

PLOUGHSHARES FUND

Investing in Peace
and Security Worldwide



Ploughshares Fund supports the people who are working to prevent the spread and use of nuclear, biological, chemical and other weapons of war and to prevent conflicts that could lead to the use of weapons of mass destruction. Ploughshares is supported by gifts from individuals, families and foundations.

Freeing doves near the demilitarized zone, in a ceremony calling for a peaceful resolution to the North Korea nuclear crisis and the reunification of the Korean peninsula.

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Letter from the President and Executive Director

Dear Friends,

One year ago, as the Bush Administration was beginning its second term in the White House, the security crises facing our nation appeared intractable. North Korea and Iran were intent on pursuing the nuclear option, while the U.S. government was refusing to use diplomatic approaches to persuade them otherwise. Iraq was a deepening quagmire, fueling increased antipathy towards the U.S. on the part of the Islamic world. U.S. nuclear policy reflected an expanded, ambitious approach, including the development of new so-called bunker buster nuclear weapons. And efforts to lock down vulnerable nuclear materials to keep them out of the hands of terrorists were stalled.

We were disheartened, but not deterred. Indeed, if there is any one lesson from Ploughshares Fund's experience over the past twenty-four years, it is that civil society actors can have a significant impact on the world's toughest and most urgent problems.

Take North Korea. In the following pages you will read about Dr. Jim Walsh, an international security expert with a passion for wading into the thorniest conflicts. His focus on building relationships between members of Congress and North Korean officials helped pave the way for progress between the two sides, and laid the

foundation for implementing an agreement to end the North's nuclear program.

Our grantees were also in the forefront of new thinking about how to build bridges with Islam, particularly on the most controversial issues, including nuclear weapons. The story of Reverend Rich Killmer and Dr. Louay Safi – two men of faith determined to find common ground on the nuclear question – is the first of what we hope will be many attempts to demonstrate the compatibility of different religious traditions and to speak with a unified voice about the moral implications of continued reliance on nuclear weapons.



PHOTO: Steve Fisch

Naila Bolus with daughters Josette, Gabrielle, and Willa.

PHOTO: Steve Fisch



Sally Lilienthal with four of her children; (l-r) Matthew, Steven, Lori, and Tom.

One year ago we could not have predicted the success of our grantees' campaign, led by lobbyist Terri Lodge, to stop the development in the U.S. of a new nuclear weapon, the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator, better known as the nuclear bunker buster. Nor did we foresee the accomplishments of Russia experts Ken Luongo and Paul Walker to eradicate the barriers to effective implementation of the nuclear threat reduction program. But this year brought strengthened capacity, increased collaboration and a new level of engagement on the part of Ploughshares Fund grantees, made possible by our continued commitment to funding the brightest people with the best ideas for promoting peace and security worldwide.

As you read through this annual report, we think you will be inspired by the stories of our grantees – scientists, activists, experts, lobbyists and even journalists, like Mary Kay Magistad of Public Radio International's The World – all working to foster greater understand-

ing of and promote practical solutions to the most imperative security threats. In choosing where to make our investments we use the following criteria: Does the project propose an innovative approach to a significant problem? Do its leaders exhibit bold vision and have the experience necessary to advance solutions? Will it shed light on the technical, analytical or political aspects of international security in this new strategic environment? Ultimately, does the project have the potential to impact policy and bring about lasting change?

Our due diligence gives donors confidence that their contributions, pooled with others, can yield profound results, even in the most challenging environments. We take heart in our accomplishments of the past year and are ever grateful for your support as we look ahead to the future.

Yours with determination,

Sally Lilienthal, President

Naila Bolus, Executive Director

P.S. We continue to maximize your investment by ensuring that donors' contributions go directly to the grants we award, with nothing subtracted for administrative overhead. Operating expenses are completely paid for by the Fund's Board of Directors and a small draw from our endowment.



Jumpstarting Negotiations at the Six-Party Talks

THE STORY BEHIND THE HEADLINES

It was only months ago that the U.S. and North Korea were engaged in a war of words – “Human scum!” “Tyrannical dictator!” – worthy of the bitterest playground brawl, and Pyongyang was upping the nuclear ante with increasing ferocity. What, then, accounted for the sudden turnaround, the agreement that the North would give up its nuclear weapons and rejoin the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in exchange for a pledge of sovereignty by the U.S., along with economic and energy assistance? The story behind the headlines was one of dogged, patient efforts by Ploughshares-supported experts over many years to keep lines of communication open, even when official relations were at their lowest point.

“We’ve made a pretty direct contribution to helping jumpstart the negotiations at the Six-Party Talks in Beijing,” says Jim Walsh of Harvard University’s Managing the Atom (MTA) Project. For the past two years, Walsh and his MTA colleagues have been meeting behind the scenes with North Korean officials in New York, Washington, DC and Pyongyang. In this relatively short time, Walsh has accomplished a number of key objectives, not the least of which is building a relationship of trust with the North Korean government. Bush Administration officials have followed these developments closely. “I think that in some small way our efforts have encouraged the administration to adopt a new approach,” says Walsh. In the lead-up to the fourth round of Six-Party Talks in September, State Department officials asked him for the single most important piece of advice he would give to Ambassador Christopher Hill to prepare him to lead the U.S. delegation to the talks. “Sit down with Kim Gae Gwan beforehand and establish a personal relationship,” Walsh advised, referring to North Korea’s Vice Foreign Minister, the lead negotiator. Hill did just that.

“...our efforts have encouraged the administration to adopt a new approach.”

A North Korean soldier looks south as South Korean soldiers stand guard at the Panmunjom truce village.

Ploughshares
Fund support
is enabling
Walsh to bring
North Korean
diplomats to-
gether with
members of
Congress...in
most cases for
the first time.



The Bridge of No Return between North and South Korea.

Walsh and MTA are not alone in believing that now is the time to expand the avenues of engagement with the North. Indeed, Ploughshares Fund has stepped up its funding of outstanding Track-II projects, including those that are focused on the roles of China and Japan, and another on overcoming technical hurdles to North Korean denuclearization. For Jim Walsh, the key to success is engaging Congress. “Congress has had almost no contact with the North Koreans up to now. But their role is critical—they will have to appropriate the money needed to implement any agreement that is reached, i.e., for energy assistance, foreign aid, as well as approving legislation to remove sanctions. And if there’s a treaty, the Senate will be asked to ratify it. We can’t wait until the last minute to bring Congress into the conversation.” Ploughshares Fund support is enabling Walsh to bring North Korean diplomats together with members of Congress and their staffs, in most cases for the first time.

He warns that there are bound to be bumps in the road and setbacks along the way as the process moves forward. “But if we do end up with an agreement, we’ll look back and realize that this year marked the first major step.”



**Jim Walsh with North
Korean Vice Foreign Minister
Kim Gae Gwan.**

JIM WALSH

“I’m optimistic by nature,” says Dr. Jim Walsh, when asked for his assessment of the prospects for peace on the Korean Peninsula. “I do think that this latest statement of principles is a breakthrough, even though it’s bound to be tested in the months ahead.” Walsh’s positive outlook belies the gravity of the issues on which he is so frequently asked to comment – nuclear weapons, terrorism, conflict in the Middle East – in the media, in congressional hearings and in international fora. “Over the years I’ve worked on a lot of other issues besides nuclear weapons – starting as a community organizer for

low income people and senior citizens – but I always gravitated back toward foreign policy and arms control.” He served as a visiting scholar at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and as a Humphrey Fellow at the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Along the way he developed a passion for Iran and the role of Islam in shaping the political conversation about nuclear weapons. He was among the organizers of the Muslim-Christian Initiative on the Nuclear Weapons Danger (see page 13) this year, helping to identify areas of common ground and opportunities for dialogue and joint action.



Banishing the Bunker Buster

VICTORY ON CAPITOL HILL

The headlines said it all: “Bunker Buster Goes Bust.” “Bye Bye Bunker Buster!” In October, Congress deleted all funds from the 2006 federal budget for the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator, better known as the nuclear bunker buster. For the second year in a row, and possibly the last, a key element of the Bush Administration’s aggressive new nuclear weapons strategy fell victim to its own overblown rhetoric, leadership by stalwart members of Congress from both parties, and not least of all, an unrelenting two-year lobbying effort by the Arms Control Advocacy Collaborative, or AC².

“Members of Congress were hearing from their constituents that they did not support this particular weapon, or any new nuclear weapons program,” says AC² lobbyist Terri Lodge. “We can take a lot of the credit for that. We developed and implemented a strategy for focusing on a key set of legislators, including some who were up for re-election, moderates who may not yet have staked out a position on the issue, and others whose constituents we had reason to believe cared about nuclear weapons. We worked directly with Senators, Representatives and their staffs inside the beltway, then reached outside to help grassroots groups mobilize communities in key states,” she says.

