



“Nuclear Futures: (Non)Proliferation, Dangerous Doctrines, and Arms Control Perspectives”

A Conference co-organized by the Toda Peace Institute and the Centre on Conflict, Development
and Peacebuilding (CCDP), Geneva Graduate Institute

30-31 October 2025

Geneva, Switzerland



Host Organisations



Toda Peace Institute

The Toda Peace Institute is an independent, nonpartisan institute committed to advancing a more just and peaceful world through policy-oriented peace research and practice. The Institute commissions evidence-based research, convenes multi-track and multi-disciplinary problem-solving workshops and seminars, and promotes dialogue across ethnic, cultural, religious and political divides. It catalyses practical, policy-oriented conversations between theoretical experts, practitioners, policymakers and civil society leaders in order to discern innovative and creative solutions to the major problems confronting the world in the twenty-first century. Please visit <https://toda.org/> for more information.

Centre on Conflict, Development, and Peacebuilding (CCDP)

The CCDP is the Graduate Institute's focal point for research on conflict analysis, peacebuilding, and the complex relationships between security and development. We advance evidence-based policymaking and programming by providing research and analysis on pressing challenges in these areas. We work to shape pro-peace policies that are both practical and informed by geopolitical realities by actively engaging with stakeholders and bridging the gap between research and policy. Our work contributes critical academic insights, refining and improving existing approaches while innovating in data collection, mapping, measurement, and evaluation. Please visit [our website](#) to see more information about our researchers and projects.



About the conference



Nuclear Futures: (Non)Proliferation, Dangerous Doctrines, and Arms Control Perspectives

The American-Russian relationship, and along with it the nuclear arms control regime and treaties, is in tatters. Existing agreements (New Start) are set to expire in February 2026, and nothing concrete is on the horizon. In addition, nuclear saber rattling, doctrinal shifts and potential weapons developments and deployments (including in space) are the order of the day. Proliferation concerns (North Korea, Iran, etc.) cloud the horizon, while discussions of the necessity to rethink non-nuclear postures in Europe and Asia are becoming more prominent, threatening the future of the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty regime.

The Bulletin of Atomic Scientist's doomsday clock is now at 89 seconds to midnight – "the closest it has ever been to catastrophe." The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, which has been ratified by 73 states parties and entered into force in 2021, is a powerful statement of a desire to move creatively and concretely towards a nuclear-free world, highlighting the lack of progress on this oft-made promise. While the "nuclear taboo" still holds, and the firebreak between convention and nuclear war has not been breached, many other technological, doctrinal and political developments are cause for great concern.

Against this backdrop, what are the perspectives for (and preconditions for) even incremental progress on such things as arms control, risk reduction and/or confidence building measures, and can these pave the way for renewed movement on nuclear arms control and disarmament? Is the prospect of nuclear disarmament still realistic and can it be pursued as a desirable end state? What other avenues for progress exist?

This two-day conference will bring together experts and scholars to take stock of the current trends and developments, with the overall objective of identifying potential entry points for innovative global, regional or national engagements on the wider (nuclear) arms control and disarmament agenda. These can include practical negotiating steps and processes, new or renewed multilateral or minilateral forums, and the potential for civil society or coalitions of the willing to push more forward-looking or ambitious agendas. Its main objective will be to bring together two often distinct communities ("arms controllers" and "disarmers, to caricature somewhat), in order to foster a healthy dialogue around the threats that we all face, and potentially to build bridges for practical action and communication across divides in the years to come.

Below is a preliminary agenda and suggested topics for the conference. A more detailed agenda and topics will be refined in conversation with conference participants, who will be drawn from the Geneva, European and wider arms control and disarmament community.

Participants will be expected to make short presentations, or participate in open discussions, to encourage a wide exchange of views and interactions across different topic areas. Short background papers or relevant documents may be circulated at or before the conference, and a summary report will receive wide dissemination.

Programme

Nuclear Futures: (Non)Proliferation, Dangerous Doctrines, and Arms Control Perspectives

Wednesday 29 October

19:00 Welcome dinner for participants travelling to Geneva,
Hôtel Royal

Thursday 30 October

9:00 – 9:30 Arrival

9:30 – 10:15	Introductory session: Key Challenges, Objectives Introductions	Stein Tønnesson Keith Krause
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10:15 – 10:30 Brief Coffee/tea break

Theme one: The Current Global Security Environment: Risks and Prospects for the Arms Control and Disarmament Architecture

10:30 – 12:00	- The “state of play” of the (nuclear) arms control regime	Elena Sokova
	- Global and regional arms races in the context of geopolitical tensions	Alexander Kmennt
	- Whither the NPT?	Julien Thöni
		Susi Snyder
Moderator: Keith Krause		

12:00 – 13:30 Lunch

Theme two: A “Deep Dive”: the Present and Future of the American-Russian (Nuclear) Arms Control Regime

13:30 – 15:00	- Life beyond “New Start”?	Amy Woolf
	- Potential Risk Reduction and Confidence Building Measures	Andrey Baklitskiy,
	- New Challenges and Disruptions	
	Moderator: Stein Tønnesson	

15:00 – 15:30 Coffee/tea

Theme three: Managing Multilateral Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Arms Control Challenges (Russia, US, China, Europe, Middle East, etc.)

