weapons-related security challenges.

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**Generating ideas:** We do more than just describe problems. We develop and present practical solutions and engage with decision-makers the world over to put ideas into action.

ACA regularly produces in-depth research reports, Issue Briefs, Policy White Papers, and maintains a library of more than 100 At-a-Glance Fact Sheets.



**Catalyzing executive branch and congressional action on nuclear disarmament:**

We have a proven track record pressing U.S. leaders to reduce the role, cost, and numbers of nuclear weapons, and to pursue nonproliferation through diplomacy.

ACA engages with officials and diplomats worldwide to inject proposals and ideas to catalyze action for nuclear threat reduction.



Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chair, Robert Menendez (D-N.J.), quotes Director for Nonproliferation Policy Kelsey Davenport in a Feb. 1 speech about the JCPOA talks.

**Training the next generation of arms controllers:** ACA has provided a start for hundreds of young analysts, interns, and Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellows over the years.

**Collaborating effectively:** We have years of experience working with smart people and organizations in the United States and around the world who bring diverse strengths and perspectives to effect positive policy change.

- ACA hosts the Physicists Coalition for Nuclear Threat Reduction and the Chemical Weapons Convention Coalition.
- ACA is a part of the Harvard Managing the Atom Project Research Network on Rethinking Nuclear Deterrence.
- Since 2013, ACA has served as the lead U.S. partner for the U.S.-German-Russian “Deep Cuts Commission.”



Deep Cuts Commission workshop at the NPT Review Conference in 2022.

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## A special preview for meeting attendees: *In Search of Resolution*

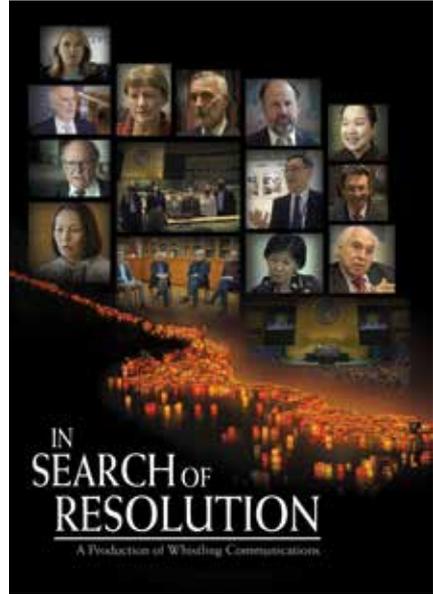
As a bonus for all of our 2023 Annual Meeting attendees, you can watch the full-version of the soon-to-be-released documentary film *In Search of Resolution* from director/producer Robert E. Frye and The Nuclear World Project.

This feature-length documentary film, the third in a series, examines the events since early 2022 that have complicated the global effort to reduce and eliminate nuclear dangers and looks to the future, profiling individuals and organizations working to ensure these weapons are never used in war and presenting paths and ideas to deal with the most destructive weapon ever invented.

The pre-release version of *In Search of Resolution* will be accessible online from June 2 to June 5 at:

**<https://www.videoproject.org/in-search-of-resolution.html>**

If you are interested in receiving information about licensing for educational institutions, libraries, and community screenings, please visit **[videoproject.org](https://www.videoproject.org)**



# The 2022 Arms Control Persons of the Year

Every year since 2007, the Arms Control Association staff and board have nominated several individuals and institutions that have advanced effective arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament solutions and/or raised awareness of the threats posed by mass casualty weapons. The nominee that receives the highest number of votes in an online poll becomes the “Arms Control Person(s) of the Year.”



## The Energoatom staff at Ukraine’s Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant

The Energoatom staff at Ukraine’s Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant (ZNPP) were selected as the 2022 Arms Control Persons of the Year through an online poll that drew more than 3,500 participants from nearly 80 countries.

The Energoatom staff at the Zaporizhzhia nuclear complex were nominated for their heroic efforts to maintain nuclear safety and security at the plant under conditions of immense hardship resulting from the illegal Russian military occupation of the facility, which is Europe’s largest nuclear power plant, and amid continued shelling of the ZNPP facility.

