



TAKING THE LEAD

PLOUGHSHARES FUND

ANNUAL REPORT 2014

Ploughshares Fund works to build a safe, secure world by developing and investing in initiatives to reduce and ultimately eliminate the world's nuclear stockpiles, and to promote stability in regions of conflict. Ploughshares Fund is supported by individuals, families and foundations.

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ON LEADERSHIP

We sat down with Board Chair Mary Lloyd Estrin, President Joe Cirincione and Executive Director & COO Philip Yun to talk about leadership and what role Ploughshares Fund plays in the peace and security community.



MARY LLOYD ESTRIN
BOARD CHAIR, PLOUGHSHARES FUND

Ploughshares Fund: With so many pressing issues facing us today, why devote your time to nuclear weapons?

Mary Lloyd Estrin: A single nuclear episode, of any kind, would bring suffering and death to an unimaginable number of people. Nuclear weapons have a destructive capacity potential that we do not fully understand. This is simply an unacceptable risk to ignore.



JOE CIRINCIONE
PRESIDENT, PLOUGHSHARES FUND

Joe Cirincione: We all face challenges in our lives, but only two threaten destruction on a planetary scale: global warming and nuclear weapons. Both are threats created by machines we invented; both can be reversed, even eliminated. I know what to do about nuclear weapons, and I have dedicated my life to nonproliferation.

Philip Yun: I had a similar experience. Having grown up during the Cold War, nuclear weapons have always been in the back of my mind. When I was serving in the State Department, I saw first hand the destabilizing potential these weapons have while negotiating with North Korea. It was at that point I realized I wanted to dedicate my time to seeing nuclear weapons taken out of the equation entirely.



PHILIP YUN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR & COO,
PLOUGHSHARES FUND

PF: What do you think are the qualities of effective leadership?

Joe Cirincione: Vision, the ability to inspire others and persistence. If there is one thing we have learned at Ploughshares Fund, it is that real change takes a long time. You have to stick with it.

Philip Yun: It is critical to recognize talent and harness that talent by giving people the means and opportunity to succeed. It's also a willingness to take considered risks in the face of uncertainty.

Mary Lloyd Estrin: Yes, empowering people is key. A good leader empowers people to take risks on their own in order to grow and develop and test new ideas. That builds a lot of resilience and confidence into an organization. You want to make people leaders in themselves.

A good leader can also see the moment but understands the big picture and how specific pieces fit the broader context. So that you know how to get from A to B to C.

PF: How do you see Ploughshares Fund as a leader in the peace and security community?

Mary Lloyd Estrin: We've really applied the principles of leadership we just mentioned to building our community.

In our work on Iran, we brought together organizations that traditionally had difficulty working together, and coordinated an effective campaign aimed at preventing a nuclear-armed Iran.

Joe Cirincione: One of the hardest things in the world is to get a coalition together and then keep it working. Other philanthropies that I've spoken with are adapting our model to some of their programs so that they aren't just giving money to disparate organizations but starting to organize them into a stronger, focused network.

Philip Yun: We've shown a track record of recognizing talent and organizing it into an effective force for policy change. I think of ReThink Media, Win Without War and other organizations we've brought into the nuclear field.

PF: You mention policy change. It seems like a lot of people see Washington as failing to move in a positive direction. What role do you both see Ploughshares Fund playing in changing that direction?

Philip Yun: We push. We're able to say things and do things that government officials cannot. We create the political space that permits these officials to act.

Joe Cirincione: This is a big question. Some of us have been doing this since college days. We know that in a democracy we cannot just rely on our leaders to do the right thing. In some ways, we have to lead the leaders by making issues too important to ignore.

Mary Lloyd Estrin: In the United States, civil society is where innovation happens. It is where policy prescriptions are developed. It is where advocacy can take shape. Then, we can push the government to act. Remember, even the best government is a bureaucracy—it needs a good hard push.

Joe Cirincione: Exactly! If you leave these things to the bureaucrats, all you will get is the status quo.

PF: Who are some of the leaders that we support that you see are moving the ball forward on ending the threat of nuclear weapons?

Joe Cirincione: I see leaders at all levels of our grantmaking. Whether it is policy and thought leaders like Steve Pifer and Strobe Talbot at Brookings Institution, communication leaders like Peter Ferenbach and Lynn Fahselt at ReThink Media teaching us new ways to get our message out, organizing leaders like Erica Fein at WAND knitting together online advocates with more traditional grassroots advocates to create a powerful force. I'm heartened by the leaders I see emerging at all these levels. The really great thing, for me, is that with the network we've put together all these leaders are talking together and learning from each other.