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|-------------------------|--|----------------|
| 15:30 – 17:00 | - Ways to manage a trilateral nuclear relationship (US-Russia-China) | Tobias Fella |
| | - Proliferation challenges in the Middle East and beyond | Vasily Kashin, |
| | - Multilateral responses, institutions, and instruments | Mailys Mangin |
| Moderator: Keith Krause | | |

19:00 – 21:30 Dinner at Restaurant The Foundry

Friday 31 October

Theme four: Techno-Social Developments: Upsetting or Maintaining the “Delicate Balance of Terror”

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|------------------------------|--|----------------|
| 9:00 – 10:30 | - Erosion of the nuclear conventional divide | Stephen Herzog |
| | - “Golden Dome”: A waste of money or threat to stability (or both) | Wilfred Wan |
| | - Drones, new missiles, and other technological risks | |
| Moderator: Vassily Klimentov | | |

10:30 – 11:00 Coffee/tea

Theme five: Pushing the Envelope: Coalitions of the Willing and Civil Society Activism on Nuclear Issues

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|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| 11:00 – 12:30 | - Building bridges: getting beyond “management” of nuclear weapons | Rebecca Eleanor Johnson |
| | - Is there a broad anti-nuclear coalition to be built: where, who, how? | Dan Plesch |
| | - Beyond the TPNW: What focus for a state-led “coalition of the willing”? | Tom Sauer |
| | | Carolina Pantoliano |
| Moderator: Abdullah Ibrahim | | |

12:30 – 14:00 Lunch

Theme six: Closing Moderated Discussion with Selected Panelists

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|---------------|---|-----------------|
| 14:00 – 15:30 | Identifying opportunities, breaking out of silos, building momentum | Monica Herz |
| | | Keith Krause |
| | | Stein Tønnesson |
| 19:00 – 21:30 | Dinner at Restaurant Les 5 Portes for participants staying over | |

Participants

Andrey Baklitskiy	Senior Researcher, Weapons of Mass Destruction Programme, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR)
Tobias Fella	Senior Researcher, Berlin Office, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH)
Apolline Foedit	PhD Researcher, CCDP, Geneva Graduate Institute
Monica Herz	Associate Professor, Institute of International Relations (IRI), Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio)
Stephen Herzog	PhD, Professor of the Practice, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey
Abdullah Ibrahim	Senior Researcher, CCDP, Geneva Graduate Institute
Rebecca Eleanor Johnson	Executive Director, Acronym Institute
Vasily Kashin	Director of the Centre for Comprehensive European and International Studies, HSE University
Alexander Kmentt	Director of the Department for Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation at the Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs
Vassily Klimentov	SNSF Ambizione Principal Investigator and Lecturer, History Department, Centre for Eastern European Studies, University of Zurich Research Associate, CCDP, Geneva Graduate Institute
Keith Krause	Director, CCDP, Geneva Graduate Institute
Mailys Mangin	Lecturer in Political Science, University of Toulouse Capitole; Associate Researcher, CIENS
Mie Nakamura	Research Coordinator, Toda Peace Institute
Carolina Pantoliano	Research Associate in Nuclear Arms Control and Disarmament, University of Glasgow
Daniel Plesch	Professor of Diplomacy and Strategy at SOAS University of London
Yves Rossier	Independent advisor and Senior adviser to Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue
Hikedi Sakamoto	Administrative Director, Toda Peace Institute
Tom Sauer	Professor in international politics at the University of Antwerp
Susi Snyder	Programme Coordinator, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)
Elena K. Sokova	Executive Director, Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (VCDNP)
Julien Thöni	Switzerland Ambassador for Disarmament
Stein Tønnesson	Senior Research Fellow, Toda Peace Institute
Wilfred Wan	Director of SIPRI's Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) Programme
Amy Woolf	Consultant, Nuclear weapons and arms control



Participants Bios



Andrey Baklitskiy is a Senior Researcher with UNIDIR's Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) Programme, where his work focuses on nuclear risk reduction and nuclear arms control. He is a member of the Deep Cuts Commission and has held research and policy roles across leading institutions in the field, including Program Director at PIR Center, Research Fellow at the Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Visiting Research Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, DC, and Senior Research Fellow at MGIMO University. Mr. Baklitskiy holds a Specialist diploma (MA equivalent) from Ural Federal University. He works in English and Russian and regularly contributes to expert discussions on strategic stability and arms-control diplomacy.

Tobias Fella is a Senior Researcher at the Berlin office of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH), where he leads the trilateral Challenges to Deep Cuts project funded by the German Federal Foreign Office. He previously served as a foreign and security policy adviser at the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), project coordinator and research fellow at the Hertie School, and fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). In 2022, he delivered an ongoing series of lectures and workshops for the German Armed Forces on the political, military and economic dimensions of the war in Ukraine, including preparations for selected units deploying to Lithuania as part of NATO's Enhanced Forward Presence.

