



Minute taker: Noel Kelly  
Time: 14:30-16:00 PM

### **SIPRI Armament and Disarmament Cluster Meeting**

Monday 30 January 2023 - **@14:30PM** in the Conference room and Zoom.

#### **Participants:**

Sibylle Bauer, Lucie Béraud-Sudreau, Nan Tian, Diego Lopes, Lorenzo Scarazzato, Xiao Liang, Giovanna Maletta, Kolja Brockmann, Lauriane Héau, Wilfred Wan, Tytti Erästö, Vitaly Fedchenko, Nivedita Raju, Siemon Wezeman, Justine Gadon, John Batho, Sepideh Soltaninia, Lucas Wiktorsson, Ana Carolina de Oliveira Assis, Kelsey Hartman, Sofia Staderini, Nikos Politis

#### **Agenda**

- Updates from Operations.
- Reports or updates from Director's Office, HR, other Clusters.
- Updates from Outreach. (Communications/Editorial).
- Report for A&D teams (AT, DUAT, Emerging Tech, MILAP, WMD).
- Updates from EUNPDC.
- Update from DOS/SMT. (Sibylle)
- A&D Cluster discussion.

In preparation for the SMT Strategic Away Day on 8 February 2023, all clusters and departments are asked to prepare a one-page document with bullet points in response to the following:

- *We are currently experiencing important events that impact power relations between major states. SIPRI must explore what has changed in recent times and is relevant to SIPRI's work and mandate, but also what has not changed and continues to remain relevant. Against this backdrop, the two questions that will be asked of each cluster and the Outreach and Operations teams are:*
  - 1. What has changed in ways that suggest that some or all of SIPRI's research themes, activities and/or ways of working need to adjust?*
  - 2. And what has not changed and implies the need for continuity?*
- **Events team** - conference room A/V introduction. (With A&D Cluster teams)

## **P&D Cluster**

- Simone requested to speak with the A&D cluster on plans for delivering the Peace and Development Forum 2023. The central objective will be on Ukraine and how to help inform future reconstruction efforts in Ukraine.
- Among the objectives also feature green transition measures as an area for pioneering.
- The suggestion is this year will be a more intimate networking event, rather than a high-level political affair with a less ministerial level presence than we have had in the past. At his moment in time the budget is uncertain and there is also competing agenda items like the EU Presidency that Sweden currently holds.
- While Simone has not had the "green light" to commence preparations formally, it would be great to hear your clusters' ideas about sessions/contributions to this years' event.

### **2023 Stockholm Forum on Peace and Development**

15-17 May (TBC at time of meeting), Stockholm

#### **Objective:**

To inform future reconstruction efforts in Ukraine, the 2023 Stockholm Forum will explore previous experiences of peacebuilding and statebuilding and identify gaps where new innovative approaches are needed. How investments in the war-to-peace transition can also factor in green transition measures is one area for pioneering. With a focus on past peacebuilding and statebuilding shortcomings and current unprecedented challenges, the Forum will invite participants to pose tough questions and explore innovative solutions.

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#### **Updates from Outreach.** (Communications/Editorial).

- Introduced at the cluster meeting is Lucas Wiktorsson, a Communications Officer and the Programme Coordinator for Conflict, Peace and Security at SIPRI replacing Johanna.
- Please firm up your publications plans with Joey and with Martina for events until June 2023.
- Please take time to check and send updates for your bio and topic sections of the website.
- On 14 February at 14:00PM, there will be an Editorial and Communications introduction meeting. Not just new staff but staff are welcome to go for a refresher.

Reports or updates from Director's Office, HR, other Clusters.

#### **Director's Office – Sepideh.**

- Dan is in Colombia today and among the meetings is one with the Minister of Defence that the MILAP Programme helped set up.
- On 17-19 Feb SIPRI will be represented at the Munich Security Conference (Stefan and Dan attending). There will be a lunch with the International Crisis Group and it's on 'Food, Fuel, Fertiliser, and the impact on the war in Ukraine - armed conflict risk'.
- HR – nothing to report at this meeting.

#### **Operations – Nikos**

- Please submit timesheets until Wednesday 1 February for January.

- Please do not submit timesheets ahead of the week due - as potentially there may be auditing issues. There is an effort to report time directly related to projects and this should be in place for all projects in February.
- Communication and cooperation are important so that the narrative of the work and budget are in sync when it comes to reporting.
- When budget planning for a project one should always think beyond the core research team. For the editorial and communications, it has been happening but now we have an events team and time of operations should also be considered. DoS, Programme Director, and Cluster Coordinator time should also be allowed for in budget planning.
- Vacation planning is important, and this information should be shared and accounted for in the budgeting process.