Mary Lloyd Estrin: And they're not just preaching to the choir. We may start out small, but we know change requires more. So, we're building connections between the existing peace communities and evangelicals and budget hawks and others. Building a bigger tent remains an important challenge.

Philip Yun: Our supporters are also leaders. Through their example, their commitment and faith in our mission, our donors inspire others to bring more support into the field.

OUR LEADERSHIP

Drawing from diverse experience in technology, journalism, corporate business and academia, Ploughshares Fund board members provide vision, strategic oversight and a wide range of wisdom and experience to the Ploughshares Fund staff.



**MARY LLOYD
ESTRIN**
CHAIR
VICE PRESIDENT, GENERAL
SERVICE FOUNDATION



**TERRY GAMBLE
BOYER**
SECRETARY
WRITER AND PHILANTHROPIST



DOUG CARLSTON
TREASURER
FOUNDER AND CEO, TAWALA



**JOSEPH
CIRINCIONE**
PRESIDENT
PLOUGHSHARES FUND



EDIE ALLEN
PRESIDENT,
COLOMBE FOUNDATION

**PLOUGHSHARES FUND HAS THE
NETWORK, THE ABILITY AND THE
DRIVE TO CREATE A SAFER,
MORE SECURE FUTURE.**

— Reza Aslan, Author



TABITHA JORDAN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
ADAM J. WEISSMAN
FOUNDATION



DOUG MICHELMAN
PARTNER,
FINSBURY STRATEGIC
COMMUNICATIONS

**THE COLD WAR MAY BE LONG OVER, BUT THE THREAT
OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS REMAINS.
IN THE FIGHT TO ELIMINATE NUCLEAR WEAPONS,
THERE ISN'T A SMARTER, MORE EFFECTIVE
ORGANIZATION THAN PLOUGHSHARES FUND.**

— Philip Taubman, Journalist



REZA ASLAN
AUTHOR,
NO GOD BUT GOD: THE
ORIGINS, EVOLUTION AND
FUTURE OF IRAN



**KENNETTE
BENEDICT**
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR &
PUBLISHER, BULLETIN OF THE
ATOMIC SCIENTISTS



GLORIA DUFFY
CEO, COMMONWEALTH
CLUB OF CALIFORNIA



SAMUEL D. HEINS
ATTORNEY AND HUMAN
RIGHTS ADVOCATE



JOHN HOYT
PRINCIPAL, PYRAMID
COMMUNICATIONS



RACHEL PIKE
DIRECTOR OF PHYSICIAN
ENGAGEMENT, GRAND ROUNDS



GAIL SENECA
RETIRED CEO,
SENECA CAPITAL
AND LUMINENT CAPITAL



GAEL TARLETON
REPRESENTATIVE,
WASHINGTON HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES, 36TH
DISTRICT



PHILIP TAUBMAN
CONSULTING PROFESSOR,
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY AND COOPERATION,
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

NEW LEADERS, NEW IDEAS

For years, the peace and security field has been fueled by the leaders and ideas that grew out of the mass movements of the eighties. As that generation prepares to hand leadership to the next, there is a demand for new voices and strategies to lead the field in the digital age. Ploughshares Fund has been actively seeking to empower the next generation of leaders, develop new skill sets and bring fresh ideas into our field.



ERIKA GREGORY
N SQUARE

INCUBATING NEW STRATEGIES

Partnering with other top foundations in our field, Ploughshares Fund has co-founded and cofunded a new innovation fund to develop new ideas, spur new partnerships and invest in new ways of thinking about our issues. This collaborative fund, led by seasoned innovation expert Erika Gregory, will invest \$2 million to create new strategies for tackling the problem of nuclear weapons that will invigorate our community with fresh thinking and tactics.

“It is feasible to create a world free of nuclear weapons in our lifetimes. What could possibly be more important?”



BLAKE NARENDRA

ROGER L. HALE FELLOW

TRAINING NEW LEADERS

Inspired by our former chair of the board, Minnesota businessman Roger L. Hale, Ploughshares Fund created a fellowship to help bring new leaders into the nuclear security field. The first fellow, Blake Narendra, is a promising scholar and former Obama presidential campaign staffer who worked within the US nuclear weapons infrastructure. It's all the more fitting that he also happens to be a Minnesotan full of energy and passion for a more peaceful world.