The “we” Lodge refers to are the members of AC², ten Washington, DC organizations that work together to advance a common non-proliferation and arms control agenda. AC² is an innovative initiative launched three years ago by the Ploughshares Fund in partnership with the Steven and Michele Kirsch Foundation to bring together the elements needed to have an impact on Capitol Hill – respected organizations representing tens of thousands of members, clearly defined objectives, a strategy for speaking with a common voice, all coordinated by a top-notch lobbyist who works exclusively on the issue full time.

“We could never have achieved this without you.”
–Senator Edward Kennedy

“We worked directly with Senators, Representatives and their staffs inside the beltway, then reached outside to help grass-roots groups mobilize communities...”



PHOTO: Daniel L. Ross

Entrance to underground bunker in Iraq.

“We never could have achieved this without you,” Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA), told a gathering of AC² members and other groups that had worked to defeat the bunker buster. In turn, the groups expressed their gratitude to Senators Kennedy and Feinstein (D-CA) and Representatives Hobson (R-OH) and Spratt (D-SC), who understood how damaging the weapon would have been to international non-proliferation efforts and took the lead in opposing it.

Have we heard the end of the bunker buster? “Only time will tell,” says Lodge. “But clearly, things have changed in Washington. New nuclear weapons are becoming untouchable. No one wants to admit being in favor of them. That’s an enormous change in the right direction.”

The 2004-05 members of AC² are the Arms Control Association, British-American Security Information Council (BASIC), Center for Defense Information, Council for a Livable World, Federation of American Scientists, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Natural Resources Defense Council, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Union of Concerned Scientists and Women’s Action for New Directions.



PHOTO: Robert Trippett

TERRI LODGE

Terri Lodge became hooked on politics as a student intern on Capitol Hill in the late 1970s. “Watching the SALT Treaty defeated in the Senate, I remember thinking, ‘surely there’s a better way of selling the right foreign policies to the American people and the Congress.’” By the time she joined AC² as its lead lobbyist in 2002, Lodge had built a track record of doing just that, working to win approval for some of the most important arms control agreements of the last twenty years – the START I and START II Treaties, the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention and

key non-proliferation agreements as the State Department’s lobbyist in Congress. What does it take to succeed, much less survive, in the supercharged political environment of Capitol Hill? “It helps that I like a challenge and that I want to achieve tangible results,” she says. Lodge has amassed a wealth of knowledge about the secrets to getting legislation passed. “It may sound old-fashioned,” she says, “but the most important thing is for constituents to call their representatives and tell them *in their own voices* what they think. That carries tremendous weight.”



Finding Common Ground

THE MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN INITIATIVE

We affirm our belief in the One God, the Creator and Sustainer of the universe.... We agree that the Christian and Muslim traditions are unambiguous on the sanctity of human life and on the protection of all forms of creation.... So begins the first statement on the nuclear weapons danger ever produced together by leaders of the Muslim and Christian faiths. Acknowledging the threat of terrorism and condemning the enormous resources spent on nuclear weapons that could be put to better use, the statement concludes: *The only real security for the world and the most responsible position for people of faith in our two traditions is to call upon the United States and other countries of the world to, gradually and in a verifiable manner, finally eliminate these weapons from the face of the earth.*

For three days last May, leaders and scholars from the Muslim and Christian faiths engaged in a vigorous exchange of ideas about what their religious traditions have to contribute to an understanding of the role of nuclear weapons in the world today. Expectations were modest. "We set out to see if there was enough common ground to continue talking," says Reverend Richard Killmer of the Churches Center for Theology and Public Policy, initiator of the project. Not only was there common ground, but immediate agreement to articulate a shared position on the urgency of addressing the nuclear threat.

Although discussions were often intense, the most heated debates occurred within the groups rather than between them. "Fishbowl" conversations allowed Christians to listen in on and appreciate the diversity of opinion within the Muslim community, and vice versa. One of the misgivings expressed on the Muslim side, recalls Dr.

"Not only was there common ground, but immediate agreement to articulate a shared position..."

Muslim woman in Cordoba, Spain.

“Never before has there been such a public affirmation of the connection between the values we share.”



PHOTO: www.bismikaallahuma.org

Muslims at prayer.

Louay Safi of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), the project’s co-convenor, was the possibility that the statement could be taken out of context and justify barring Muslim countries from acquiring nuclear weapons while allowing others to retain theirs. “Clearly, the only answer is a total ban,” he says, and points to the statement’s unambiguous call for the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

In the climate of mistrust that has developed between Muslims and Christians since September 11th the process was long overdue. “Never before has there been such a public affirmation of the connection between the values we share – the sanctity of life, our responsibility to future generations – and our commitment to work together to abolish nuclear weapons,” says Killmer. “We plan, too,” he says, “to reach out to Jewish leaders to discuss how we can support their efforts to increase dialogue about this issue within their community.”

The Muslim-Christian Initiative is a direct outgrowth of the Nuclear Threat/Disarmament Initiative, a project created in 1999 at the urging of Ploughshares Fund President Sally Lilienthal to encourage and enable the religious community to respond to the nuclear danger with the same vigor and visibility that it did in the 1980s.

PHOTO: ISNA



PHOTO: ISNA



THE REVEREND RICHARD KILLMER & DR. LOUAY SAFI

When Fox News, CNN and other media outlets reported on a recent fatwa, or religious ruling, issued by the Islamic religious council in the U.S., they turned to Dr. Louay Safi, executive director of the ISNA Leadership Development Center, to help articulate the Muslim view of terrorism and extremism. Safi explained patiently and unequivocally that “those who target civilians and civilian properties are acting against the teachings of Islam.” Reverend Richard Killmer also turned to his friend Louay when he first considered the idea of a Muslim-Christian consultation on nuclear weapons, and asked for his help in bringing leaders of the two religious traditions to-

gether. From distinctly different backgrounds – Killmer is a Presbyterian minister from Maine while Safi is an Islamic scholar born in Damascus – both have dedicated their lives to working at the intersection between faith and social action for peace, human rights and environmental protection. Killmer’s professional activism has continued uninterrupted since Vietnam, while Safi’s has taken on increased urgency since September 11th. With successive waves of anti-Muslim rhetoric that have followed recent terrorist attacks, he calls on Muslim leaders to demonstrate how Islam can be “a positive force that brings more balance and justice to the world.”



Securing Russia's Deadliest Weapons

REMOVING THE BARRIERS

What do you do when bureaucratic and political obstacles threaten to slow or even halt global initiatives for keeping nuclear, chemical and biological weapons out of the hands of terrorists? Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, nuclear threat reduction programs have succeeded in dismantling thousands of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, protecting many tons of nuclear material, and converting additional tons into non-weapon-usable forms. Forty thousand metric tons of chemical weapons have been secured and await destruction. But despite such dramatic gains, progress is continually obstructed by inadequate funding, opposition from shortsighted members of Congress, bureaucratic snags and disputes over access to highly secret facilities. This year with Ploughshares Fund support, two major barriers have been removed.

Paul Walker of Global Green USA was incredulous when conservative members of Congress moved five years ago to completely cut off funding for the destruction of Russian chemical weapons. In 1994, as a professional staff member of the House Armed Services Committee, Walker accompanied the first-ever U.S. government delegation to the Russian town of Shchuch'ye to inspect the top-secret Russian chemical weapons stockpile that was housed there. He was astounded by the dilapidated warehouses that stored over two million artillery shells and missile warheads that were filled with enough deadly nerve gas to wipe out millions of people. Although many of the shells were small enough to be smuggled out in a backpack, the buildings were secured with nothing more than bicycle locks. Yet Congress sought to eliminate funds for upgrading security and building a new facility to safely eliminate the weapons.

From another office in Washington, DC, Ken Luongo of the Russian American Nuclear Security Advisory Council (RANSAC) saw the process of securing and

“For me, the key lesson has been the importance of transparency and honesty at all levels.”

Rescuers spray a mock victim with decontaminating liquid in a simulated terrorist chemical attack.

The dispute was “a dagger pointed at the heart of the future of threat reduction programs.”



PHOTO: AP/Misha Japaridze

A plaque marks the site in Shchuch'ye where the U.S. and Russia are building a plant for destroying chemical weapons.

eliminating Russia's vulnerable nuclear materials in danger of being derailed by a legal impasse. At the insistence of former Undersecretary of State John Bolton, the U.S. was demanding that the Russians accept full liability for any accident that occurred while carrying out threat reduction projects, even if American contractors were at fault. The Russians refused to go along and negotiations stalled. The dispute was “a dagger pointed at the heart of the future of threat reduction programs,” says Luongo. It not only threatened critical ongoing work, but could potentially doom the Umbrella Agreement governing the entire Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program, which would soon be up for renewal by the U.S. and Russia.