### **Arms Transfers team**

- The arms transfers data is being finalised and the team are preparing for the data launch on 13 March. A presentation of the data to staff is being planned for 9 February at 9:00AM in the conference room.
- Pieter has finalised a funding proposal for UNSCAR to be submitted today. < Promoting UN transparency instruments on military expenditure and armaments: leveraging the experiences of participating states>.
- The team plan to participate in an event in March organised by the Stimson centre to discuss the new AT data.
- Justine is working with Lorenzo collecting data on arms industry (DG DEFIS: 2022-2023, European arms industry datasets).
- Justine is preparing a blog piece about Turkish arms exports.

### **DUAT team**

In terms of ongoing projects.

- The team are working with (BAFA), which is the German export controls authority in the implementation of a project on export controls assistance to countries from the Persian Gulf region along with Iraq and Lebanon. Colleagues from the MENA Programme are also working on this project. There was a meeting here in SIPRI with BAFA on 5 January and next steps and deliverables were discussed.
- The MTCR project was meant to end at the end of 2022 but has a no cost extension until March 2023. A concept note will be prepared for the donors (Germany/Switzerland) also during this period for a possible follow up project.
- Kolja and Lauriane are working on a SIPRI Insights paper on good practices in outreach to new space actors.
- The Insights project work continues until the end of this year and is run by the Flemish Peace Institute (FPI) in Brussels. Part of this project includes the development of an online platform to monitor gun violence incidents around the EU.
- A preliminary proposal was submitted to the German MFA to work on third phase of a project on post shipment controls (Transfers of small arms and light weapons and conventional arms: Strengthening post-shipment cooperation). A response is pending.
- The team are considering submitting a proposal for the UK counter proliferation programme call but to be discussed.
- Upcoming events – DUAT were asked by the ATT secretariat to present at the next sub-working group on article 11 (focusing on diversion) in Geneva on 15 February. The presentation will be on the final report of the post-shipment control work.

- Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) have asked Giovanna for a contribution to their own NPD course in Italian. The lecture (virtual) on 22 February will be about arms trade regulation and the ATT.

### **Emerging Tech team**

Vincent is on vacation, but Laura reported.

- The team are working on fundraising for future autonomous weapons work.
- Vincent is working on preparations to implement the EU funded project on responsibility in AI together with the UNODA
- The team are working on plans for new recruitments, including a researcher and research assistant.
- Laura is working on UKFCO funded project (Compliance with IHL in the development and use of autonomous weapon systems) that will conclude in March.
- Vincent and Laura will be attending a REAIM Summit meeting at the Hague on 16 February (a Conference on responsible AI). SIPRI is involved in two panels – one about responsible AI in the nuclear domain and one on IHL.
- Laura will be on a panel at the Latin American and Caribbean Conference (23-24 Feb) on the social and humanitarian impact of autonomous weapons in Costa Rica on 23 February.

### **MILAP team**

- This is a heavy data processing period both in preparation for the SIPRI Yearbook and data launch upcoming on 24 April.
- The first SIPRI Insights paper for 2023 will be published, on Tuesday, 31 January. The title of this paper is 'Using Taxation to Fund Military Spending'. Authors are Nan, Diego, and Xiao.
- A SIPRI Backgrounder will be released on Thursday, 2 February. Title: 'The proposed hike in Japan's military expenditure'. Xiao and Nan are authors.
- DG DEFIS: 2022-2023, European arms industry datasets project work continues.
- New interns with the MILAP team, Kelsey Hartman and Sofia Staderini were introduced.
- Guest Researcher Ana Carolina de Oliveira Assis has now received a work permit and should be arriving from Brazil to SIPRI shortly. SIPRI will host Ana until the end of June 2023.
- Funding applications have been submitted including to UNSCAR on 'Civil Society Participation in Military Expenditure Transparency: A Toolkit for Dialogue and Oversight' and Diego has sent a proposal to Open Society Foundation (OSF) Colombia (Colombia transparency in military expenditure).

### **WMD team**

#### **Project work**

- Progress on work done for the UK FCO projects related to nuclear security and biotech security respectively was reported. There were related workshops events this past month with one in person (biotech) and one virtual (nuclear). The team were happy with the level of participation and engagement. The priorities now are to push out the related publications associated with these projects.

