



Minute taker: Noel Kelly  
Time: 1:00-2:30PM

**SIPRI Armament and Disarmament Cluster Meeting**  
Solna, 10 October 2019

**Participants:**

Sibylle Bauer, Ian Anthony, Shannon Kile, Petr Topychkanov, Nan Tian, Kolja Brockmann, Giovanna Maletta, Diego Lopes, Alexandra Kuimova, Joey Fox, John Batho, Lena Kappelin, Moa Peldán Carlsson, Vitaly Fedchenko

**Agenda for A&D cluster meeting 10 October 2019:**

- Grant application updates
- Report back from the Programme/Project Heads on recent/upcoming activities/meetings
- Implementation of ongoing UD grant: update on all deliverables
- Report back from SMT/Sibylle
- Publications updates (Joey/John)
- Website updates
- Report back on activity from other Clusters -
- AOB

## **Grant application updates** (Based on Excel sheet - circulated on 7 October).

Ian Anthony presentation on SIPRI CW work:

The meeting began with a report from Ian Anthony updating the Cluster about his current chemical weapons work at SIPRI. This report covered grant application 90753 'Strengthening Global Regimes to Promote Nuclear and Chemical Security' with funding now approved by the Norwegian MFA for the CW part and grant application 90748 'Responding to Chemical Weapon Use: Assessing the implications of the June 2018 C-SS-4 decisions' with funding approved by the Swedish MFA.

Some context, the CWC (Chemical Weapons Convention) sets the standard for multi-lateral disarmament being very widely respected by huge number of states. It doesn't contain any discrimination or raise issues like with the NPT and all of the obligations apply to all of the members. The basic purpose is to eliminate the huge stockpile of CW acquired during the Cold War. Over time it has had to adapt to a changing threat picture when we talk about CW threat agents. Now it has a broader context of dealing with any type of use of CW. We have confirmed use of CW in conflicts by states, first and foremost in Syria, and in the recent past, Iraq. Actions sponsored by states bring further complexity and an accumulating number of states file cases regarding poisoning incidents. The issue of CW threat by non-state actors or chemical terrorism was never part of the convention when it was negotiated. After 2001 the OPCW has been increasingly asked to think about how to reduce the risks of chemical terrorism.

Some specific questions have come onto the table including how to strengthen the CWC in light of recent developments and particularly in Syria. One question concerns the actual verification. Syria was not part of CWC when it used CW and more specifically the chemical agent sarin in 2013 during an attack on the town of Ghouta. The response saw international cooperation when President Putin of Russia made a public appeal to the US calling for restraint in responding to the use of CW. The US took up that call and the result was bilateral cooperation to disarm Syria of its CW and bring it into the CWC. An international effort was indeed carried out to destroy Syria's stockpile of CW and Syria brought into CWC until two years later CW was used again in Syria. The question came, how could this be if we have verified destruction of Syria's CW stockpile and the elimination of its production facilities? How to strengthen the verification measures not only to take account of declared stockpiles but also non-declared stockpiles?

The second issue is strengthening the international framework around accountability. The use of CW or indeed the use of any weapons against civilian populations is a crime. How to hold to account those people who are responsible for the use of CW? This requires an investigation and attribution

mechanism and this was created under the UN Security Council where the UN would work closely with the OPCW as the implementing authority of CWC. They developed a mechanism for investigating an allegation of CW use and then deciding who was responsible. This process produced a number of reports with the most recent of which made a clear attribution of CW use to Islamic State of Iraq and Levant and to the Syrian Government. The attribution of CW use to the Syrian Government led Russia to veto the UN and OPCW cooperation. This joint investigation mechanism was closed down at the end of 2017. The question arose that if progress cannot be made through the UNSC that is locked on the Syria file - what can be done? A number of countries raised this issue through the OPCW in The Hague. The UK and France called for a special session of the States Parties to the Convention to discuss these issues and this meeting took place in June 2018. A number of decisions were taken:

1. The OPWC should have an investigation and attribution mandate to investigate CW use in Syria.
2. The OPCW should develop a generic capability that will be available to any State Party that feels subject to a chemical attack.
3. The OPCW should develop new verification concepts and methods to deal with the issues with what to do with countries that do not make accurate declarations.

The project work is focussed on making a legal analysis of the decisions and mainly focussed on the Syria file. This really looks at the question of investigation and attribution and what can the OPCW actually do to create this mechanism? Syria has denied visas to the inspectors, so they have no physical access then how can they actually carry out an investigation? The second part will focus on what has the OPCW actually done to implement its new tasks? The project will be finished by the end of this year and should segue into a bigger project, which the Norwegian MFA has agreed to support. This will look at how a more comprehensive response to chemical incidents can be organised. The OPCW work just described is only one part of the international effort to think about how to respond to CW use.