Thanks to Walker's and Luongo's understanding of how to convince policymakers of exactly what is at stake, and how to navigate the arcane American and Russian political systems, full funding for threat reduction programs, including chemical weapons destruction, was restored by Congress and the liability crisis was resolved. Both men are stepping up their efforts to expand support from the international community and to address security threats outside Russia. Luongo says that “much of what we've learned under CTR is directly applicable to the dangers posed by nuclear weapons in North Korea and South Asia, and other WMD challenges.” Adds Walker, “For me, the key lesson has been the importance of transparency and honesty at all levels – international, national, regional and local – in moving forward to eliminate these threats.”



PHOTO: Robert Trippett

PAUL WALKER & KEN LUONGO

Working inside government on nuclear weapons issues convinced both Paul Walker and Ken Luongo of the essential role that non-governmental organizations play in the formulation of public policy. Both were on the staff of the House Armed Services Committee in 1992-93 in what Luongo remembers as a critical time. “Everything I had been working on in the arms control arena was about to change dramatically.” Walker agrees: “The Soviet Union had just collapsed. Congress was holding hearings on the possibility of weapons of mass destruction falling into the wrong hands. And 9/11 hadn’t even happened.”

Luongo went to work as the senior advisor on arms control and non-proliferation to Secretary of Energy Hazel O’Leary, but soon saw that the real challenge was keeping the nuclear threat reduction programs on track. With Ploughshares Fund support he launched the Russian American Nuclear Security Advisory Council, or RANSAC, a unique endeavor to keep influential people in the U.S. and Russia engaged in working to eliminate nuclear dangers and to generate initiatives to address

new challenges that were continually emerging. One RANSAC innovation was the establishment of scientific centers in closed nuclear cities where unemployed Russian nuclear weapons scientists could apply their knowledge to solving real world problems. “It had never been done in the most secret nuclear facilities in Russia before, and would not have been done without Ploughshares,” Luongo says.

Meanwhile, Paul Walker was concerned that relatively little attention was being paid to the daunting chemical weapons threat. He convinced Global Green USA, the U.S. affiliate of Green Cross International, and its founder Mikhail Gorbachev to spearhead the task of pressing for the destruction of Russia’s vast stockpile of poison gas weapons. He has directed Global Green’s Legacy of the Cold War Program for the last decade. “The abolition of chemical weapons in both the U.S. and Russia,” he says, “will set a historic precedent for eliminating a whole class of weapons of mass destruction. Nuclear weapons need to be our next abolition target.”



Getting to the Heart of the Story

REPORTING ON THE REAL CHINA

“Many Chinese think it’s only a matter of time before China reclaims its rightful role as leader of the region and, perhaps, beyond,” begins a recent four-part series on China’s growing influence on traditional U.S. allies in Asia on Public Radio International’s (PRI) *The World*. An observer summed it up this way: “One of the aspirations of Beijing...is to very gradually and very slowly nudge out the hitherto leading influence of the United States in East Asia — without war, but with economic and cultural means.” As Mary Kay Magistad, East Asia correspondent for *The World*, reports, the shift is already occurring. The Philippines has seen the Chinese influence almost singlehandedly revitalize its economy; South Korea prefers Beijing’s strategy over Washington’s when it comes to dealing with North Korea; and Japan is considering dropping its constitutional pledge of pacifism in order to counter China’s power. “Each is benefiting in some way from China’s impressive growth, but each is also wary about what resurgent Chinese nationalism, and a rapidly improving Chinese military, might mean down the road for their own security,” she says.

Considering China’s plans to modernize its nuclear forces and its growing ambitions in space, the U.S. has good reason to take notice. Yet China and the U.S. also have shared interests and are more economically interdependent than ever before. Our ability to engage productively and peacefully with a stronger, more assertive China in the years and decades ahead will depend to a great extent on having a deeper, more layered understanding of the country, its leaders and its people. Ploughshares Fund’s support for international security reporting on *The World* is aimed at building exactly that kind of awareness and connection to the world beyond our borders. Over 2.1 million listeners hear *The World* each week on 195 public radio stations nationwide. “When I first started reporting in China, its image in the U.S. was still heavily colored by the 1989 Tiananmen massacre,” says Magistad. “Much of the

“...on the ground, one can see the internal strife, corruption and other problems that pose challenges to China’s continued growth.”

Chinese soldiers in the Forbidden City.

“One of the best ways to show these mega-shifts is through features that tell, engagingly, of individuals’ experiences.”



Reading a protest banner in Hong Kong.

focus inside the Beltway was on China’s human rights abuses, and on this being an oppressive, authoritarian state. The situation in the country then was actually much better than that. These days, the perception of China is of a great economic juggernaut sucking up the world’s resources and stealing U.S. jobs. But on the ground, one can see the internal strife, corruption and other problems that pose challenges to China’s continued growth.”

Magstad’s reporting demonstrates the challenges China faces in its bid to become a superpower. “One of the best ways to show these mega-shifts is through features that tell, engagingly, of individuals’ experiences. These are the stories people remember most – not what a government official said on a particular day, but a story about a Chinese village woman fighting to have her day in Communist Party-controlled courts to prosecute a corrupt local official. Such stories require getting off the beaten news track, thinking creatively, and having the time, understanding and compassion to do justice to the individual’s experience, as well as to the larger themes it represents.”



PHOTO: Jehangir Pocha

MARY KAY MAGISTAD

For nearly two decades Mary Kay Magistad has reported on war, poverty and social issues in Asia and Africa, from the aftermath of the genocide in Rwanda to the Six-Party Talks on North Korea's nuclear weapons program. In 1995 she opened National Public Radio's first Beijing bureau, and returned in 2003 as Northeast Asia correspondent for PRI's *The World*. Part of the challenge of reporting from a place like China is navigating the official restrictions on foreign correspondents, which are considerable. "According to the regulations on the books, we are not supposed to talk to anyone or go anywhere without prior permission from 'appropriate authorities.'" Correspondents discover fairly quickly, however, that the rules are flexible and negotiable and that "you do what

you have to do — within ethical bounds — to get your story." Magistad used her position last year as president of the Foreign Correspondents' Club of China to advocate for greater press freedom and to protest to the authorities when foreign journalists were mistreated, something that does occur from time to time. "Dealing with these kinds of hassles and hurdles is a small price to pay for having access to what I think is one of the most interesting stories in the world today...That's why I've chosen to live in and cover East Asia for most of the last fifteen years. It is the world's most dynamic region, and the changes that are happening here will have a massive impact on the United States and much of the rest of the world."



PHOTO: Kevin Meynell

Profile

Angela Foster with daughters Emily (left) and Zoe, granddaughter Sabine, and father-in-law George.

ANGELA FOSTER AND THE COWLES FUND

“Nuclear weapons and arms proliferation are precisely the wrong solutions to conflict,” says Ploughshares Fund board member Angela Foster. “If countries better understood the cultural roots of conflict, their leaders might find more productive solutions.”

Angela is building on the efforts of her late mother-in-law, Mary Le Cron Foster – Mickie to her friends – in advocating strongly and eloquently for initiatives that address the underlying causes of conflict and seek to prevent it, especially conflicts that could lead to the use of weapons of mass destruction. “Mickie and I came to understand the power of cultural differences in different ways – she as an anthropologist, and I through my own experiences. When I came from England to America many years ago I learned that even two English-speaking cultures do not always understand each other.”

In 1986, Mickie established the Cowles Fund at Ploughshares, named for her own mother’s family, a long line of newspaper publishers from the Midwest with strong social interests. She wanted to ensure that support for

the issues she cared so deeply about would continue after her death. Gifts from Angela and her husband Jeremy (Mickie’s son) and other family members go into the Cowles Fund, enabling Ploughshares to have money set aside each year to support the kinds of innovations in conflict prevention that were so important to the family. “Mickie would have loved the grant we made this year to the Muslim-Christian collaboration,” says Angela, who sits on the committee that recommends projects for Cowles funding, “and the work of the International Crisis Group.”

“Jeremy and I, like Mickie and George” – Mickie’s husband George Foster is also a noted anthropologist – “feel it is important to pass an appreciation of differences in culture on to our children and grandchildren. I will always cherish the image of our girls Emily and Zoe sitting on the floor in Tzintzuntzan, the Mexican village that was like home to their grandparents, learning to make tortillas, and gaining respect for a culture not our own. Misunderstandings and conflict stem from the fear of worlds we neither understand nor respect.”