“Russia’s illegal and unprecedented occupation of the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant created an untenable nuclear safety and security situation. In the face of harassment and threats by Russian forces, Ukrainian personnel have continued to operate the plant and avert a nuclear crisis,” noted Kelsey Davenport, director for nonproliferation policy with the Arms Control Association.

“The international community owes a debt of gratitude to the heroism and bravery of the Zaporizhzhia personnel, but this dire situation cannot continue,” Davenport said. “The ongoing safety and security risks underscore the critical importance of establishing a zone of protection at the site, returning control of Zaporizhzhia to Ukraine, and strengthening the norm against targeting civilian nuclear infrastructure,” she added.

## Previous Winners

- 2021** Secretary of Foreign Affairs **Marcelo Ebrard** and the Government of Mexico for their lawsuit against U.S. gun manufacturers and distributors, which takes a novel approach to combat illicit weapons trafficking from the United States into Mexico that is fueling violence and criminal activity.
- 2020** Ambassador **Bonnie Jenkins** and Women of Color Advancing Peace and Security for catalyzing support and action from leaders and practitioners in the national security and foreign policy communities to increase diversity in their ranks.
- 2019** **Areg Danagoulian** and colleagues at MIT for development of an innovative new nuclear disarmament verification process using neutron beams.
- 2018** **4,000 Anonymous Google Employees** whose open letter to company leadership led to Google ending its work on “Project Maven” with the Pentagon.
- 2017** Diplomats from the disarmament delegations of **Austria, Brazil, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand,** and **South Africa,** and Ambassador **Elayne Whyte Gómez of Costa Rica** for their efforts to secure the historic 2017 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.
- 2016** The Republic of the Marshall Islands and its former Foreign Minister **Tony de Brum** for pursuing a case in the International Court of Justice against the world’s nuclear-armed states for their failure to initiate nuclear disarmament negotiations in violation of the NPT and customary international law.
- 2015** **Setsuko Thurlow** and the *Hibakusha* (atomic bomb survivors) of Hiroshima and Nagasaki for their unyielding dedication to sharing first-hand accounts of the catastrophic and inhumane effects of nuclear weapons.
- 2014** Austria’s Director for Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Ambassador **Alexander Kmentt** for organizing the third International Conference on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons.
- 2013** Executive Secretary of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization **Lassina Zerbo** for providing real-time data regarding North Korea’s third nuclear test explosion.
- 2012** **General James Cartwright** for calling on the United States to reduce its nuclear forces, scale back triad modernization plans, and reduce the alert status of deployed weapons.
- 2011** Reporter and activist **Kathi Lynn Austin** for her work to document and track arms smugglers and for highlighting the need for a robust global Arms Trade Treaty.
- 2010** Kazakhstan Deputy Foreign Minister **Kairat Umarov** and U.S. National Nuclear Security Administration Administrator **Thomas D’Agostino** for securing material containing highly enriched uranium and weapons-grade plutonium.
- 2009** **Senator Richard Lugar** (R-Ind.) for his long-running support for U.S. financial contributions to assist with the construction of Russia’s chemical weapons demilitarization complex.
- 2008** Norway’s Foreign Minister **Jonas Gahr Støre** and his ministry’s Director-General for Security Policy **Steffen Kongstad**. Støre convened the Oslo process which led to the negotiation of the Convention on Cluster Munitions, and Kongstad led Norway’s cross-departmental effort.
- 2007** Representatives **Peter Visclosky** (D-Ind.) and **David Hobson** (R-Ohio) for helping lead the effort for Congress to reject the Bush administration’s proposal to fund research on a new, replacement warhead.



# *Thank You*

**To all of our Arms Control Association members and  
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# How You Can Help

**Join or renew your membership.** Make a commitment to effective arms control solutions. Get access to the flagship monthly journal *Arms Control Today*, invitations to briefings and events, and other benefits. Annual membership dues begin at \$25.

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See: [armscontrol.org/get-the-latest](https://armscontrol.org/get-the-latest)

**Take action.** Progress in arms control and disarmament depends on public response. Become part of our growing action alert network to learn how you can write, call, and meet with key policymakers.