The US has initiated a chemical forensic international technical working group modelled on a group that already exists in the area of nuclear security. This is an effort to bring together people who are working on CW forensics from different perspectives to see what they can contribute to the discussion. This is very much a technical project examining what can we learn from the characteristics of the chemical threats agents themselves? If we analyse the chemical compounds what can this tell us about the point of origin and who made it?

The CW No Impunity! Is a partnership and Franco-British initiative, which is essentially about identifying individuals who could be the target of sanctions or individuals who could later on be brought before some form of international tribunal or who could be tried under international law for war crimes with a global jurisdiction. The next initiative started in the G7 that is also connected to a project that INTERPOL has started to investigate the spectrum of CBRN incidents so chemical security and emerging threats is the umbrella title for this but basically a G7 and INTERPOL collaboration. This is a project that will evolve over several years and the intention there is to bring to the table perspectives from important countries and globally with a particular focus on South Africa and India who have been very strong supporters of the CWC. How do these countries see the future of this more integrated approach to reducing risks of CW use? Development assistance was needed for this project and it was motivating factor in designing it this way.

Another project proposed by Ian but not yet funded that was unsuccessfully submitted to the UK FCO wants to examine whether we have an adequate incident response for CW attacks inside Europe. If we had another ‘poisoning incident’ in a different country outside the UK – what would the response be like? The UK is in a unique situation because of the existence of Porton Down, a leading research centre for CW research and analysis. The Salisbury incident happened about 10KM away from Porton Down so it was a very special set of circumstances. However if such an incident happened in another country that didn’t have available the same level of technical expertise – what would have been or could be the response? Ian remains interested in doing this project and is seeking sponsorship.

The Swedish funded project will deliver a policy paper and the hope is to do a side event at the Conference of the States Parties in November. While the policy paper may not be out in time they should have the findings ready. The Norwegian funded project will have a number of deliverables including workshops in both South Africa and India and a publication resulting out of each of those either as synthesis or two publications but TBC. Ian’s partner for the Swedish and Norwegian projects is Christer Ahlström, former SIPRI Deputy Director and a lawyer. Vitaly will assist with the forensic analysis part and Katja will be involved to help with the workshops. Ian’s collaborator in India is Gharib Sharma who has two affiliations, one with the Observer Research Foundation and a new South-South institution set up to support South-South cooperation on security issues. In South Africa the hope is to engage the University of Cape Town who have a chemical forensics department even though they work mainly with normal police cases.

## 90770 - Assessing Nuclear Deterrence Risks and Challenges in South Asia - Application report

- Petr Topychkanov: The project is hoped to start early in 2020. Working in collaboration with Lora Saalman and supervised by Shannon it will be quite intensive in terms of activities in a short period of time (18 months). Workshops will be planned in Beijing and in Stockholm. Focus on strategic stability, nuclear deterrence and nuclear developments in South Asian context between three key players, India, Pakistan and China. No large report will be produced but rather a series of short publications. The idea is to facilitate doctrinal dialogue between the three countries. This is a big challenge due to previously the unwillingness of the Indians to have any conversation related strategic stability or nuclear doctrines on the bilateral level or in the context of South Asia. This was previously tested by projects sponsored by the Carnegie Cooperation and there was success in bringing experts together in the same room. The application for this project is with the German MFA and it looks positive.

## 90782 - The current and future use of export controls to govern the trade and use of artificial intelligence

- Kolja gave a briefing on the application being finalized and sent to the Canadian MFA and German MFA. The project will look at the application of export controls in the area of artificial intelligence. This topic has been coming up more and more but not a lot of good quality literature and this is an opening for SIPRI expertise to contribute. Kolja will work on this along with Vincent and Mark and the project length is 10 months. The outcome will involve a short briefing, a policy paper, and also a workshop here in Stockholm.

## Emerging military and security technologies - report

- Vincent will be at the First Committee in NY during the conventional week at the invitation of the German Foreign Office. Vincent will present the findings of the SIPRI/ICRC project *Limits on Autonomy: identifying practical elements of human control* at a side event called 'Capturing Technology: Rethinking Arms Control' on 24 October. In the panel Vincent will participate covering autonomous weapons. Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) will speak about verification also connected to the issue of AI and cyber, and Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS) on missile technology.
- For the Carnegie project there is a launch event being planned in Geneva for the 3 December co-organised between SIPRI and the

UNODA. The Director of the UN Office in Geneva will open the session and Dan will moderate with a panel of experts to showcase the regional aspects of this project. Vincent will try to secure people from China, India, Europe and the US. This is in process and invitations are to be sent during this week.