Dr Fella's research focuses on arms control and global strategic stability under great-power rivalry, conventional and nuclear deterrence, NATO–Russia relations, transatlantic security, and China's nuclear build-up. His analysis has appeared in German and international outlets, including the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *The National Interest*.

He holds a PhD in Political Science from Humboldt University of Berlin, where he examined the idea of American decline in neoconservative thought, and a Magister Artium in political science, history and law from Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich. He is an alumnus of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Apolline Foedit is a Doctoral Researcher at the Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding (CCDP) and a Europeum Scholar for the cohort 2024/2025. In her PhD, she explores the dynamics of the social movement for the right to asylum in Geneva from the 1930s to the 2010s, with a particular focus on the (re)configuration of grassroots organizations in response to increasingly restrictive asylum policies in Switzerland and the European Union. By drawing on archival research and interviews, she examines the interplay between local advocacy efforts, state policies, and international frameworks, highlighting the tension between care and control in migration governance. Passionate about development issues, human rights, and social movements, Apolline holds a BA in International Relations from the University of Geneva and an MA in Development Studies from the Geneva Graduate Institute.

Monica Herz holds a PhD in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science (1994) and is an Associate Professor at the Institute of International Relations, PUC-Rio. Her work focuses on international security, international organizations, the international relations of Latin America, and Brazilian foreign policy. She has been a Scientist of Our State at FAPERJ since 2012 and is a CNPq productivity fellow.

Professor Herz is the author of *The Organization of American States (OAS): Global Governance Away from the Media* (Routledge, 2010); *International Organizations: Histories and Practices* (Elsevier, 2004, with Andréa Ribeiro Hoffmann and Jana Tabak); and *Ecuador vs. Peru: Peacemaking Amid Rivalry* (Lynne Rienner, 2002, with João Pontes Nogueira). She has also published numerous book chapters with international presses and articles in Brazilian and international journals.

Her current research examines arms flows in Latin America, regional governance, and Brazil's international security policy. She maintains a wide international collaboration network in research and teaching across the field of international relations.

Stephen Herzog is Professor of the Practice at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey. He is Academic Co-Chair of the Beyond Nuclear Deterrence Working Group of the MacArthur Foundation and Harvard University's Project on Managing the Atom. Dr Herzog researches nuclear arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament, alongside their interaction with emerging and disruptive technologies (AI, additive manufacturing, cyber, etc.).

Previously, Dr Herzog was a Senior Researcher at the Center for Security Studies of ETH Zurich. He has also been a Research Fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Before completing his PhD in political science (Yale), Dr Herzog worked at the US Department of Energy's National Nuclear Security Administration and the Federation of American Scientists.

Dr Herzog's research has appeared in *Contemporary Security Policy*, *Energy Research & Social Science*, *International Security*, the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, the *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament*, the *Journal of Peace Research*, the *Journal of Politics*, the *Naval War College Review*, the *Nonproliferation Review*, *Risk Analysis*, and *Survival*. His public affairs commentary has been featured in *Arms Control Today*, the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, the *Financial Times*, *Science*, *The National Interest*, *War on the Rocks*, and *The Washington Post*.

Abdulla Ibrahim is a Senior Researcher with the CCDP and Senior Advisor leading the Future of Arms Control Project at the Geneva Graduate Institute. With more than twelve years' experience at the intersection of research and multilateral dialogue processes, his work examines international conflict dynamics, arms control, and European security, as well as the policies of the United States and Russia, and the evolving challenges to the international order. He is also a Nonresident Fellow at the Stimson Center and an Adjunct Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, DC. Dr Ibrahim holds a PhD in International Relations and Political Science from the Graduate Institute (IHEID) and an MA from the Kroc Institute at the University of Notre Dame.

Rebecca Eleanor Johnson is a long-time ecofeminist peace activist, writer, and Director of the Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy (AIDD). While leading AIDD's work on NPT, CTBT, nuclear issues and space security, she published the monthly journal *Disarmament Diplomacy*, and obtained her Ph.D in multilateral arms control and CTBT negotiations (LSE, 2004). Dr Johnson lived at the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp from 1982 until the INF Treaty was concluded in 1987, and then worked for Greenpeace to ban nuclear testing. Her Ph.D and book *Unfinished Business* (UNIDIR, 2009) analysed not only negotiations among governments, but also the roles played by civil society in driving human security and disarmament agreements forward within nations and transnationally.

In 2009-10 she established ICAN in Geneva, becoming its first president. She continues to serve on ICAN's steering group to focus international support for the TPNW. For over 40 years she has written and strategised with governments and activists to bring about agreements in humanitarian disarmament, climate justice, environmental protections and peace-building. Her most recent book *Nuclear weapons are banned: What does that mean for Britain?* was published in 2022. To inspire campaigners and schoolchildren she provides copies of the TPNW and shows her Nobel Peace medal along with fencing from the Greenham nuclear base.

Vasily Kashin is the Director of the Center for Comprehensive European and International Studies, National Research University–Higher School of Economics (HSE), Moscow. He is a senior fellow at the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and an expert on China's military-industrial complex.