#### **Travel/Events**

- Travel and upcoming activity – Lora Saalman will participate at the REAIM Summit being held at the World Forum in The Hague on 15 and 16 February 2023. Nivi is going Geneva to attend the OEWG on Reducing Space Threats (Third Session) from 30 Jan – 3 Feb. Tytti travels to Helsinki next week 6 February, for a nuclear weapons monitoring group meeting at the Finnish

parliament. Tytti will be traveling to Iraq for a roundtable related to Iran on 28 February. The meeting is part of the Erbil Forum organised by the Rudaw Research Center (RRC), and The Center for Iranian Studies in Ankara (IRAM) is a co-sponsor of the roundtable meeting.

- Wilfred is taking part in a Global Challenges Foundation (Swedish NGO) organised roundtable on common security on 16 February. Wilfred has been asked to draft a paper about global weapons governance.

#### Funding

- WMD secured funding from the Netherlands MFA for a one-year project to look at how developments in outer space can impact on nuclear risk. Nivi and Tytti will be leading this work. (Contract coming this week)

### **EUNPDC report**

#### **General updates**

On the 11 January SIPRI hosted a virtual Programme Committee meeting requested by PRIF with all Consortium partners represented.

On the agenda was the following:

1. Upcoming e-Learning Units developed by PRIF and identification of new authors/contributors. *Overview of units and authors (see also: <https://nonproliferation-elearning.eu>)* –
  - This meeting was to update the group about the status of the e-learning units (currently twenty), to present the new vision for the format of the units and to seek suggestions about new authors that could be asked to update existing units.
  - SIPRI confirmed they are interested in taking over LU 12 – Export Controls in Europe, and this would be a shared effort within the Dual Use and Arms Trade Control Programme at SIPRI.
2. A debrief on the EUNPD Annual Conference 2022. Feed was given to the organisers IAI (Istituto Affari Internazionali - Institute for international affairs).
3. The online collaborative platform – update.

<<https://consortium.frstrategie.org/login>>

- FRS reminded the meeting that the platform is a useful tool for sharing information amongst us. On the platform currently there are 52 individual profiles. If you have not done so already, we invite SIPRI colleagues once again to register and explore the platform and possibilities. This closed platform aims at creating a space for online engagement, allowing its members to collaborate across the EU Non-Proliferation and Disarmament landscape.

#### **EUNPD Publications**

In the EUNPD paper cycle there are two papers at the review stage with plans to be published in the first part of 2023

- One paper on nuclear security, focusing on prohibiting attacks on installations during conflict (author is from the Odesa Centre - Ali Alkis)

- Another paper on mapping AI-enabled defense technologies in Europe (author is from Carnegie Europe - Raluca Csernatonu)

### Proliferation awareness training course 2023

The EU are funding the intensive proliferation awareness training course for graduate and post-graduate students of engineering disciplines and of course this project work continues in 2023 under Vitaly's lead. Vitaly has circulated suggested dates

1. Virtual course - 2-4 May 2023;
2. In-person course - 28-30 November 2023 (TBC) – conference room is booked. However, this the week of the TPNW and many lectures might not be available, so this date needs to be considered.

### DOS/SMT – Sibylle

- Sibylle is in SIPRI all this week and available for in-person meetings.
- Sibylle will be in Geneva on 6-7 February and has been asked to brief the EU Disarmament Ambassadors in Geneva at a retreat in the Swedish residence. Sibylle will speak about what the EU can do to advance Non-proliferation and Disarmament (NPD). Sibylle will take the opportunity to have meetings with Melanie Régimbal who is now the Head of UN Office of Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) in Geneva. Sibylle will also meet with UNIDIR to discuss possible joint work.
- On Friday 10 February Sibylle will travel to Tokyo for the Asian Export Control Conference. Sibylle will speak on the topic of emerging technologies and impact on the modernization of warfare.
- Mathew George has been appointed the new Programme Director for the Arms transfers Programme and will be moving here from India it's hoped at the end of April.

A&D strategy discussion for SMT away day.

*1. What has changed in ways that suggest that some or all of SIPRI's research themes, activities and/or ways of working need to adjust?*

*2. And what has not changed and implies the need for continuity?*

Next SIPRI strategy 2025-2029. We went around by team.

### DUAT

In terms of research themes and specific to what DUAT does.

*Challenges to multilateralism:*

- Progresses in the **multilateral export control regimes** (already questioned and criticized) are made even more difficult in light of current events and Russia's role;
- Emerging debate around the establishment of a '**5th regime**' and the **nature and purpose of export controls** (non-proliferation vs. national security: targeting at specific states).

*Increasingly relevant in export controls:*

- Increased relevance for topics such as **diversion of dual-use goods and technologies** (e.g. semi-conductors, technologies and items being used in Iranian and Russian-made weapons) and the **implementation of sanctions regimes**;

- **Inter-relation and integration of different strategic trade control instruments** (export controls, FDI screening, sanctions, targeted technology restrictions and subsidies) continues to get more significant.