See: [armscontrol.org/take-action](https://armscontrol.org/take-action)

**Be an ambassador.** Help spread the word! You can help share the Association's resources with your professional and social networks.

**Consider planned giving.** Our staff can help you make a bequest of charitable assets to the Association to support our work in the years to come.

Contact us at: [development@armscontrol.org](mailto:development@armscontrol.org) or 202-463-8270, ext. 105.

**"For 50 years, the Arms Control Association has educated citizens around the world to help create broad support for U.S.-led arms control and nonproliferation achievements... [W]e continue to count on the valuable contributions of the Arms Control Association."**

—President Joe Biden, June 2, 2022



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# 2023 Annual Meeting



## **2023 Annual Meeting** **REDUCING NUCLEAR THREATS** **IN A TIME OF PERIL**

June 2, 2023

National Press Club

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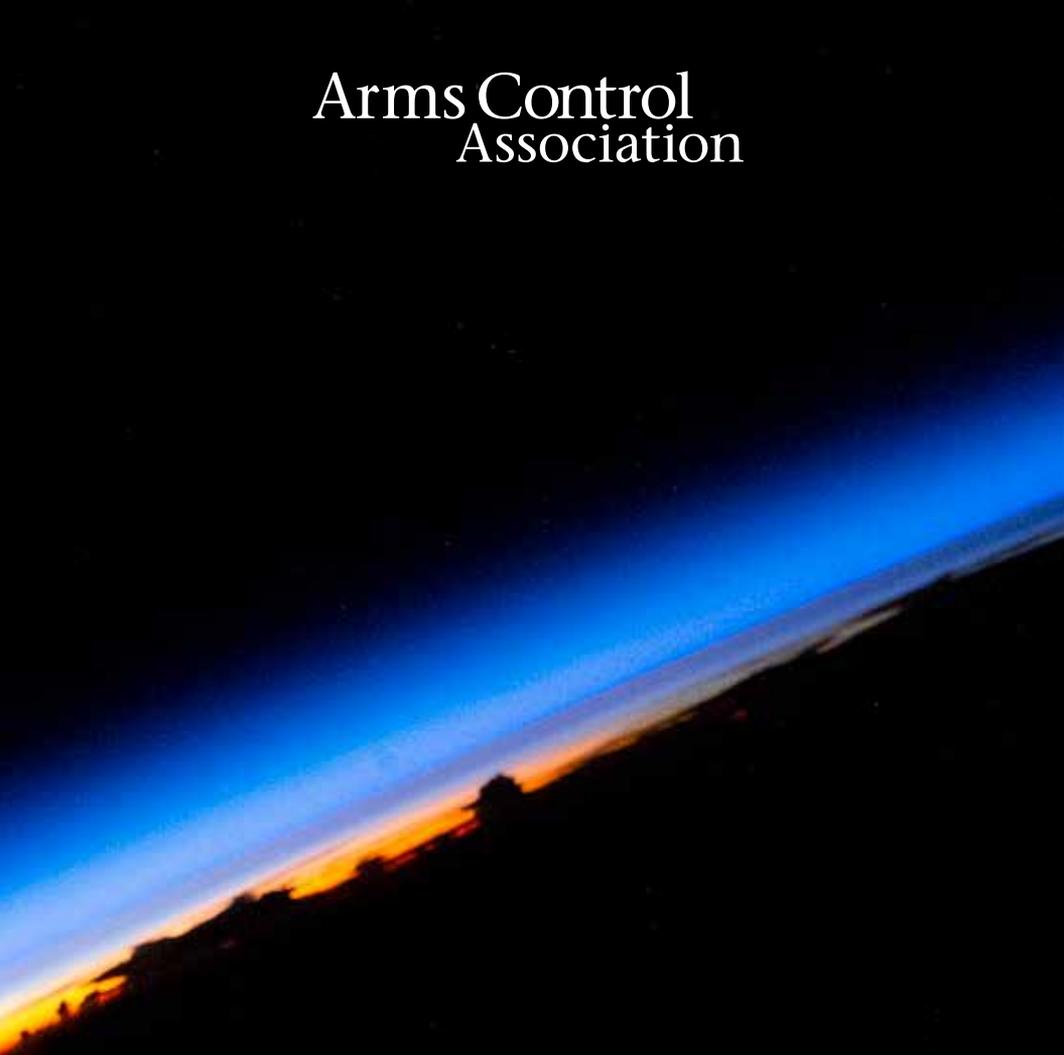