Alexander Kmentt is the Director of the Department for Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation at the Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs Austria's. In December 2025, he will take up his new responsibility as Permanent Representative to the United Nations in Geneva. He has worked on disarmament, arms control and nonproliferation issues in various functions for over 25 years. He served as and presided over the First Meeting of States Parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) in June 2022. From 2016 to 2019, he was Austria's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the Political and Security Committee of the European Union. A leading architect of the humanitarian initiative on nuclear weapons and of the TPNW, he has been a central voice in reframing nuclear policy debates around humanitarian consequences.

During a sabbatical in 2019–2020, Ambassador Kmentt was a Senior Research Fellow at King's College London, where he authored *The Treaty Prohibiting Nuclear Weapons: How it was achieved and why it matters* (Routledge, 2020). He was named "Arms Control Person of the Year 2014" by the Arms Control Association (USA).

Ambassador Kmentt holds an Austrian law degree and an MPhil in International Relations from the University of Cambridge.

Vassily Klimentov obtained his PhD in International History, with a minor in Political Science, from the Geneva Graduate Institute in 2020. He has then worked for three years at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute in Florence thanks to grants from the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF). Since 2024, Vassily Klimentov has been conducting research and teaching at the University of Zurich. His current project, funded thanks to an SNF Ambizione grant, is titled "A War Without End? The Legacy of the Cold War in Russia". Since 2020, Vassily Klimentov has also been affiliated with the Geneva Graduate Institute's Centre on Conflict, Development & Peacebuilding and teaching at the Geneva Graduate Institute. Vassily Klimentov has published articles in multiple peer-reviewed journals. Cornell University Press has published his book, titled *A Slow Reckoning: The USSR, the Afghan Communists, and Islam*, in 2024.

Keith Krause is a Senior Research Fellow at the Toda Peace Institute, and Honorary Professor of International Relations at the Geneva Graduate Institute, where he directs its Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding (CCDP). From 2000 until 2016, he was also Programme Director of the Small Arms Survey, an internationally recognized research NGO he founded. An international expert on conflict prevention, arms control and disarmament, peacebuilding, and armed violence, Keith has more than 30 years of experience in designing and conducting research projects for academic and policy-oriented purposes. His research interests include the changing

character of contemporary armed violence, post-conflict peace-building and state-building, security sector reform, and multilateral security cooperation. He has published *Arms and the State*, edited or co-edited *Critical Security Studies, Culture and Security*, and *Armed Groups and Contemporary Conflicts*, as well as having authored dozens of journal articles and book chapters, and consulted for governments and NGOs.

Maïlys Mangin is a political scientist specializing in nuclear politics (Iran, IAEA), the Russia–Ukraine conflict, and the sociopolitical implications of the digitalization of political competition. She is Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Toulouse Capitole and Associate Researcher at CIENS. Dr Mangin earned her PhD in Political Science from the University of Lille (2022). Her dissertation—on the role of the IAEA in international nonproliferation policies in Iraq and Iran. The thesis received the Presses du Septentrion Dissertation Prize (2022–23), a special mention of the AEGES Dissertation Prize (2023), and the Lille University Doctoral College International Research Dissertation Prize (2024).

She has been a Research Fellow with Managing the Atom at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center (2020–2023), and later served as a post-doctoral researcher at the Centre de recherche de l'École de l'Air, contributing to the ANR ASTRID-CIGAIA project on controversies surrounding the war in Ukraine and their impact on the conflict. Selected publications include “Manipulating strategic uncertainty: the social logics of interpreting the Russian nuclear threat in the war in Ukraine” (Les Champs de Mars, 2022) and “Regulating the ‘Iranian bomb’: modes of domination in a multilateral game” (Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales, 2020). A book based on her dissertation is forthcoming with Presses du Septentrion.

Carolina Pantoliano is an early-career researcher and award-winning educator specialising in the politics of nuclear weapons, arms control, and disarmament. Her work draws on feminist, poststructuralist, and postcolonial approaches to global politics, with research interests spanning international security, global governance, and norm dynamics. Her recent research explores the everyday politics of nuclear weapons, particularly through representations in popular culture. In October 2024, Dr Pantoliano joined the University of Glasgow as a Research Associate in Nuclear Arms Control and Disarmament, where she contributes innovative research and policy impact in nuclear politics and international security. As part of the UKRI-funded project Atomic Anxiety in the Third Nuclear Age, she leads the project's first two work packages, conducting a global mapping of how states, civil society, media, and the public frame nuclear weapons, arms control, and disarmament. Dr Pantoliano received her PhD from the University of Auckland in 2024. Her thesis, informed by feminist critiques of war traditions, examined the emergence of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW). Her research has been published in leading journals including *International Affairs*, *Contemporary Security Policy*, *Review of International Studies*, and *Global Studies Quarterly*. She is currently writing her first book, *Reimagining Disarmament: Gender, War, and the Origins of the Nuclear Prohibition Treaty*, forthcoming with Manchester University Press.