*The role of the European Union:*

- We're witnessing a shift in the **role and responsibilities of the EU in the field of export controls** which deserve more scrutiny and analysis;
- The apparent or actual impact of the war in Ukraine in **EU member states' arms export control** practices.

Regional work

- Iran's **drones export and proliferation behaviour**: what impact and reaction in the Middle East?

What is not changing?

- Core research interest has not changed, including the issue of emerging technology and how to address them by using different strategic trade controls tools.
- In terms of activities and what might change - it is noted export controls are getting more media attention, so more inquiries and questions may come on how controls work and about diversion.
- In terms of consortium work – some themes might change. We already have seen more interest in export controls more generally and requests received.
- The way of working might change – how we approach funders – what funders? Budget constraints from governments will of course affect the work we are able to do. We might expect some hesitance from states to share information – not because of a lack of transparency but because states are facing so many issues at the same time. Certain topics of course have become more sensitive.

**MILAP**

- Obviously, it's going to be even more difficult to assess Russian military expenditure.
- There is a refocus on hard security areas which is historically the core of SIPRI's activities. For SIPRI in general it is suggested there is a need to strengthen the European security programme.
- The fact that Sweden is joining NATO at some point impacts. There is more interest than ever in security issues here – (open question) should SIPRI think about cooperating more with defence institutions in the future?
- There was talk at the UN about bringing back the topic of military expenditure reductions but given the Ukraine/Russian war in Europe and tensions in Asia this is more difficult.
- In terms of working – the pace of change has accelerated so research must accelerate. We must be more agile as an organisation to adjust with more regular delivery of data and analysis rather than just an annual data cycle release. We need give more thought to types of deliverables. The way we are consuming information and data has changed so we should be able to deliver more fact checked information at a more rapid pace and in different formats

than we do. More digital content, podcasts are needed to modernize and as this content grows should we reinforce our IT team and structure.

- Since the outbreak of the war there is a strong uptake in media queries – so how do we budget and take this time into account. Is it core time? Is it communication time?

## **WMD**

There's a lot more interest in WMD issues and space these days given how tethered they are to the strategic context. What happened this year is an intensification of patterns that have been going on long before this year.

Four broad themes to highlight.

1. The altered threats – especially the case with biological and chemical weapons. There is concern about smaller scale and limited use in items. Looking at the nuclear dimension in the Ukraine conflict the discussion is a lot about lower yield non-strategic weapons. Along with separately, the consideration of materials security issues – the delay by which existing frameworks are not necessarily built for that kind of evolved threat. Perhaps there is a need to reorientate structures accordingly.
2. The weakening of norms against WMD possession and use.
3. The Issue of accountability among member states within existing institutions of these outstanding issues that remain unresolved. One new factor would be Russia's large scale disinformation campaigns – how do you address these challenges from within? How do you revisit issues about compliance, enforcement, and transparency? How are these decisions made?
4. Think about risk. The fact that policy making is contingent upon armament dynamics in other places – conventional, nuclear, cyber, and space. Notions of cross domain integrated deterrence. How do you re-think notions of strategic stability or how states perceive strategic stability? To project a convergence effect of a changed global environment with the effects of climate change etc, onto the development of conventional and unconventional capabilities. The idea we look at WMD in these developments assuming the global security environment stays static but that's going to dramatically change because of cause effects elsewhere. What does that mean for the notion of risk as well as governance?

There is an increased focus in terms of funding and engagement on strategic ability - and not just as a term but as a conceptual umbrella that most want mentioned in applications.

Experience from meetings with Chinese interlocutors – more technology focused now rather than big concepts - common concerns. For example, hypersonic weaponry, missile defence.

For future conversation we should consider - how to frame things? What kind of concepts now resonate?

## **Emerging Tech Team**

**What has changed in ways that suggest that some or all of SIPRI's research themes, activities and/or ways of working need to adjust?**

*What has changed?*

- Global trend. Return of great power competition à US-China + Russia-NATO
- Renewed interest/focus on hard security issues End of globalization as we know it? Protectionism is trendy again. The US and some other countries see the need to relocalize in



the US or Western/allied states to secure the supply chain and deny potential competitors. à great decoupling.

- NATO's raison d'être is revived.
- Trust deficit disorder between great power is high. Re-establishing trust may take years if not decades.