"My generation can create a future where the most destructive force ever created by man no longer threatens to erase everything we know."



MIK MOORE

MOORE AND ASSOCIATES

LIZ MANNE

CULTURE GROUP

CHANGING CULTURAL IDEAS

At Ploughshares Fund, we started asking ourselves the question "what would happen if Americans believed that we don't need weapons of mass destruction to keep us safe?" To find out, we commissioned some of the nation's experts on cultural advocacy, Liz Manne of the Culture Group, and Mik Moore and Miriam Fogelson of Moore and Associates to produce a white paper laying out what would need to be done to start to change public perceptions of nuclear weapons.

"Cultural strategy asks us to dream big. What is the world we want? What do people need to believe in order for that world to exist?"

Although devastating to the larger economy, the financial crisis opened up a new opportunity to address the nation's lingering nuclear weapons complex. Driven by the newly formed Tea Party and the libertarian wing of the Republican party, Washington became fixated on cutting budgets.

Coupled with growing opposition to US military activities abroad, the drive to cut budgets opened space for Ploughshares Fund and our grantees to start talking about the cost of nuclear weapons. And to question if spending on Cold War era weapons made sense in a security environment now aiming to address regional conflicts, terrorism and human rights abuses.

LEADING A NEW CONVERSATION

The Strategy

In the summer of 2011, Ploughshares Fund commissioned a report from three of the nation's foremost experts on the nuclear complex. **They identified several vulnerable programs:**



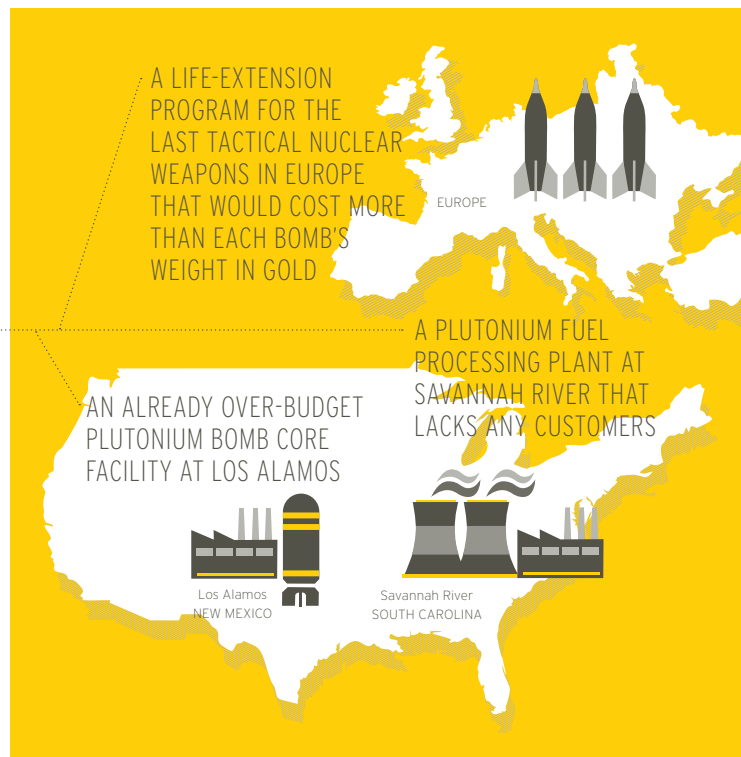
**JAY
COGLAN**
NUCLEAR WATCH
NEW MEXICO



**GORDON
ADAMS**
STIMSON CENTER



**HANS
KRISTENSEN**
FEDERATION OF
AMERICAN SCIENTISTS



"FOR THE COST OF JUST ONE NEW NUCLEAR SUBMARINE, WE COULD PROVIDE

BODY ARMOR AND BOMB-RESISTANT HUMVEES TO ALL OUR TROOPS OVERSEAS, HOUSE AND TREAT EVERY HOMELESS US VETERAN, AND STILL HAVE \$2.2 BILLION LEFT OVER TO PAY DOWN OUR DEBT. OUR TROOPS AND SECURITY SHOULD COME BEFORE PORK-BARREL NUCLEAR PROGRAMS." – *Danielle Brian, Executive Director of Project on Government Oversight*

POLL:

A VERY HIGH

45%

FOUND THIS MESSAGE VERY CONVINCING.