Grants 2004-2005

20/20 VISION WASHINGTON, DC

Two grants to support an effort to organize and lead the peace and security community's collective online advocacy.
\$45,000

ACRONYM INSTITUTE LONDON, UK

For work with international diplomats, publication of papers and the journal *Disarmament Diplomacy*, and attendance at key international meetings to promote multilateralism, international security and non-proliferation.
\$70,000

ALLIANCE FOR NUCLEAR ACCOUNTABILITY SEATTLE, WA

To provide technical assistance and capacity building for grassroots organizations that undertake public education and advocacy campaigns addressing nuclear weapons programs and environmental clean-up at the nation's nuclear weapons facilities.
\$40,000

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE WASHINGTON, DC

For the travel expenses of two scientists – one from Jordan and one from United Arab Emirates – to attend the AAAS conference and speak on a panel addressing the status of science in the Arab world.
\$3,300

ANALYTICAL CENTER FOR NON-PROLIFERATION OBNINSK, RUSSIA

To support technical analyses of how to sustain the U.S.-Russia nuclear material, protection, control and accounting (MPC&A) program, and of the minimum requirements for creating nuclear explosive devices.
\$30,000

ARMS CONTROL ASSOCIATION WASHINGTON, DC

For media outreach, public education and policy advocacy, and for publication of the seminal journal *Arms Control Today*.
\$160,000

An emergency grant to support a special campaign aimed at strengthening the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty during the 2005 Review Conference.
\$30,000

For participation in the Arms Control Advocacy Collaborative.
\$5,000

ASPEN INSTITUTE WASHINGTON, DC

For the Aspen Strategy Group August retreat focused on nuclear non-proliferation issues.
\$8,000

BIOWEAPONS PREVENTION PROJECT GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

To support an international civil society monitoring network to track governmental compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) and to monitor developments in the field of biological sciences. The network now comprises over fifty organizations from more than a dozen nations, who together provide on-the-ground data for the first and only comprehensive online searchable database, the BioWeapons Monitor. Launched in 2005 with funding from Ploughshares, the database contains open-source information on international accords, relevant developments in specific regions or countries, compliance with the prohibitions of the BWC, and policies by governments to reinforce the norm against the weaponization of disease.
\$40,000

**BRITISH AMERICAN SECURITY
INFORMATION COUNCIL
LONDON, UK**

Two grants to support research, media outreach and policy advocacy in the U.S. and Europe on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, biological weapons control and European security.
\$165,000

For a collaborative effort among five British organizations to raise public and policymaker awareness regarding the United Kingdom's pending decision about whether to replace its Trident nuclear weapons system.
\$80,000

For participation in the Arms Control Advocacy Collaborative.
\$5,000

**BULLETIN OF THE
ATOMIC SCIENTISTS
CHICAGO, IL**

A six-month grant for publication of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, operation of the *Bulletin* website, outreach to the media and marketing of the *Bulletin's* comprehensive digital archive.
\$50,000

**CALIFORNIA PEACE ACTION
BERKELEY, CA**

For public education, grassroots organizing, media outreach and lobbying to promote an overall foreign and security policy framework based on democracy and human rights, nuclear disarmament and international cooperation.
\$35,000

**CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR
INTERNATIONAL PEACE
WASHINGTON, DC**

To promote a new nuclear non-proliferation strategy based on the recommendations in the Universal Compliance report, to convene the International Non-Proliferation Conference in Washington, DC and to educate diverse policy, expert and media audiences.
\$50,000

**CENTER FOR ARMS CONTROL AND
NON-PROLIFERATION
WASHINGTON, DC**

To educate members of Congress on the threats posed by nuclear, biological and chemical weapons; track the legislative process on these issues; and provide regular bulletins and analyses to the peace and security community.
\$70,000

For participation in the Arms Control Advocacy Collaborative.
\$5,000

**CENTER FOR DEFENSE INFORMATION
WASHINGTON, DC**

A two-year grant to support a range of media products on international security issues, including a new television broadcast "Foreign Exchange with Fareed Zakaria" and regular reports disseminated in Farsi, Chinese, Arabic and Russian.
\$100,000

For participation in the Arms Control Advocacy Collaborative.
\$5,000

**CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY AND COOPERATION
STANFORD, CA**

For a series of meetings between U.S. experts, officials from North Korea, China and other governments involved in efforts to solve the North Korean nuclear crisis.
\$50,000

Ploughshares Fund board members David Holloway and Philip Yun were affiliated with Stanford University at the time this grant was made. Please see Conflict of Interest Policy, page 34.

**CENTER FOR RESPONSIBLE
TECHNOLOGY
WASHINGTON, DC**

A two-year grant to support the travel and meeting expenses for Barbara Rosenberg, chair of the Scientists Working Group on Biological and Chemical Weapons, and her efforts to strengthen the norm against biological weapons.
\$40,000

**CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
WASHINGTON, DC**

For policy development, travel and meetings with high-level Russian, European, American and Iranian officials and experts to build international support for cooperative means of dissuading Iran from pursuing a nuclear weapons capability.
\$45,803

**CENTRE FOR INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT
BANGALORE, INDIA**

To support an independent economic analysis of India's plans for construction and operation of plutonium-based nuclear reactors, and for outreach to the media and policymakers to build opposition to India's plans to establish a large-scale plutonium-based energy system.
\$25,000

**CHURCHES' CENTER FOR THEOLOGY AND PUBLIC POLICY
WASHINGTON, DC**

Two grants to support an interfaith initiative to engage religious leaders and their congregants in study and action on nuclear weapons concerns, with a particular emphasis on outreach to the Muslim community, including a consultation between Muslims and Christians to discuss what their religious traditions can contribute to the question of the nuclear danger.
\$65,000

**CITIZENS FOR GLOBAL SOLUTIONS
WASHINGTON, DC**

For the Partnership for Effective Peacekeeping, comprising security and humanitarian organizations that are working to promote public policies for strengthening UN and multilateral peace operations.
\$10,000

**COALITION FOR PEACE ACTION
PRINCETON, NJ**

To expand public outreach and organizing via the Internet; lobby elected officials on nuclear, chemical and biological weapons issues; and serve as a regional resource for other Peace Action affiliates in the Mid-Atlantic.
\$30,000

**THE CONSTITUTION PROJECT
WASHINGTON, DC**

For the War Powers Initiative, an analysis of the constitutional role of the legislative and executive branches in authorizing the use of American military force. The question of whether Congress fulfilled its constitutional duty in the lead-up to recent wars, and its role in future situations were examined by a bipartisan blue-ribbon panel of constitutional, legislative and national security experts chaired by former Congressmen Mickey Edwards (R-OK) and David Skaggs (D-CO). The panel's report concludes that Congress must resume its constitutional duty to authorize the use of force by the declaration of war or a specific statute or appropriation, and must conduct continuing oversight of the use of force. Ploughshares Fund's grant supported a public outreach campaign to disseminate the report and its recommendations on Capitol Hill.
\$30,000*

**CONCERNED CITIZENS FOR NUCLEAR SAFETY
SANTA FE, NM**

For the screening of the documentary film *Stealing the Fire* in Hobbs, NM.
\$2,500

**COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, DC**

For a technical assessment to rank potential nuclear proliferation threats and recommend policies to mitigate and eliminate these risks.
\$30,000

**ECODEFENSE!
MOSCOW, RUSSIA**

To support citizen campaigns aimed at preventing the import and reprocessing of spent nuclear fuel and the utilization of mixed-oxide (MOX) fuel in civilian energy production in Russia.
\$25,000

**EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY/
METROPOLITAN NEW YORK
NEW YORK, NY**

To support the continued development and expansion of nuclear weapons curricula in New York City schools, outreach to teachers and leadership training for high school students.
\$15,000

**EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY/NATIONAL
CAMBRIDGE, MA**

For the development of online teaching resources on a range of issues related to conflict resolution, international security and violence prevention.
\$15,000

* A grant from the Cowles Fund

**FEDERATION OF
AMERICAN SCIENTISTS
WASHINGTON, DC**

For the Strategic Security Project, which produces and disseminates scientific and technical analyses on a range of issues from nuclear and space weapons to conventional weapons trade and intelligence.
\$100,000

For participation in the Arms Control Advocacy Collaborative.
\$5,000

**SERGIO FINARDI
CHICAGO, IL**

For the expansion and implementation of an electronic database of transport and logistics services companies that engage in arms trade, defense logistics and arms trafficking.
\$40,000

**FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON
NATIONAL LEGISLATION
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support a full-time lobbyist on nuclear weapons programs and policies.
\$50,000

For participation in the Arms Control Advocacy Collaborative.
\$5,000

**GLOBAL GREEN USA
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support public education, media outreach and policy advocacy to ensure that funding and governmental support for the chemical weapons destruction component of the U.S. Cooperative Threat Reduction program is continued.
\$30,000