#### War in Ukraine reshuffling security landscape

- High-intensity conflict in Europe à shifting security proprieties à renewed focus on territorial defence, risk of high-intensity conflicts à impact on MILEX, AP, AT, ET...
- Russia is likely to remain an outcast for years, if not decades. Change of leadership in Russia may not bring greater stability.
- International governance may need to adapt to the new geopolitical situation.
- Russia has the power to hamper progress in most if not all key decision forums.

#### Great awareness of the climate emergency

- But still unclear whether the international community will be able to react in time.
- How to keep this priority up on the agenda while the focus is moving back to hard security issues?
- The knowledge environment has changed, and SIPRI need to adapt  
Cluster's strategy and products have changed relatively little over the past decade. While efforts have been made to be more agile, notably with more short online publications, SIPRI is trailing behind the competition in delivering timely and engaging products and seizing key policy topics as they emerge.

#### *Implication for work of cluster (focus on emerging tech)*

#### Research agenda /Activities

- The Geopolitics of (new) technologies and supply chains is a topic that SIPRI must cover. It's a topic that is here to stay and has implications for most if not all programmes in the cluster. It would be a major strategic mistake to not engage join the conversation. Great cross-cluster cooperation opportunity and a chance for us to engage with big-picture issues. (see the proposal ET submitted to GFFO)
- Need to rethink the way we generate ideas and initiatives at the cluster/institute level. How to ensure that don't end up reproducing the siloes that criticize our work

#### Fundraising /practical applications

- The current situation is likely to generate a steady flow of fundraising opportunities for the foreseeable future
- How should we engage on NATO issues? It would deserve a discussion at the institute level. What would be SIPRI's focus and contribution? How to engage on NATO issues without hampering our reputation and convening power.
- Dialogue activities (e.g., on AI, NRR) might be more difficult to conduct. A) because it will be harder in practice to find a relevant expert from Russia; B) it will be hard to achieve anything substantial with official Russian participants due to a lack of trust. The purpose /objective and method dialogue activities need to be adjusted accordingly.

#### **And what has not changed and implies the need for continuity?**

- Issues covered by the cluster are more relevant than ever.

## Arms Transfers

- What does it change? There is an attitude change towards the arms industry and militaries now seen as a positive investment for governments. Countries are taking pride in being arms producers and having strong militaries. The demand for weapons is increasing and exports are becoming easier. States are revisiting the export control systems and rules to try and make the process easier for arms dealing.
- There is a very clear new type of Cold War. Russia vs The West, China vs The West narratives are prevalent in the arms industry discourse. There is a 'you are either with us or against attitude' to weapons buying.
- For SIPRI and our work – increasingly we will be seen as in a camp. Even if we are international, we are based in Sweden with support from the Swedish government. Sweden is applying to join NATO – and this will have an impact on how our work is perceived.
- Transparency is a very mixed situation. Research is showing that when it comes to supplies to Ukraine some states are very open while others much more secretive. The transparency issue may be a temporary development but the disinformation tactics and how this is used by all sides makes it very important that the data we provide is verified.

However, getting some types of data could become even more difficult or indeed revealing certain types of data analysis may be criminalised. This applies even in Sweden - a new law was referenced that has come into force relating to journalistic work and reporting on things considered to now be under national security. In other states we see similar developments, so we need to watch what we say increasingly. Given these developments we need to be considerate of those we work with from states that are even more strict on the releasing and sharing of data information.

- New development of weapons is being pushed faster and harder and with more money available. The conversation is increasingly about national security and arms control is less important.
- We need to be mindful of all global conflicts not just what is happening in Europe with Russia vs Ukraine/West. The Middle East remains a conflict hotspot, and Asia has not grown more peaceful etc.
- The arms trade continues with equipment containing technology and components of mixed origin. We see it more with what is being sent to Ukraine, but this is not something new. The arms trade system is depended on supply chains that are dependent on other supply chains etc. However, transparency has been mixed – the reporting to UN on arms transfers and military spending has been poor for the past decade. Some states have become less transparent, including not just about what they are spending, and weapons acquired, but about their policies and this leads to misinterpretation.
- How does this impact on what we do? What we produce remains important in terms of our analysis and data, but we should try to make sure we reach the public and not just policy makers. Disinformation is by default largely foisted upon on a public that subsequently influences policy makers. What we produce should be free and accessible (including YB) in a language that is understandable. We need to be extremely careful with the sources used and explanations given for our analysis and facts. Our work will be attacked and criticised more,

and we need to be able to react and comment better. How do we react to attacks on our work?

**AOB**

- **Events team** - conference room A/V introduction. (With A&D Cluster teams)
- Training is now available from the Events team and a schedule was provided. Staff are encouraged to participate and become comfortable with using our technology now available.
- The next A&D cluster meeting is 6 March @14:30