A STRONG

70%

OF RESPONDENTS FOUND THIS MESSAGE CONVINCING.

Then, Ploughshares Fund brought together a diverse coalition of arms control experts, government oversight groups and budget hawks. We funded grassroots organizing, messaging research, congressional lobbying campaigns and expert reports all focused at targeting these vulnerable programs.

Using our prominent media profile, Ploughshares Fund released a report estimating the cost of nuclear weapons and related programs at \$640 billion over the next 10 years. Nuclear hawks and stakeholders trying to defend their budgets harshly criticized our estimate.

THE CONVERSATION WE WANTED BEGAN. EVERYONE STARTED ASKING: "JUST HOW MUCH ARE WE SPENDING ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS?"

The Turning Point

The cost of nuclear weapons isn't easy to calculate. In fact, it's so difficult, the United States government did not have a reliable estimate. To make matters worse, experts disagree on how to do it.

Once we'd raised the question with the Ploughshares Fund Report, some of the country's most respected institutions started to crunch the available data on their own.

This chain of reports grew out of Ploughshares Fund's diligent analysis, and it is making policymakers weigh the real costs of nuclear weapons.

\$1 TRILLION

MONTEREY INSTITUTE
\$1 TRILLION OVER 30 YEARS

In January of this year, grantee Monterey Institute took a longer view, and estimated that taxpayers will spend \$1 trillion on nuclear weapons over the next 30 years.

\$640 BILLION

PLOUGHSHARES FUND REPORT
\$640 BILLION OVER 10 YEARS FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND RELATED PROGRAMS

Ploughshares Fund publishes first report on nuclear budget in October, 2012.

\$392 BILLION

STIMSON CENTER
\$352 TO \$392

BILLION OVER 10 YEARS FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS

With our support, Stimson Center took on the question. Their ultimate number became the recognized standard and validated our view that the costs of nuclear weapons were growing.

\$570 BILLION

CONGRESSIOINAL BUDGET OFFICE
\$570 BILLION OVER 10 YEARS FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND RELATED PROGRAMS

These reports, and subsequent media coverage, spurred the House Armed Services Committee to commission independent estimates from the Congressional Budget Office and Government Accountability Office. Both reports showed that the government was lowballing the full cost of nuclear weapons.

\$213 BILLION

ORIGINAL
GOVERNMENT FIGURE
**FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS
OVER 10 YEARS**

**“PLOUGHSHARES FUND
FUNDAMENTALLY ALTERED
THE CONVERSATION ABOUT
THE COST OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS. BY SUPPORTING
EXPERT ANALYSIS, LIKE
STIMSON’S REPORT ON
THE NUCLEAR BUDGET,
PLOUGHSHARES FUND
ELEVATED THE DEBATE
ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS
SPENDING AND SPURRED
THE GOVERNMENT INTO
DOING SIMILAR COST
ESTIMATES.”**

— Russell Rumbaugh
Stimson Center



**EARL
BLUMENAUER**
CONGRESSMAN (D-OR)

In May, with the support of our community, Congressman Earl Blumenauer successfully championed an amendment requiring the Congressional Budget Office to update its nuclear weapons cost estimate each year.

**“THERE SHOULD BE NO OBJECTION
FROM ANYONE ABOUT KNOWING
HOW MUCH THE PROJECTS WILL
COST. IT WILL BE VALUABLE IF
YOU WANT TO INCREASE THEM.
IT WILL BE VALUABLE IF YOU WANT
TO DECREASE THEM. IT WILL BE
VALUABLE IF YOU JUST WANT TO
FUND THE EXISTING PROGRAMS.”**

— Congressman Earl Blumenauer
stated on the House floor

**THE AMENDMENT GUARANTEES THAT, FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1945,
US TAXPAYERS HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW
HOW MUCH WE ARE SPENDING
ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS
AND ALL THE PROGRAMS ASSOCIATED WITH THEIR UPKEEP,
THREAT REDUCTION AND CLEAN-UP. AND THE
MORE WE KNOW, THE MORE WE CAN OBJECT.**

The Result

The unspoken sense that nuclear weapons budgets were unknowable and untouchable has been broken, perhaps forever.

The idea that we should fund the future rather than the past is taking hold, spreading the message that nuclear weapons are no longer necessary and no longer budget priorities.

Our budget campaign has significantly reduced or eliminated budgets for several of its original targets: including the plutonium bomb core facility and the plutonium fuel processing plant.