Daniel Plesch is Professor of Diplomacy and Strategy and Director of both the Strategic Concept for the Removal of Arms and Proliferation (SCRAP) at SOAS, University of London. His recent work covers strategic stability and air power, open-source investigations, and the history of women's international human rights. He is the author of *Human Rights After Hitler*, featured by outlets such as NPR, the Guardian, and the Chicago Tribune. His earlier books include *America, Hitler and the UN*, *Wartime Origins and the Future UN* (with Thomas Weiss), and *The Beauty Queen's Guide to World Peace*. He leads research on the United Nations and disarmament.

Plesch studied history at the University of Nottingham and earned qualifications in social work and public administration at Bristol. He went on to work in nuclear disarmament advocacy, founded the British American Security Information Council (BASIC) in 1986, and directed it from Washington, DC until 2001. He later became Senior Research Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute in London. He has held visiting academic posts at Bradford, Birkbeck, and Keele, and has advised governments, media organizations, NGOs, and international bodies on security, transparency, and disarmament policy.

Tom Sauer is Professor in International Politics at the Department of Politics at the Universiteit Antwerpen (Belgium) and currently a Visiting Scholar at the Paul J. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of the Johns Hopkins University (Washington DC, US). Sauer is specialized in international security, and more in particular in nuclear arms control, proliferation, and disarmament. He has published eleven books (monographs and edited books), dozens of academic articles in journals, and more than 300 opinion articles. His latest co-edited book (with Yoichiro Sato and Elena Atanassova-Cornelis) is titled *Security Order and Strategic Alignment in Europe and the Asia-Pacific* (Routledge, 2025).

Tom Sauer has studied Politics and International Politics at the FUNDP-Namur (Belgium), the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium), the University of Hull (UK), and the Bologna Center of the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of the Johns Hopkins University (US). He obtained a PhD in Social Sciences (Politics) from the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium). Sauer received a NATO Individual Scholarship (1994-1995), a Rotary Ambassadorial Scholarship (1997-1998), a Postdoctoral Fellowship of the Research Foundation – Flanders (2002-2008). He is a former BCSIA Fellow at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University (US) (1997-1999), and an active member of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs. In 2019, he received the Rotary Alumni Global Service Award.

Susi Snyder is Programme Coordinator at the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), where she facilitates the design and delivery of ICAN's key programmes, including divestment initiatives and engagement with the financial sector. For more than a decade, she has coordinated Don't Bank on the Bomb, a leading effort to end financial support for companies involved in nuclear weapons production. An expert on nuclear weapons with over two decades of experience at the intersection of nuclear policy and human rights, she has contributed to *Forbidden* (2023), *A World Free from Nuclear Weapons* (2020), *Sleepwalking to Armageddon* (2017) and the *War and Environment Reader* (2018).

Her commentary has appeared in Project Syndicate, CNBC, 360 Magazine, Quartz, The Intercept, HuffPost, U.S. News & World Report, The Guardian, and on Deutsche Welle, Al Jazeera, Democracy Now, among others. Ms. Snyder is a Foreign Policy Interrupted/Bard College Fellow (2020) and a Nuclear Free Future Award Laureate (2016). She previously worked with PAX on humanitarian disarmament and served as Secretary-General of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) at its Geneva secretariat. Earlier, she was named a "Hero of Las Vegas" (2001) for advocacy with Indigenous communities opposing U.S. nuclear weapons development and nuclear waste dumping. She lives in Utrecht, the Netherlands.

Elena K. Sokova is Executive Director of the Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (VCDNP). Her work focuses on international organisations and regimes in nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, fissile-material security and control, nuclear non-proliferation issues in Eurasia, and education and training in non-proliferation and disarmament. Prior to joining the VCDNP, she served as Deputy Director of the James Martin Center for

Nonproliferation Studies (CNS) at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, where she worked from 1997. She began her career at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union/Russian Federation.

Ms. Sokova has authored numerous articles, book chapters and reports on non-proliferation and nuclear security. From 2014 to 2015, she was a member of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Nuclear Security, and in 2015 she chaired a working group within the Fissile Material Working Group focused on ending the use of highly enriched uranium in civilian applications. She serves on the Advisory Board of International Youth/Student Pugwash and on the Advisory Board of the Young Women and Next Generation Initiative of the EU Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Consortium. She is also an International Gender Champion and a Gender Champion in Nuclear Policy. Ms. Sokova holds a Master's degree in International Public Administration from the Monterey Institute of International Studies (2000) and a Law degree from Moscow State University (1992).

Julien Thöni has been Deputy Permanent representative of Switzerland to the United Nations and the other international organisations in Geneva and Permanent Representative of Switzerland to the Conference on Disarmament since 1 August 2023. Until July 2023, he was Consul General of Switzerland in Istanbul. He joined the diplomatic service in 1998 and made his diplomatic traineeship both in Bern at the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) and in Moscow at the Embassy of Switzerland. In 2000, Mr. Thöni served as desk officer for the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States at the FDFA, covering the bilateral relations with Russia, Belarus, Moldova as well as the countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia. Between 2003 and 2007 he was Deputy Head of Mission at the Embassy of Switzerland in Saudi Arabia. In 2007 he was appointed deputy head of section and covered euro-Atlantic and European security in the International Security Division at the FDFA. In 2010, he served as head of section on issues related to disarmament and peace promotion also in Bern. Between 2013 and 2023 he was successively posted in Moscow as counsellor for economic and financial affairs, in Ramallah as Head of Mission and Representative of Switzerland to the Palestinian Authority and in Istanbul as Consul General. Mr. Thöni has a degree in International Relations from the Geneva Graduate Institute and a Masters' degree in international conflict analysis from the University of Kent (Canterbury).