**INSTITUTE FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support independent scientific, technical and policy assessments aimed at strengthening the nuclear non-proliferation regime and reducing the dangers posed by nuclear weapons and terrorism. ISIS and its president, physicist David Albright, have been at the forefront of efforts to refute misleading information about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, to generate credible analyses of nuclear developments in Iran and North Korea and to investigate the impact of Pakistan's A. Q. Khan network. A second grant enabled ISIS to conduct a technical workshop in Germany to educate North Koreans about the practical implications of dismantling their nuclear enterprise.
\$90,000

**GLOBAL SECURITY INSTITUTE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA**

For an international meeting at the Carter Center in Atlanta, GA, to discuss common themes and strategies for the 2005 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference.
\$5,000

**JAMES E. GOODBY
WASHINGTON, DC**

For the development and dissemination of an analysis of the role of nuclear weapons in U.S. defense policy.
\$3,127

**GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY
PROJECT
WASHINGTON, DC**

To defend whistleblowers at Department of Energy facilities and headquarters, scrutinize activities at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation and perform independent scientific investigations.
\$30,000

**GREEN ACTION
KYOTO, JAPAN**

Two grants for a grassroots campaign to oppose Japan's plans to implement plutonium-based power generation plants that involve fast-breeder reactors, reprocessing operations and the use of mixed-oxide (MOX) fuel.
\$32,000

**HEAL UTAH
SALT LAKE CITY, UT**

Two grants to support the Downwinders Opposed to Nuclear Testing (DONT) campaign, consisting of public education, targeted media outreach and advocacy, aimed at Utah's congressional delegation on the issues of new nuclear weapons and renewed testing.
\$26,500

**HEART OF AMERICA NORTHWEST
RESEARCH CENTER
SEATTLE, WA**

For legal defense of Initiative 297, a voter-approved measure to prevent further dumping of nuclear waste at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation, and to promote the initiative's implementation.
\$40,000

**HERBERT SCOVILLE JR.
PEACE FELLOWSHIP
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support fellowships enabling two recent college graduates to work full time in one of twenty-three leading peace and security organizations based in Washington, DC.
\$50,000

**INSTITUTE FOR ENERGY AND
ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH
TAKOMA PARK, MD**

To support technical assistance and training for grassroots organizations and continued outreach to the media and policymakers to advocate for nuclear restraint and comprehensive clean-up programs.
\$50,000

**INSTITUTE OF PEACE
AND CONFLICT STUDIES
NEW DELHI, INDIA**

For website expansion, dissemination of publications, outreach to experts and policymakers, and an internship program focused on security issues in South Asia.
\$35,000

**INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP
LONDON, UK**

For outreach to the U.S. government, Congress, U.S.-based international organizations and the media aimed at drawing attention to emerging violent conflicts around the world and advocating appropriate prevention and resolution measures.
\$50,000 *

**WAYNE THOMAS JAQUITH
STURBRIDGE, MA**

For the Peace and Security Funders Group, a forum to increase communication and cooperation between and among the foundations making grants in the peace and security field, and to encourage new funders to participate. Supported by contributions from participating foundations, Ploughshares Fund provides fiscal and administrative oversight of the project.
\$127,880

**JUNGMIN KANG
SEOUL, REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

A two-year grant for technical research, media outreach and networking with other non-governmental organizations on regional non-proliferation issues.
\$25,000

**KENTUCKY ENVIRONMENTAL
FOUNDATION
BEREA, KY**

An emergency grant to the Chemical Weapons Working Group to advocate full funding of the chemical weapons destruction program in the U.S., and to block a proposal to transport stocks of weapons from site to site.
\$15,000

**KRASNOYARSK REGIONAL
ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT
KRASNOYARSK, RUSSIA**

For expansion of the NuclearNo.com website, a trusted source of information on nuclear weapons and waste for the Russian non-governmental community and the international media.
\$10,000

**HANS M. KRISTENSEN
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support ongoing research and analysis of U.S. nuclear weapons policy and planning, using Freedom of Information Act requests to obtain relevant documents and records.
\$35,000

**MAINSTREAM MEDIA PROJECT
ARCATA, CA**

For an earned media strategy to provide the peace and security community a consistent presence in the broadcast media by placing expert spokespeople on commercial and public talk radio programs, and to produce and distribute two hour-long radio programs.
\$45,000

**MONTEREY INSTITUTE
OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
MONTEREY, CA**

To support activities aimed at shaping positive outcomes at the 2005 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference, including an international diplomatic workshop in Annecy, France, publication and dissemination of a briefing book and policy papers and active participation at the Review Conference.
\$45,000

* A grant from the Cowles Fund

For technical assessments and policy recommendations, and outreach to members of Congress and UN diplomats regarding the threats of space weaponization, and to promote a strategy of cooperative engagement in space.
\$40,000

To assess the emerging threats of cruise missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV), and to promote changes to existing international agreements to strengthen controls on missile and UAV technology and trade.
\$35,000

**MOVEMENT FOR NUCLEAR SAFETY
CHELYABINSK, RUSSIA**

To support public education and grassroots advocacy on nuclear safety, health and security issues.
\$10,000

**NATION INSTITUTE
NEW YORK, NY**

A two-year grant to support Jonathan Schell's writing and speaking on nuclear weapons and proliferation issues as a Nation Institute Peace Fellow.
\$30,000

**NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support an Indian-Pakistani science dialogue designed to open lines of communication between high-level policymakers and opinion leaders.
\$35,000

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
NEW YORK, NY**

For a Track-II meeting in New York City of U.S., South Korean, North Korean and Chinese officials and other experts to explore options for moving forward on the Six-Party Talks and North Korean denuclearization.
\$7,000

**NATURAL RESOURCES
DEFENSE COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support continued technical, legal and policy challenges to U.S. nuclear policy pronouncements and the environmental legacy of nuclear weapons production.
\$50,000

For participation in the Arms Control Advocacy Collaborative.
\$5,000

Ploughshares Fund board member Patricia Sullivan is the deputy director of this organization. Please see Conflict of Interest Policy, page 34.

**NAUTILUS INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY
AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
BERKELEY, CA**

To help defuse the North Korean nuclear standoff through analysis and advocacy, and to promote peace and security on the Korean Peninsula.
\$50,000

**ABDUL HAMEED NAYYAR
ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN**

To support an independent Pakistani physicist conducting research, analysis and public education on Pakistan's nuclear weapons and energy programs.
\$10,000

**NEW MEXICO
COMMUNITY FOUNDATION
SANTA FE, NM**

For New Mexico SEES (Sustainable Energy and Effective Stewardship), a coalition of organizations working to strengthen environmental regulations related to nuclear weapons programs in New Mexico, to educate New Mexicans about national nuclear weapons policy and to build stronger relationships with policymakers.
\$65,000

**NONVIOLENT PEACEFORCE
MINNEAPOLIS, MN**

For the recruitment, training and deployment of volunteers for a new Nonviolent Peaceforce team in Sri Lanka, and for field research to identify a second deployment site.
\$25,000 *

**NUCLEAR POLICY
RESEARCH INSTITUTE
WASHINGTON, DC**

For a conference of experts and practitioners to explore the impact and significance of U.S. military presence in space.
\$10,000

**NUCLEAR WATCH OF NEW MEXICO
SANTA FE, NM**

To support research, analysis and advocacy related to nuclear and biological programs at the Los Alamos and Sandia National Laboratories.
\$40,000

**PEACE AND SECURITY INITIATIVE
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support a nationwide collaboration by hundreds of advocacy organizations, grassroots groups, think tanks and foundations dedicated to increasing the peace and security community's collective impact on U.S. government policy and assuring its sustainability. Launched by the Ploughshares Fund two years ago (with additional funding from the Ford Foundation and the Connect US Fund), PSI has helped members build capacity in communications, technology and fundraising, and has facilitated strategic conversations about how best to move forward collaboratively on the community's selected priority issues, which include preventing the development of new nuclear weapons by the U.S., locking down and safeguarding bomb-making materials worldwide and phasing out the U.S. military role in Iraq. \$104,082

**PACIFIC FORUM CSIS
HONOLULU, HI**

For the participation by North Korean representatives in Pacific Forum meetings over the next year, with the goal of engaging in constructive dialogue to resolve the U.S.-DPRK standoff. \$20,000

**PEACE ACTION
SILVER SPRING, MD**

For continued efforts to build a broad grassroots constituency committed to peace and security issues through a membership recruitment and development campaign utilizing direct mail, internet outreach and a door-to-door canvass. \$35,000