“UNLESS THERE ARE ACTIVE EFFORTS TO KILL ANY GOVERNMENT PROGRAM, IT WILL NEVER DIE, BECAUSE THESE PROGRAMS DEVELOP CONSTITUENCIES—PAROCHIAL POLITICIANS, BUREAUCRATIC FIEFDOM-BUILDERS, AND OF COURSE GREEDY CONTRACTORS—WHO ALL HAVE AN INCENTIVE TO PRETEND THE KING HAS NO CLOTHES AND THE PROJECT IS A GREAT SUCCESS (EVEN THOUGH PRIVATELY THEY MIGHT ALL ADMIT IT IS A DOG). CAN YOU THINK OF ANY PROGRAM THAT HAS DIED OF ITS OWN WEIGHT WITHOUT BEING PULLED DOWN BY OUTSIDE ACTIVISTS, JOURNALISTS, ETC?”

— Danielle Brian, Executive Director of Project on Government Oversight

“PLOUGHSHARES FUND GRANTEES HAVE FORCED A NATIONAL DEBATE ABOUT HOW MUCH WE SHOULD BE SPENDING ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS. AND THIS IS A KEY DEBATE WE NEED TO HAVE RIGHT NOW. THE UNITED STATES IS PLANNING TO SPEND UP TO \$1 TRILLION OVER THE NEXT 30 YEARS MODERNIZING THE ARSENAL. YET WE DO NOT NEED TO REMAKE THE ARSENAL IN ITS COLD WAR IMAGE. NOR CAN WE AFFORD IT. THE THREATS OF THE COLD WAR ARE LONG GONE. THIS PROCESS NEEDS SOME ADULT SUPERVISION THAT FORCES CHOICES. IN THIS TIGHT BUDGET ENVIRONMENT, THE PENTAGON CANNOT HAVE IT ALL. PLOUGHSHARES FUND IS CALLING ON THE PENTAGON TO SET ITS TOP PRIORITIES, AND TO RECOGNIZE THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS DO NOT MAKE THE LIST.”

— Tom Z. Collina, formerly of Arms Control Association, now Ploughshares Fund Director of Policy

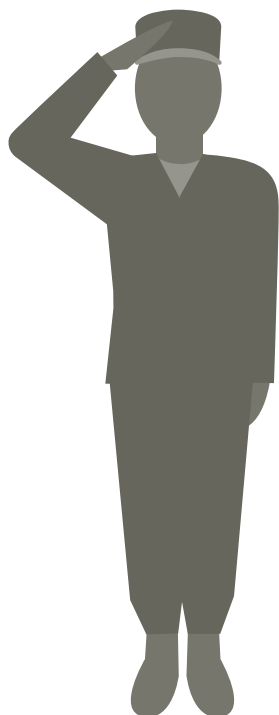
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ARE NOW OPENLY QUESTIONING HOW MUCH WE ARE SPENDING ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS. AN INCREASING NUMBER OF AMMENDMENTS THAT TAKE MONEY FROM THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS BUDGET TO SPEND ON OTHER MILITARY PRIORITIES ARE PASSING INTO LAW.



DIANE FEINSTEIN
SENATOR (D-CA)

STANDING FIRM

Congressional champions like Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) are taking strong stances against wasteful programs, like the new nuclear-armed cruise missile, and our campaign has expanded its sights to new targets.



ERICA FEIN
WOMEN'S ACTION FOR NEW DIRECTIONS



DAVID CULP
FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NAT. LEGISLATION



DAN KILDEE
CONGRESSMAN (D-MI)

This May, for example, with the support of grantee champions like Erica Fein at Women's Action for New Directions and David Culp of Friends Committee on National Legislation, Congressman Dan Kildee (D-MI) **led the House to approve a budget amendment reducing spending on nuclear weapons programs in favor of spending on transitional support for US veterans.**

IF WE TRULY VALUE THE COMMON GOOD OF THE HEALING OF OUR SERVICE MEMBERS' WOUNDS, SEEN AND UNSEEN, WE MUST CORRECT MISPLACED PRIORITIES THAT WOULD SQUANDER EVER MORE TAXPAYER DOLLARS ON CONTINUING NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT. NUCLEAR BOMBS MAKE THE WORLD LESS SAFE. PLOUGHSHARES FUND IS COMMITTED TO FOSTERING GENUINE SECURITY, LOCALLY AND GLOBALLY.