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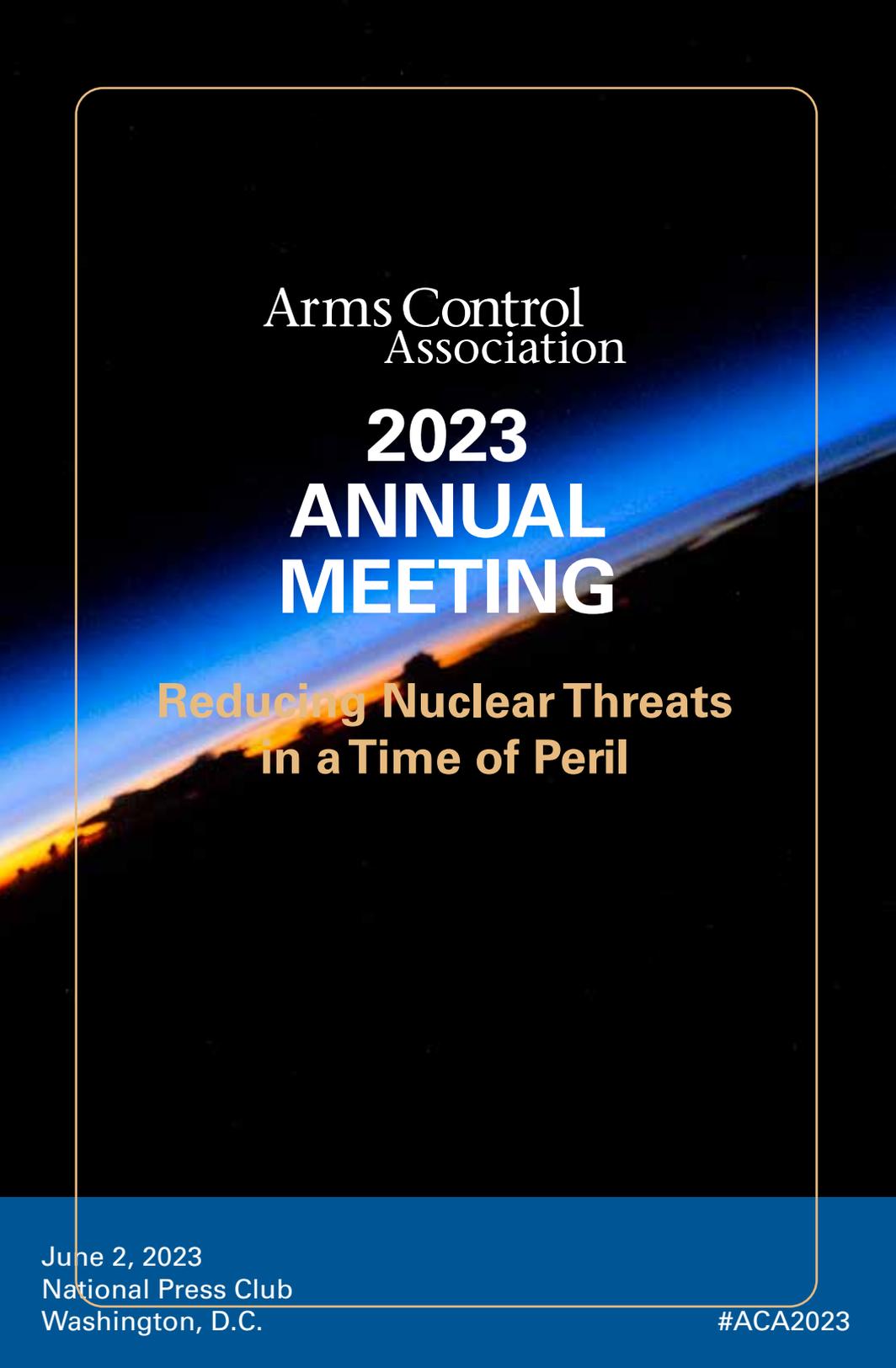
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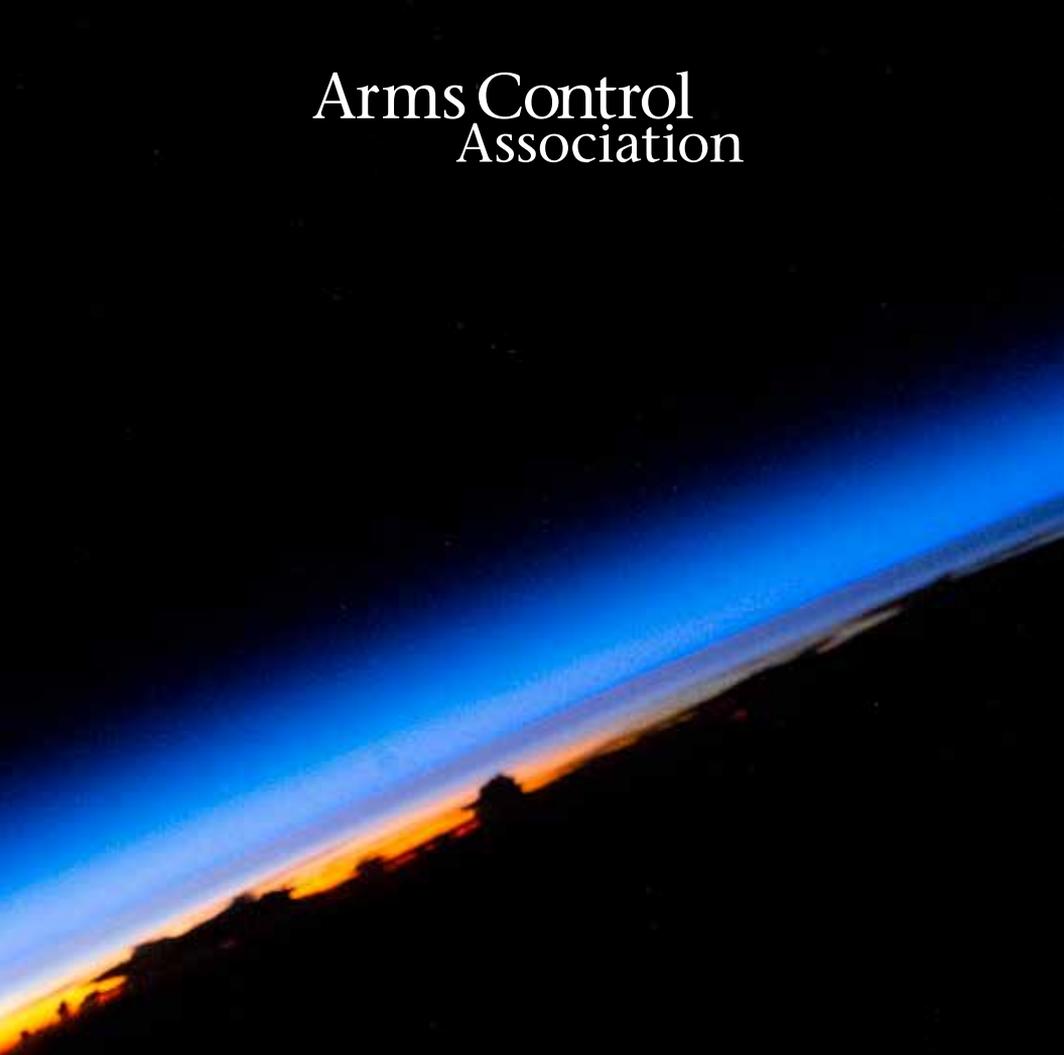
# 2023 ANNUAL MEETING

Reducing Nuclear Threats in a Time of Peril



June 2, 2023  
National Press Club  
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# Arms Control Association

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