**PHYSICIANS FOR
SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
WASHINGTON, DC**

For efforts to engage the medical community in opposing dangerous nuclear policies and to promote an alternative vision of co-operative global security based on a "SMART" (Sensible, Multilateral American Response to Terrorism) security campaign. \$100,000

For the annual Peace and Security Legislative Strategy Retreat. \$6,850

For participation in the Arms Control Advocacy Collaborative. \$5,000

An emergency grant for the production and airing of radio ads in markets in Utah to urge Senator Bob Bennett (R) to oppose new nuclear weapons and renewed nuclear testing. \$1,000

**PHYSICIANS FOR SOCIAL
RESPONSIBILITY/LOS ANGELES
LOS ANGELES, CA**

For public education and political organizing aimed at changing U.S. nuclear policy and building a culture of awareness of security issues in Los Angeles. \$25,000

**PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL OF PUBLIC
AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
PRINCETON, NJ**

To support research, technical analyses and development of policy proposals by a Pakistani physicist based at Princeton University and two summer fellows. \$50,000

**PROJECT ON
GOVERNMENT OVERSIGHT
WASHINGTON, DC**

For the Nuclear Terrorism Prevention Project, which provides non-governmental oversight and investigations into security management at military and civilian nuclear facilities in the U.S. \$40,000

**PUBLIC EDUCATION CENTER
WASHINGTON, DC**

For investigative reporting on weapons of mass destruction, proliferation, missiles and conventional weapons issues. \$40,000

**PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW
AND POLICY GROUP
ARLINGTON, VA**

For a fellows program to provide pro bono legal counsel to states during peace negotiations, including the drafting of constitutions and other efforts to promote the application of international law as an alternative to violence. \$25,000 *

* A grant from the Cowles Fund

**PUBLIC RADIO INTERNATIONAL
MINNEAPOLIS, MN**

For coverage of international security on *The World*, and to expand its market.

\$45,000

**PUGWASH CONFERENCES ON
SCIENCE AND WORLD AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, DC**

For a series of workshops with policymakers and scientists in Iran, Iraq and Syria on a range of security issues, including the role of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons in the Middle East.

\$40,000

**REFUGEES INTERNATIONAL
WASHINGTON, DC**

For the Partnership for Effective Peacekeeping, comprising security and humanitarian organizations working to promote public policy solutions to strengthen UN and multilateral peace operations.

\$40,000 *

**RUSSIAN AMERICAN NUCLEAR
SECURITY ADVISORY COUNCIL
PHILADELPHIA, PA**

To promote and strengthen U.S.-Russian cooperative threat reduction initiatives on nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, and to expand threat reduction programs beyond Russia and the former Soviet Union.

\$75,000

**SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND
WASHINGTON, DC**

For efforts to build understanding and mutual respect between Iran and the U.S. through Track-II meetings and exchanges, including a series of meetings for nuclear physicists and other specialists from the U.S., Europe, Ukraine, Russia and Iran, and to establish a new office in Tehran.

\$40,000

**SHEN DINGLI
SHANGHAI, CHINA**

To support independent research and writing as well as travel and coordination of international conferences addressing nuclear non-proliferation and arms control.

\$25,000

**LEON SIGAL
NEW YORK, NY**

For public education and communication among policymakers from Japan and other parties to the multilateral discussions on North Korea to devise cooperative solutions for defusing the nuclear crisis and preventing armed conflict in the region.

\$35,000

**SNAKE RIVER ALLIANCE
POCATELLO, ID**

To ensure appropriate management of nuclear waste at the Idaho National Engineering and Environmental Lab and to halt any programs that seek to reprocess nuclear fuels.

\$25,000

**SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL UNION
MOSCOW, RUSSIA**

For public education, outreach to policymakers and the media, and to provide support for non-governmental efforts on nuclear safety and non-proliferation issues.

\$20,000

**SOUTHWEST RESEARCH
AND INFORMATION CENTER
ALBUQUERQUE, NM**

For a lobbyist to lead the legislative efforts of New Mexico SEES (Sustainable Energy and Effective Stewardship) in the state legislature.

\$15,000

**HENRY L. STIMSON CENTER
WASHINGTON, DC**

For research, publications and advocacy to preserve space as a weapon-free sanctuary, including promotion on Capitol Hill of a "Code of Conduct" for space.

\$40,000

**POLARIS INSTITUTE
OTTAWA, CANADA**

Emergency funding for a short-term public and parliamentary education campaign opposing the potential partnership between Canada and the U.S. in the ballistic missile defense program. The campaign capitalized on declining public support for missile defenses and strong resistance in Canada to the weaponization of space. Soon after the launch of the campaign, Canada announced that it was opting out of any formal or financial partnership with the U.S. missile defense program.

\$12,000

To support the Future of Peace Operations project aimed at promoting stronger UN and international peace-keeping capacity, including improving U.S. policy toward the UN and regional peace operations.
\$40,000*

To support Security for a New Century, an ongoing series of bipartisan congressional briefings and discussions on a range of security issues.
\$30,000

To support a new program to increase congressional support and understanding of cooperative threat reduction (CTR) programs, with a particular focus on engaging companies and individual scientists who have worked on CTR programs as contractors.
\$30,000

**TAXPAYERS FOR COMMON SENSE
WASHINGTON, DC**

To monitor, analyze and advocate changes to federal funding for nuclear weapons programs and space weapons proposals, specifically targeting the Energy and Water and Defense Appropriations processes.
\$25,000

**TRI-VALLEY CARES
LIVERMORE, CA**

To support research, community organizing and monitoring of nuclear weapons programs at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory.
\$35,000

**WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY
LEXINGTON, VA**

For the third annual Non-Proliferation Summer Institute, a week-long conference bringing university professors from a range of academic disciplines together with leading experts in the field of non-proliferation, with the goal of developing curricula on these issues to teach at their home universities. Supported solely by Ploughshares Fund in its first two years, the institute has thus far trained over fifty faculty members from colleges nationwide, and has enabled instruction about nuclear, biological and chemical weapons to be incorporated into courses in the sciences, social sciences and humanities.
\$25,000

For a joint project with Nuclear Watch New Mexico to oppose biological research centers at the Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory.
\$7,500

**UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS
CAMBRIDGE, MA**

A two-year grant to support the 17th and 18th international summer workshops for public interest scientists working on policy-oriented international security and arms control issues.
\$75,000

For technical research and analysis of U.S. nuclear weapons policy, space weapons, nuclear terrorism and missile defense.
\$70,000

For participation in the Arms Control Advocacy Collaborative.
\$5,000

**UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION
OF THE USA
NEW YORK, NY**

To support a Track-II process with Iranians to identify common areas of interest and to develop recommendations for governments on global security matters.
\$40,000

**VETERANS FOR COMMON SENSE
WASHINGTON, DC**

For a new organization to bring the voices of war veterans into the debates on national security issues.
\$5,000

**WASHINGTON PHYSICIANS
FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
SEATTLE, WA**

To support organizing and outreach efforts to create a statewide leadership network among health professionals to promote SMART (Sensible, Multilateral American Response to Terrorism) security and cleanup of the Hanford Nuclear Reservation.
\$25,000

* A grant from the Cowles Fund

**WATSON INSTITUTE FOR
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY
PROVIDENCE, RI**

A two-year grant for the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, professional development programs for high school teachers and the promotion of this material on the Internet.

\$87,610 *

**WOMEN'S ACTION FOR
NEW DIRECTIONS
ARLINGTON, MA**

For the Women Legislators' Lobby, a national network of current and former women state legislators who seek to influence national policies on military spending, nuclear weapons and homeland security.

\$50,000

For participation in the Arms Control Advocacy Collaborative.

\$5,000

**WORLD POLICY INSTITUTE
NEW YORK, NY**

For publications and media outreach on U.S. military policy, as part of a larger effort to reframe the national debate on preventing terrorism and proliferation of deadly weapons.

\$40,000

Conflict of Interest Policy

Because Ploughshares Fund is a public foundation, dependent upon the contributions and involvement of members of the public, we have an especially deep commitment to ethical behavior and transparency in our work. The board and staff of the Ploughshares Fund are encouraged to play active roles in their communities as board members or in other capacities, which may lead, from time to time, to potential conflicts of interest or the appearance of such. It is our policy to acknowledge such conflicts openly and appropriately. Conflicting involvements include but are not limited to: Ploughshares Fund board, staff or immediate family members of board or staff members serving on the boards of applicant organizations, or doing business with or being employed by applicant organizations. In cases of such conflicts or the appearance thereof, Ploughshares Fund board members and staff are expected to disclose the conflict prior to making any grant-related decisions. Once such a disclosure has been made, the remaining board members will determine whether or not there is a potential conflict of interest. Should it be so considered, the board member involved shall abstain from voting or participating in the discussion of the applicant organization other than to answer specific questions that may be raised by other board members. In cases where Ploughshares Fund's Board of Directors decides to award a grant to an organization and one or more of Ploughshares Fund's board members has abstained from voting as the result of a conflict or the appearance thereof or a staff member has a conflict or the appearance thereof, such circumstances shall be identified in Ploughshares Fund's Annual Report.