—Marylia Kelley, Executive Director, Tri-Valley CAREs, Livermore, CA.

WHO WANTS A WORLD WITHOUT

Our vision of a world where nuclear weapons can never be used again is shared by leaders around the world. Here are just a few who made statements this year urging progress to reduce nuclear weapons spending, ban nuclear weapons tests and eliminate these dangerous weapons.



BAN KI-MOON
SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
UNITED NATIONS

**“THANK YOU,
PLOUGHSHARES
FUND, FOR ALL
YOUR EFFORTS
TO REALIZE OUR
DREAM OF A
WORLD FREE
OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS.”**

**ERIC
SCHLOSSER,**
JOURNALIST
AND AUTHOR

**“ELIMINATING THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS IS A HUGE TASK. IT WILL REQUIRE
SMART ADVOCATES, INNOVATIVE APPROACHES,
AND SOME REAL CREDIBILITY. THAT’S WHAT
PLOUGHSHARES FUND CAN BRING TO THE TABLE.”**



**RACHEL
MADDOW**
JOURNALIST
AND AUTHOR

**“AT A TIME OF
CUTS AND
REORGANIZATION,
WHEN HARD
DECISIONS MUST
BE MADE ABOUT
WHAT TO SAVE
AND WHAT TO LET
GO, CONTINUING
TO THROW BILLIONS
OF DOLLARS
DOWN THOSE SILOS**

**IS A FAILURE OF ACCOUNTABILITY
AND A FAILURE TO BE REALISTIC
ABOUT WHAT KIND OF WARS WE MIGHT
CONCEIVABLY FIGHT IN THE FUTURE.”**



**POPE
FRANCIS**
SPIRITUAL
LEADER

**“I MAKE MY OWN THE
APPEAL OF MY PRE-
DECESSORS FOR THE
NONPROLIFERATION
OF ARMS AND FOR
DISARMAMENT OF ALL
PARTIES, BEGINNING
WITH NUCLEAR AND
CHEMICAL WEAPONS
DISARMAMENT.”**

NUCLEAR WEAPONS?



MICHAEL DOUGLAS
ACTOR AND PRODUCER

"IT'S TIME TO GET BACK ON THE OFFENSE. IT'S TIME TO MAKE TRULY SIGNIFICANT CUTS IN ALL NUCLEAR ARSENALS. IT'S TIME TO STOP WASTING TAXPAYER DOLLARS ON OBSOLETE WEAPONS FROM THE LAST CENTURY. AND 50 YEARS AFTER PRESIDENT JOHN KENNEDY CALLED FOR IT, IT IS TIME TO SIT DOWN WITHOUT POLITICS AND TALK SERIOUSLY ABOUT WHY IT IS IN OUR NATIONAL SECURITY INTEREST TO BAN THE TESTING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, EVERYWHERE, FOR ALL TIME."



DONTE STALLWORTH
NFL FOOTBALL PLAYER

"THE VERY EXISTENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS THE MOST DANGEROUS THREAT TO CIVILIZATION ON EARTH. WEAPONS REDUCTIONS NEED TO START WITH AMERICA AND RUSSIA WORKING TOGETHER TO PAVE THE WAY. THIS IS AN ISSUE THAT DEMANDS IMMEDIATE ATTENTION BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE."

"I CANNOT EMPHASIZE STRONGLY ENOUGH THAT IT IS PRECISELY OUR DEEP UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS—INCLUDING THE DANGEROUS HEALTH EFFECTS OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE TESTING—THAT HAS GUIDED AND MOTIVATED OUR EFFORTS TO REDUCE AND ULTIMATELY ELIMINATE THESE MOST DANGEROUS AND AWE-INSPIRING WEAPONS."



ROSE GOTTEMOELLER
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ARMS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

ELAINE SCARRY
HARVARD PHILOSOPHY PROFESSOR AND AUTHOR

"I THINK THAT WE CAN GET WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT: MANY PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE WORRIED ABOUT ACCIDENTAL EXPLOSIONS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, OR ARE AFRAID OF TERRORIST APPROPRIATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. GIVEN THAT AGREEMENT, YOU HAVE TO SAY, 'WELL, WHAT IS KEEPING US, THEN, FROM JUST SAYING THAT WE HAVE TO GET RID OF THESE THINGS IMMEDIATELY?'"