Stein Tønnesson is a Senior Research Fellow at the Toda Peace Institute with responsibility for Peace and Security in Northeast Asia, and a Research Professor Emeritus at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). Dr. Tønnesson's areas of research are peace in East Asia, nation-building in Southeast Asia, conflict in the South China Sea, revolution and war in Vietnam, Myanmar's internal conflicts, and the history of peace research. From 2001–08, he served as Director of PRIO. From 2011–17, he led the East Asian Peace program at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, from which he published the monograph *Explaining the East Asian Peace* (NIAS Press 2017). From 2018–21, he partnered with the Myanmar Institute for Peace and Security (MIPS) on projects studying social media in Myanmar's armed conflicts and relations among Myanmar's ethnic armed organisations. He is the editor of *Lives in Peace Research: The Oslo Stories* (Springer 2022).

Wilfred Wan is the Director of SIPRI's Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) Programme. His research focuses on nuclear risk reduction, multilateral arms control and disarmament, and the governance challenges at the intersection of emerging technologies and nuclear policy. He also serves as co-chair of the Alva Myrdal Centre working group on Nuclear Disarmament in Policy and International Law. Prior to joining SIPRI, Dr Wan worked at the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) in Geneva. His recent publications include SIPRI reports on the

AI–nuclear nexus, and on space–nuclear escalation risks. He is the author of *Regional Pathways to Nuclear Non-Proliferation* (University of Georgia Press, 2018). Dr Wan holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of California, Irvine. He works in English.

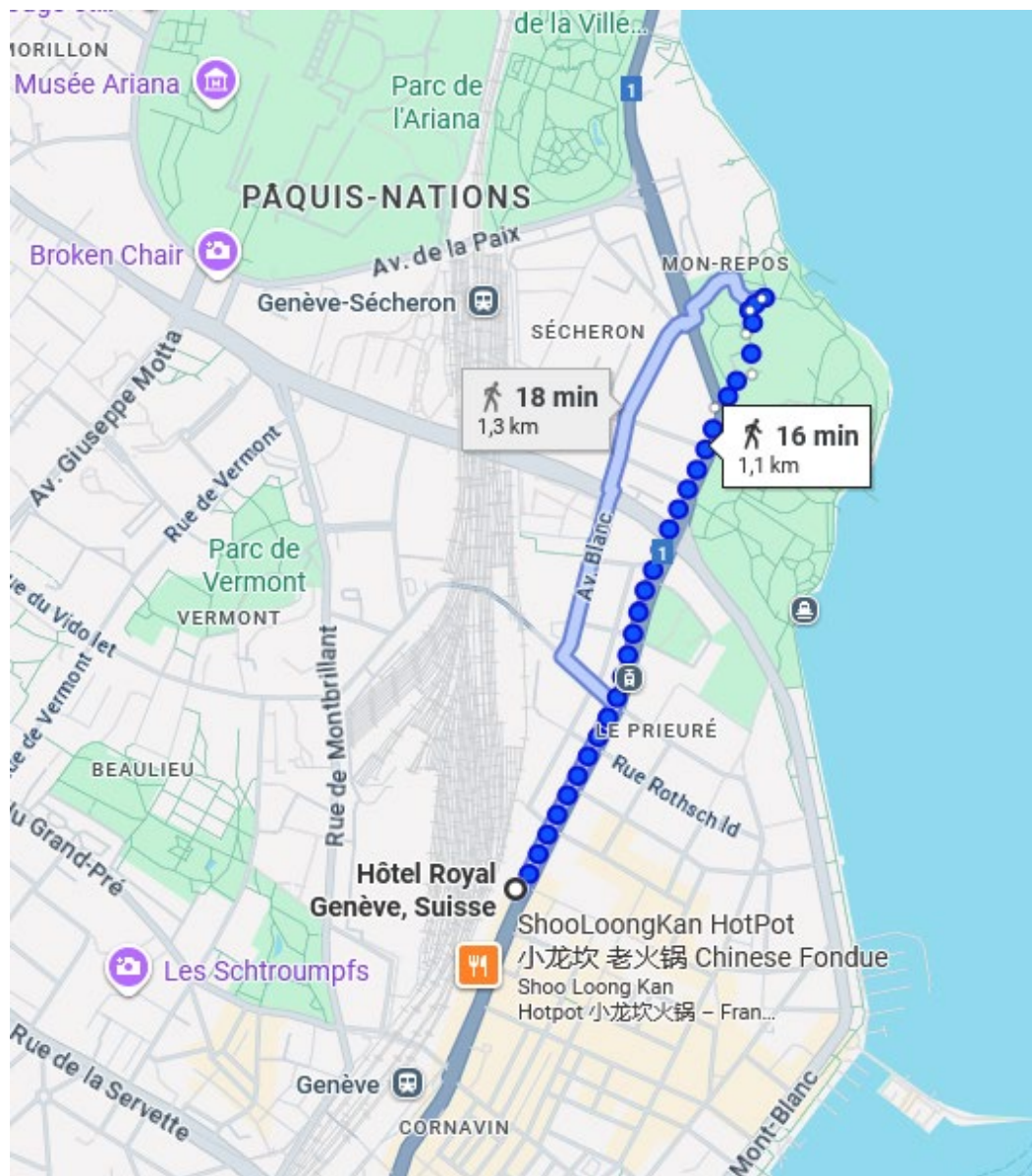
Amy F. Woolf is a nonresident senior fellow in the Forward Defense practice of the Atlantic Council's Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security and a Senior Associate Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) in London. She previously served for more than three decades as a specialist in nuclear weapons policy at the Congressional Research Service of the US Library of Congress, where she provided Congress with research support, background analysis, and expert assessments on nuclear forces and arms control. She has authored numerous studies on nuclear strategy and doctrine; weapons programs in the United States, Russia, and China; strategic arms control and the US–Russian agenda; monitoring and verification; and hypersonic weapons. Ms. Woolf has testified before Congress, contributed to arms-control dialogues in international settings, and frequently addresses academic and expert conferences on topics including US nuclear modernization, congressional perspectives on arms control, nuclear risk-reduction measures, and the future of bilateral and multilateral arms-control efforts.