PHOTO: Steve Fisch

Geoff, Annie, Anson and Jean.

JEAN FRASER & GEOFF GORDON-CREED

“As a parent, I worry about what kind of world my kids will grow up in,” says Jean Fraser. “The older I get, the more concerned I become that U.S. policies are sowing the seeds of hatred and terrorism.” She and her husband, attorney Geoff Gordon-Creed, have supported Ploughshares since 1995 because, as Jean says, “it’s the organization we think does the best job of taking risks and focusing on results.” Jean first learned about Ploughshares from her father Don Fraser, former Mayor of Minneapolis and an eight-term member of Congress, who served on Ploughshares Fund’s board. “I can’t remember a time when I wasn’t concerned about these issues. With both my parents in politics, these are the kinds of things we discussed around the dinner table.” An attorney herself, Jean is CEO of San Francisco Health Plan, an innovative

community health plan that serves low and moderate-income families in San Francisco. “It is outrageous that in a country as wealthy as the U.S. people have to decide between paying rent and going to the doctor,” she says. “In my daily work I try to make the world better and improve people’s lives, but to be very blunt, if there were a terrorist attack it would all be irrelevant.” It’s a perspective that she thinks too few of her peers share. “What I worry about most is that so many people of my age have lost sight of the urgency of these issues. Older people know what it’s like to live without the nuclear threat, and are motivated to eliminate it. A lot of eighteen-year-olds are concerned about globalization. But those of us in the middle have to be thinking long-term about the responsibility we have to make the world safer.”

Nuclear-Free Legacy Society

For most of us, the goal of a nuclear weapons-free future will not be realized during our lifetimes, but we are no less determined to build a safer, more secure world for our children and future generations. Ploughshares Fund's Nuclear-Free Legacy Society honors individuals who have made a commitment to building a world free of nuclear weapons by including the Ploughshares Fund in their estate plans. Ploughshares Fund acknowledges and thanks the following members for their vision and generosity:

Eddie Allen	Elaine and Joe Gutstadt	Lynda Palevsky
Helene F. Belz	Roger L. Hale and Eleanor Hall	Merrill and Charlotte Palmer
I. Inka Benton	Julie and Parker Hall	Suzanne Platoff
Julia Bloomfield	Frances K. Harris	Abraham and Camille Pollack
James B. Blume and Kathryn W. Frank	Lois Crozier Hogle	Jean S. Prokopow
Richard Bradus, M.D.	David and Arlene Holloway	Edward Rawson
Agnes C. F. Brody	Jacques F. Jacobson	Robert Rubinstein and Sandra Lane
Mimi and Dick Brukenfeld	Wayne T. Jaquith	Mr. and Mrs. James G. Sherwood
Sheana and Lewis Butler	Collier C. Kimball	Rosalind Singer
Owen Chamberlain	Peter Kohnke	Margaret R. Spanel
Marguerite Craig	Ann L. Krumboltz	Mary B. Strauss
Audrey Dreyfus	Jane Langley	Patricia Sullivan
Martin and Lucie Dreyfuss	Thomas C. Layton and Gyongy Laky	Charlotte L. Taylor
Joan and Peter Eilbott	Jeffrey R. Leifer	Marilyn L. Thomas
Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Estrin	Sally Lilienthal	George R. Thornton
Curtis and Veronica Fields	Alastair Mactaggart	Martha O. Vinick
Angela and Jeremy Foster	Strother B. Marshall, M.D.	Brooks Walker III
George Foster	David and Sandra Matteson	Mary P. Wells
Jean Fraser and Geoffrey R. Gordon-Creed	Carole L. Mendelsohn	Edith B. Wilkie
Barbara S. Green	Mr. and Mrs. William R. Miller	Philip Yun

There are many ways to integrate gifts to the Ploughshares Fund into your personal financial plans, such as including Ploughshares in your will, investing in our Pooled Income Fund or a Charitable Gift Annuity, or setting up an individual charitable trust. If you would like more information about these opportunities, Ploughshares Fund's planned giving advisor is available to help you explore various options, at no cost to you and in complete confidence. Please contact Coretta Anderson, development associate, at Ploughshares Fund for more information.

The Lew Butler Fund for Innovation

In 2005 Ploughshares Fund honored its founding board chair Lewis Butler upon his retirement with the establishment of the Lew Butler Fund for Innovation, a special fund within our endowment that will generate income to support new ideas and initiatives for building a safer and more secure world for future generations. The following individuals contributed over \$300,000 to launch the fund and to thank Lew for more than two decades of leadership and wisdom.

Deborah Bain	Roger L. Hale and Eleanor L. Hall	Joan and William Matson Roth
James B. Blume and Kathryn W. Frank	David and Arlene Holloway	Robert Rubinstein and Sandra Lane
Naila Bolus	Catharine Kalin	Joel and Albert Schreck
Terry Gamble Boyer and Peter Boyer	Ryland and Shirley Kelley	Serra Butler Simbeck and Mauricio Simbeck
George Bunn	Pamela and Marty Krasney	Patricia Sullivan
Lewis Butler, Jr. and Catherine Armsden	Thomas C. Layton and Gyongy Laky	Barry and Marjorie Traub
Lucy Butler	Deborah Leff	Mr. and Mrs. Brooks Walker, Jr.
Sheana Butler	Sally Lilienthal	Brooks Walker III
Paul Carroll	Alastair Mactaggart	Mary Wohlford Foundation
Peggy and Reid Dennis	Nan T. McEvoy	Edith B. Wilkie
Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Estrin	Lynda Palevsky	Philip and Melissa Yun
Angela and Jeremy Foster	Michael and Ann Parker	

The Ploughshares Fund Endowment: Sustainable Giving

Ploughshares Fund addresses grave challenges through grantmaking, lobbying and through consultative leadership in the peace and security field. Because current opportunities for effective action and impact outpace Ploughshares’ capacity, there is an urgent need to increase the funds available for grantmaking, both immediately and in the long term. The Ploughshares Fund Endowment is a lasting, sustainable answer to this need, providing enduring support for efforts to build a safer world — a need that clearly will not diminish in the future.

ENDOWMENT GROWTH AND MANAGEMENT

Over the years Ploughshares Fund has received bequests and endowment gifts that have allowed us to build an endowment to provide a steady income stream. Thanks to the generosity of many donors, large and small, the endowment is currently valued at more than \$26 million.

PLOUGHSHARES ENDOWMENT FUND

Year	Market Value
2002	\$ 10,621,358
2003	22,889,625
2004	25,443,993
2005	26,614,050

The Endowment Committee of the Board of Directors oversees the Ploughshares Fund Endowment, which is invested in a diversified portfolio with clear objectives, using active investment managers.

NAMED FUNDS

The Ploughshares Fund Endowment includes special funds established by gifts in honor of families and individuals. The **Cowles Fund**, initiated in 1986 by the late Mary LeCron Foster, an anthropologist and early member of the Ploughshares Fund Board of Directors, supports efforts to address the underlying social causes of conflict. The **Lew Butler Fund for Innovation**, inaugurated in 2005, honors Ploughshares’ founding board chair Lewis Butler by ensuring the availability of resources to support creative initiatives for building lasting peace and security.

PLANNED GIFTS FOR THE ENDOWMENT

A planned gift is an easy way to perpetuate your support for a cause you believe in – the Ploughshares Fund – beyond your lifetime. Planned gifts may take a variety of forms in keeping with your personal financial and philanthropic objectives. We encourage you to designate planned gifts for the Ploughshares Fund Endowment. As a matter of fiscal responsibility, the Ploughshares Fund board has directed undesignated bequests between \$100,000 and \$2,000,000 to be apportioned 80% to endowment, 20% to annual grantmaking; undesignated bequests above \$2 million are allocated 100% to endowment.

Ploughshares Fund gratefully acknowledges the legacy of donors whose contributions to the endowment fund will sustain our efforts for generations to come. To make an endowment gift or to inquire about establishing a named fund within the endowment, please contact Dick Bunce, deputy director.

Ploughshares Council

The Ploughshares Council provides leadership and sustained support for efforts to prevent the spread and use of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, and to promote global solutions to international security threats. Members of the Ploughshares Council are individuals and foundations that have made a significant financial commitment – at least \$1,000 annually – to building a safer, more peaceful world through their support of the Ploughshares Fund. They have access to up-to-the-minute information about the latest developments in the field, and are invited to participate in high-level discussions with policymakers, activists and thinkers, discussions that help guide the work of the Ploughshares Fund.