- On fundraising a proposal to follow up with the ICRC project is to be produced with an angle already proposed and the Dutch are interested and maybe Sweden and Switzerland.
- Vincent is discussing with SIPRI's climate change programme a project related to the geopolitics of climate change looking at the opportunity and risks related to emerging technologies. The original focus was AI but the partners – Mistra want to broaden this up so other institutions can be part of the process. This project would start in 2021 and last 4 years.
- Following a discussion with Myndigheten för samhällsskydd och beredskap (MSB) they are keen to continue working with SIPRI. There are a number of topics they are interested in and Dan will meet with the MSB Director in December.
- In cooperation with Article36 and UNODA another project proposal to be discussed in NY is about information sharing related to IHL weapons reviews and perhaps a capacity building component to it.
- Vincent reported he was approached by UNIDIR to work possibly on a swarm intelligence and human control project. The first step involves preparing a primer (a 10 pager about what swarms are) and will be funded for this.
- Vincent and Moa have been discussing funding opportunities related to space. It was flagged by Lora that Carnegie is keen to fundraise projects on space activities and weapons. Moa did a backgrounder (internal working paper) mapping out the state of the discussion around the key issues related to space and weapons. This at the initial phase and making a list of possible project topics and this will be shared to discuss with others. Sibylle mentioned it was important to share with others and we have also a request by the Governing Board to explore and work on this issue. There is an explicit nuclear dimension here too in relation to space and technologies, in particular having to do with advanced missile defence systems and also anti-satellite capabilities. These aren't new issues and have been around for a long time but interest is coming back.

- Vincent has also been discussing informally with a representative (Dr Frank Sauer) from Bundeswehr University about doing something on hypersonics. Common interests are reported as identified but no further details at the moment.
- A film is being made for ICRC project and will be released together with the report around March/April 2020 (TBC). Interviews were started at the SSC Conference and it is being developed.

### **Nuclear disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation - report**

- Dan, Shannon, and Su Fei were recently in Seoul and participated in twelve meetings in 2.5 days with a lot of media attention. Swedish Ambassador Jakob Hallgren hosted the group during the tour.
- The work is beginning on a Hiroshima Prefecture funded project titled: '*Addressing the Increased Salience of Nuclear Weapons*'. The initial draft must be ready by the end of October.
- A number of events that Petr is attending are in the wiki but Petr highlighted two in particular. First, a workshop in London on 21-24 October, titled 'NPT Success in the P5 Process'. King's College London will host this event being supported by the UK FCO. This workshop will bring together experts from the P5 states, along with a small number of non-NPT nuclear-armed states and non-nuclear weapon states. The goal is for participants to engage creatively and constructively to identify areas of P5 common ground in the NPT process. The second event highlighted is the Moscow Non-proliferation Conference that Petr will attend from 7-9 November. The day before the Conference starts there will be a whole day US-Russia dialogue that Petr is attending. These events are closely related to the projects Petr and team are working on.
- Discussing next years potential project on nuclear doctrines and strategic stability between India, Pakistan and China, Peter is working with Indian and Pakistani partners about activity there. Petr is in touch with Indian partners about participating in the biggest event on international security in India – The Raisina Dialogue – sponsored by the Observer Research Foundation. Petr has preliminarily agreed for the final week of February 2020 to be in Pakistan for a discussion on AI and nuclear weapons and nuclear dialogues.
- Tytti reported on recent work related to 'Unlocking Nuclear Disarmament Diplomacy' project. Following an expert meeting on the Swedish Stepping Stones to Disarmament Approach held at SIPRI during September a two page paper of recommendations was written

for the 16 states participating in a Swedish initiative and Senior Officials Meeting to be held on 27-28 November in Stockholm (organised by SIPRI and UD).

- Tytti was on a research visit to the Institute for Political and International Studies in Tehran, Iran. Tytti gave a presentation at the Institute based on a EUNPD paper to be written with a working title of: *The arms control-regional security nexus in the Iran nuclear issue*. Tytti also had meetings at the Iranian MFA and Tehran University.
- Tarja reported on recent activities, including spending almost a month in Vienna, visiting both the IAEA, interviewing and speaking with various people and also attending the 63<sup>rd</sup> IAEA General Conference. During this stay, Tarja was at the Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation as a guest researcher. Those interested in the issues are welcome to speak to Tarja while here and Tarja is glad to share notes. Tarja mentioned she is trying to go to the UN meeting about a WMD Free Zone in the Middle East during week 47 but so far only the states involved (the region and US) are invited.
- Vitaly reported that since 2016 SIPRI have cooperated with Korea Institute of Nuclear Nonproliferation and Control (KINAC). To date it has just been joint seminars but recently following a change of leadership it is heading towards more research cooperation. On Monday 14 October a KINAC delegation will visit SIPRI for a meeting and discuss the way forward and topics they find interesting. It's broadly focussing on nuclear forensics and security issues.