Before joining CRS, Ms. Woolf was on the research staff at the Institute for Defense Analyses in Alexandria, Virginia, and spent a year at the US Department of Defense working on the 1994 Nuclear Posture Review. She holds a Master in Public Policy from the Harvard Kennedy School and a BA in Political Science from Stanford University.

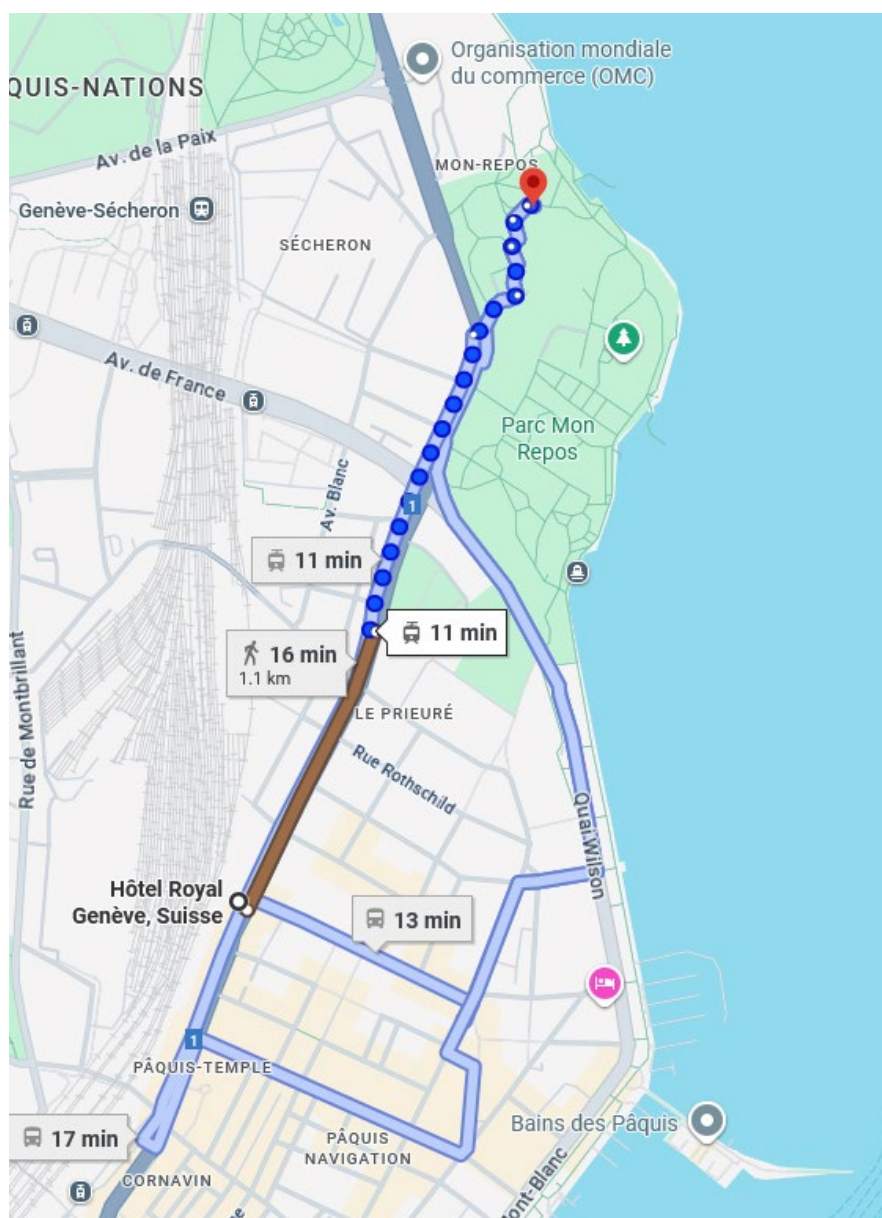
Venue, Accommodation and Ground Transport