COUNCIL AMBASSADORS

Gifts of \$100,000 and over

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Brico Fund, Inc.
Michael Douglas
Ford Foundation
Steven and Michele Kirsch Foundation
Anonymous (2)

Gifts of \$25,000 – \$99,999

Edward T. Cone Foundation
Connect US Fund of the Tides Foundation
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Rehael Fund — Roger L. Hale/
Eleanor L. Hall Fund of the
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Gifts of \$10,000 – \$24,999

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Terry Gamble Boyer and Peter Boyer
Anthony and Gay Browne
Susie Thompkins Buell Fund of the Marin Community Foundation
Lewis and Sheana Butler
Cogan Family Foundation
Quinn Delaney and Wayne Jordan
Peggy and Reid Dennis

Denny Fund of the Minneapolis Foundation
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Underdog Fund of the Tides Foundation
Mary P. Wells
Mary Wohlford Foundation
Peggy and Lee Zeigler
Anonymous (2)

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(annual gifts of \$5,000 – \$9,999)

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Marcia Angle and Mark Trustin Fund of the Triangle Community Foundation
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C. Minor Barringer
Barbara Bauer
Virginia Blackledge
Elspeth G. Bobbs
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Lucy Butler
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Mrs. Julia Dayton
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Phyllis Diebenkorn
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 Christopher Stack, M.D.
 Lucy B. Stroock
 Theodore von der Ahe, Jr. Trust
 Alba Witkin
 Tone and Bob Woodhouse
 Anonymous (7)

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(annual gifts of \$1,000 - \$4,999)

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 Claudio Llanos
 Pat and Ronald D. Adler
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 Sandra and Ethan Alyea
 Angelina Fund

Kristin Anundsen
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 Barbara and Bob Bachner
 Hank Bannister Fund
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 In Honor of Allan H. Gasner
 John Hirschi Donor Advised
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K. Martin Stevenson
Lee and Byron Stookey
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Edith B. Wilkie
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Marjorie Wright
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Anonymous (11)

BEQUESTS

Avery J. Beer Living Trust
Terry M. Ehrich
Estate of Jane de Rochemont
McCay Living Trust
John Randolph Trust
Chicago Community Trust in
Memory of Marion M. Lloyd

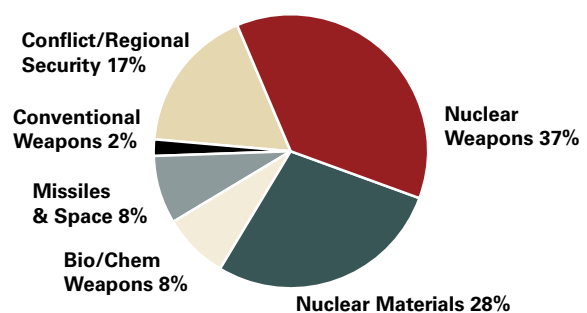
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Scherman Foundation, Inc.
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United Nations Foundation
Anonymous (1)

Financial Highlights for Fiscal Year 2004-05

- Ploughshares Fund awarded over \$4 million to organizations and individuals in nine countries working to prevent the use of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and to prevent armed conflict.
- Ploughshares Fund is now among the five largest foundations in the country making grants in the peace and security field.
- As has been our policy since Ploughshares was founded twenty-four years ago, every dollar contributed by individuals, exclusive of bequests and other planned gifts, goes directly to the programs we fund, with nothing subtracted for fundraising or administrative expenses. Those costs are paid by gifts from our Board of Directors and a draw from our endowment.
- A draw of \$1.1 million was transferred from the endowment this year to fund current grantmaking and administration, in accordance with endowment management policies overseen by Ploughshares' Endowment Committee.
- This year, Ploughshares Fund received a three-year grant of \$2,250,000 from the Ford Foundation to support grantmaking for nuclear weapons policy, the Peace and Security Initiative and capacity building. Accounting rules require that the full amount be reported in the year in which it was awarded, even though only a portion of the funds was available this year. (See footnote 2.)

PLOUGHSHARES GRANTS



- Of the \$28,560,330 in total net assets reported at the end of the year, over \$26 million is in our Endowment Fund, which was established to provide stable and predictable funds for annual as well as long-term needs. (See page 37 for more information about the Ploughshares Fund Endowment.)
- Ploughshares Fund is a lean and efficiently-run organization that works to keep administrative and fundraising expenses low and to allocate as much money as possible to programs aimed at building a safer, more peaceful world. This year we spent approximately 82% of our budget on grantmaking and program-related expenses, well under the standards set by the National Charities Information Bureau/Better Business Bureau and Charity Navigator, both of which have given Ploughshares Fund superior ratings over the last five years.

Financial Report¹

July 1, 2004 - June 30, 2005

SUPPORT AND REVENUE	2005	2004
Contributions ²	3,913,586	3,821,089
Interest and short term investment return	-3,591	9,882
Investment return designated for current operations	888,900	936,163
TOTAL SUPPORT AND REVENUE	4,798,895	4,767,134
EXPENSES		
Program Services		
Grants from Ploughshares Fund	2,707,502	2,613,521
Grants from Cowles Fund	175,000	185,000
Special Projects	1,398,914	1,143,360
Program support	347,780	380,857
Supporting Services ³		
General administration	264,408	241,712
Development	318,812	395,157
TOTAL EXPENSES	5,212,416	4,959,607
CHANGE IN NET ASSETS FROM OPERATING ACTIVITIES	-413,521	-192,473
Contributions for long-term investment	491,731	160,078
Change in value of split-interest agreements	11,905	11,014
Contributions received for long-term grantmaking and operations	1,146,765	
Long term investment return less amounts designated for current operations	1,290,582	2,551,629
CHANGE IN NET ASSETS	2,527,462	2,530,248
NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR	26,032,868	23,502,620
NET ASSETS, END OF YEAR	28,560,330	26,032,868

¹ A completed audited financial report is available upon request.

² Contributions to programs and administration.

³ All administrative and fundraising expenses are covered by contributions from Ploughshares Fund's Board of Directors, an annual endowment draw and allocations from a few foundations.

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

For fiscal year ended June 30, 2005

ASSETS ¹	2005	2004
Cash and cash equivalents	572,698	675,406
Promises to give, net	1,639,151	279,945
Interest receivable	55,107	66,103
Investments	27,296,967	26,022,145
Note from related party	161,889	161,889
Fixed assets (less accumulated depreciation and amortization)	13,980	10,149
TOTAL ASSETS	29,739,792	27,215,637
LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS		
LIABILITIES		
Accounts payable	58,301	73,183
Grants payable	1,005,312	1,030,032
Deferred revenue	115,849	79,554
TOTAL LIABILITIES	1,179,462	1,182,769
NET ASSETS		
Unrestricted	3,198,221	1,940,886
Temporarily restricted	22,391,332	21,592,348
Permanently restricted	2,970,777	2,499,634
TOTAL NET ASSETS²	28,560,330	26,032,868
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS	29,739,792	27,215,637

¹ These assets include investments in Ploughshares' Pooled Income Fund.

² Net assets include \$1,170,000 of a three-year grant to be spent in fiscal years 2006 and 2007.

Board of Directors, Advisors and Staff

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Office Manager and
Grants Coordinator
Paul Carroll,
Program Officer
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Peace and Security
Initiative Director
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Finance Director

Information for applicants

The Ploughshares Fund supports organizations and individuals working to stop the spread of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and other weapons of war, and to prevent conflicts that could lead to the use of weapons of mass destruction. While we prefer to support specific projects, we will consider requests for general support. There are no geographic limitations on grants and we can make grants for direct lobbying programs. We do not fund the production of films, videotapes or books, or the research and writing of academic dissertations.

If you are uncertain whether your project fits into Ploughshares Fund's areas of interest, you are encouraged to send us a brief letter describing your project. We will let you know if a full proposal is appropriate.

Please refer to our website, www.ploughshares.org, or call our office at 415-775-2244 for information about the content and format required in your proposal. Proposals more than ten pages long will not be considered.

WHEN TO APPLY

The Ploughshares Fund Board of Directors meets three times per year. Proposals must be received roughly two months prior in order to be eligible for consideration at a board meeting. Because our meeting schedule varies from year to year, our proposal deadline dates do as well. Current proposal deadlines are available on our website or by phone. Ploughshares Fund may also consider requests for emergency funding on a discretionary basis.

Proposals must be submitted by email to:
proposals@ploughshares.org

Please do not send multiple copies.

PLOUGHSHARES FUND

Fort Mason Center

Building B, Suite 330

San Francisco, CA 94123

415 775 2244 www.ploughshares.org