## **DUAT – report**

- The work on the DIVERT project is ongoing and Giovanna will be going to Brussels on the 23 October for a meeting at the Flemish Parliament organised by the Flemish Peace Institute. During the event, there will be a presentation and discussion of the preliminary research results on the scope and dynamics of firearms diversion through theft, fraud and non-regularization in the European Union. Giovanna will join a panel on firearms theft and present on the Italian case. Giovanna and Mark are now in a position to approach the police, customs, and other scholars working on firearms issues in Sweden for interviews.
- One of the outcomes of a recent DUAT meeting with Ambassador Julia Monar of the German MFA is further engagement about potential future funding. The German MFA has indicated interest in three topics, 1) Potential ATT reform and initiatives; 2) Post-shipment controls; 3)

ATT Database. The DUAT team will send one pagers outlining potential projects in due time.

- At the time of this Cluster meeting DUAT is waiting to hear back on the UNSCAR application for a project titled 'Mapping ATT- and POA-relevant assistance activities in Central Asia, Oceania and South Asia, and producing a User's Guide to the SIPRI database on ATT-relevant assistance activities'.
- Kolja is finalising his paper on export control regime dialogue and will shortly be sending this to the Editors.
- Mark and Jose's work on the paper on reporting instruments is progressing.
- Information and details on all upcoming DUAT trips for October are in the clusterwiki.

## **MILEX**

- Aude reported on some progress being made with UD project papers. One paper described as being worked on is about undisclosed military spending where the main objective is to identify non-disclosed milex. Then there is a Factsheet paper looking at ODA and non-ODA countries (developed vs. developing) covering 1988-2018. This offers initial breakdown of military spending into ODA and non-ODA countries to try and understand where the spending is rising and who are the main contributors. The Chinese arms industry Insights paper has been with the Editors and out for external review and now back again for further work by the authors.
- Arms industry data entry will finish soon and preparation for the data launch due on 9 December.
- Pieter and Siemon have prepared a document to make some changes to the arms transfers database and make it more user friendly. This is at the first stage and more work is needed.
- Diego highlighted that following our NPD Education Workshop some scholars (State University of Sao Paulo) from Brazil sent a call for proposals from the joint Brazilian and Swedish research collaboration. This is a part of the offsets programme of the Gripen deal between Sweden and Brazil. The aim of this research collaboration is to build capacity but the proposal deadline at the time of this meeting is quite short. However at least we now know for future reference there is a call for proposals and it is annual call.

## **Peace and Development Cluster**

- The dates for the 2020 P&D Forum are announced and will be held from 11-13 May, at the Münchenbryggeriet in Stockholm. The working title is ‘peace building in a changing world’ but the concept at the time of this meeting is still discussed with the Swedish MFA.

## **SMT/Sibylle- report**

### *SIPRI Education Workshop 23-24 September.*

- The SIPRI Education Workshop for Non-proliferation, Disarmament and Arms Control (NPDAC) was successfully held at SIPRI on 23-24 September. Sibylle briefed on this event and about the next steps going forward. On 12 December a dinner meeting will be held in Brussels with those interested in taking this initiative forward. A larger NPDAC education event in 2020 with the aid of EUNPDC budget funds will be planned for but details are still to be organised. The idea is twofold with one being to strengthen capacity within Europe on expertise in NPDAC and the other part is reaching out to other parts of the world.

The first step was this brainstorming initiative held in SIPRI involving countries from the Middle East, South Africa and the Ukraine. There is scope for much more and we are trying to link this to the unlocking nuclear disarmament initiative (UND initiative). It seems one of the few unifying themes in an NPT context is a willingness to strengthen capacity in expertise and education in NPDAC within Europe. Moreover, SIPRI has a role to play and particularly a convening power where we can bring representatives from states together who otherwise might find it difficult. If staff is interested in being involved then please contact Sibylle.

### *New Shape Forum: Weapons Governance Conference in Geneva 30 September – 1 October.*

- Sibylle attended the conference and was Chair of a session on *Data and Monitoring*. What came through very clearly from the session and funders ‘the Global Challenges Foundation’ is an interest in SIPRI and the amex data being collected. Sibylle can share notes with those interested. There was also some interest in having a comprehensive overview on where trends in R&D spending are going. Again this was very closely related to the breakdown of milex. Perhaps we can have separate meeting with those interested in bringing this forward.

## **Publications**

- Following our SIPRI Education Workshop and the passing on of contacts to the Editorial Department, an agreement has been reached for a translation of the YB summary into Arabic and Farsi. Saideh Lotfian, a Professor who teaches political science at the University of Tehran will translate into Farsi and the Emirates Policy Center led by President Ebtesam Al Ketbi who participated in our workshop will translate into Arabic.
- The Cluster was reminded to take up the availability of our intern slots.

## **Next Cluster Meeting**

6 November at 9:30AM.