The conference “Nuclear Futures: (Non)Proliferation, Dangerous Doctrines, and Arms Control Perspectives” will be held at the Villa Barton, 132 rue de Lausanne, 1202 Geneva, Switzerland (marked with a red dot on the map below). All accommodation is at the Hôtel Royal Geneva, Rue de Lausanne 41, 1201 Geneva, Switzerland (marked with a white dot). The hotel is a 16-minute walk from the Villa Barton. You can also take the tram for one stop, then walk for 10 minutes. The hotel supplies a free transit pass, which will be sent by email.

Map 1. 16-minute walk from hotel to Villa Barton



Map 2. Tram route from hotel to Villa Barton



8:40 AM	○ Hôtel Royal Genève, Suisse
	Rue de Lausanne 41, 1201 Genève
8:40 AM	○ Genève, Môle
	15 Genève, Nations
	✓ 1 min (non-stop) · Platform S
8:41 AM	○ Butini
	Walk
	✓ About 10 min, 700 m
8:51 AM	● Parc Barton
	Rue de Lausanne, 1202 Genève

Relevant Locations

Villa Barton

Conference Venue
Domaine Barton, 132 rue de Lausanne,
1202 Geneva

Cornavin Central Station

Place de Cornavin 7, 1201 Geneva

Hôtel Royal

Accommodation
Rue de Lausanne 41, 1201 Geneva

Restaurant

Dinner on October 29th (for participants arriving from outside Geneva) is at 7pm at the Bistro of the Hôtel Royal

Dinner on October 30th for all conference participants is at 7pm at the Restaurant The Foundry (Rue Philippe-Plantamour 25, 1201 Genève)

Dinner on October 31st (for participants staying over) is at 7pm at the Restaurant Les 5 Portes (Rue de Zurich 8, 1201 Genève)

Please note: For travelers from outside Geneva, Toda will cover hotel breakfasts and provide all meals during the conference. Personal costs such as room service or minibar and other meals outside the conference period are the responsibility of participants.

Contact Information for Organisers:

Keith Krause: +41 76 344 81 21 (whatsapp preferably); keith.krause@graduateinstitute.ch

Jeanne Métrailler: +41 79 428 60 31 (whatsapp preferably);
jeanne.metrailler@graduateinstitute.ch



[NOTE] Kindly complete and submit this form in PDF format.
Please refrain from submitting handwritten.

Reimbursement Form

Please fill in the below Reimbursement Form and submit it to Mie Nakamura (conference@toda.org). Please keep all your receipts and send scanned copies of them to the same email address.

Name (Please print): _____

Account Holder Address * (Please fill out all the fields listed below)

Room, Floor, Building, Street: _____

Town/ City: _____

Country: _____

Please state your preferred currency* for reimbursement: _____

*Note: Remittance in some currencies (e.g., FJD) may not be available through our Japanese bank. In this case, the remittance will be made in other major international currencies (USD, UER, GBP, etc.) as you request.

	Description & Amount in original currency
Ground transportation between your home and the airport <u>Sample</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Oct 10 - 25 USD - Taxi (home to airport)Oct 14 - 5 GBP - Train (airport to home)	
Others (visa application, parking etc.) <u>Sample</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Feb 20 - 20 EUR - Visa application feeFeb 25 - 5,000 JPY - Parking fee	
Total Amount	

Bank Information

Account Holder Name*: _____

*Note: If you are using abbreviated name(s) in above account name, please separately spell them out (for example, if your account name is "Mike P. F. Smith", please spell out "P" and "F").

Account Holder Address * (Please fill out all the fields listed below)

Room, Floor, Building, Street: _____

Town/ City: _____

Country: _____

*Note: Please provide a different address if it is not the same as your residence address.

Bank Name: _____

Bank Address * **(Please fill out *all* the fields listed below)**

Room, Floor, Building, Street:_____

Town/ City: _____

Country: _____

Account Number: _____

SWIFT/BIC (Bank Identifier Code) Number: _____

IBAN Number: _____ (* Please fill in this section only if you have this number.)

* Please fill in the sections below only if they are required.

Intermediary Bank Name: _____

Intermediary Bank: BIC (SWIFT) _____

Intermediary Bank Address * **(Please fill out all the fields listed below)**

Room, Floor, Building, Street:_____

Town/ City: _____

Country: _____

[NOTE] The personal and banking details you provide in this reimbursement form will be used solely for the purpose of processing your reimbursement and related administrative procedures. Your information will: **Only be accessed by authorized personnel, Not be used for any other purpose, Not be shared with third parties**, except as required by law or for processing the reimbursement (e.g., to financial institutions)