LEADING THE PUSH TO NEGOTIATIONS

The Strategy

Concern about Iran's nuclear program dominates headlines. Iran says its program is for nuclear energy, but the world needs assurances that Iran will not use its program to build bombs. Constraining Iran's program and putting it under tight inspections would ease concerns and clear one of the biggest roadblocks to global nuclear weapons reductions. This year, diplomats worked tirelessly for a deal to limit Iran's program. Just a few years ago we faced a much different future.

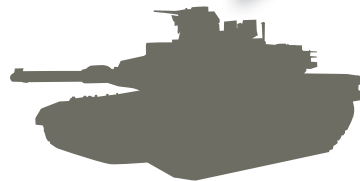
In the summer of 2010, with Iran's nuclear program growing and unconstrained, there was a sense in Washington that military action against Iran was inevitable. Iran's nuclear program, twenty years in the making, has been a messy challenge to regional stability and international efforts to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

Military action would have been a disaster. Rather than destroying Iran's nuclear infrastructure, intelligence and proliferation experts agree that a military invasion would instead push Iran's leaders to sprint for a nuclear bomb.

“A MILITARY ATTACK WILL GIVE THE IRANIANS THE BEST EXCUSE TO PURSUE THE NUCLEAR RACE. KHAMENEI WILL SAY ‘I WAS ATTACKED BY A COUNTRY WITH NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES; MY NUCLEAR PROGRAM WAS PEACEFUL, BUT I MUST PROTECT MY COUNTRY.’”

— Former Mossad chief Meir Dagan, May 6th, 2011

Nonetheless, many of the same defense hawks that had pushed the Iraq invasion came out to justify a similar effort in Iran, successfully driving a narrative that the only way to prevent an Iranian nuclear weapon was American military force.



“I THINK THAT’S AN UNATTRACTIVE OPTION, BUT I THINK IT IS MORE UNATTRACTIVE TO CONTEMPLATE IRAN WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS.”

— John Bolton, Fox News: *Hannity* 2/18/2011

“IF ALL OTHER OPTIONS HAD IN FACT BEEN EXHAUSTED, I THINK THAT THE QUESTION IS NOT SIMPLY WHAT ARE THE RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH ACTING MILITARILY. BUT WHAT ARE THE RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH NOT ACTING?”

— Frank Gaffney, Fox News: *Hannity* 2/18/2011

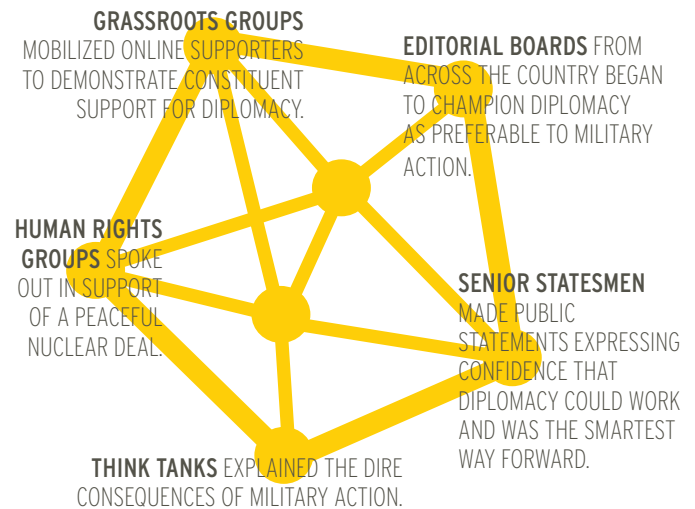


In response, Ploughshares Fund built and organized a coalition of unusual bedfellows—like former Israeli security officials and a sizable number of Republican members of Congress who publicly supported the negotiations in a letter to the president to advocate for a diplomatic solution to the crisis.

THE SHARED GOAL WAS TO CREATE SPACE FOR A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION,

one that would prevent both an Iranian nuclear weapon and avoid another American military intervention in the Middle East.

THROUGH PROJECTS WE FUNDED AND ONGOING STRATEGIC DISCUSSIONS FACILITATED BY PLOUGHSHARES FUND, THE COALITION PRODUCED A CHORUS OF ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THE POWER OF DIPLOMACY.



By the summer of 2013, the narrative had shifted so much that hawkish commentator David Weinberg took to the *Jerusalem Post* to express his disappointment in the “grand retreat from confronting Iran.” As evidence of the growing consensus against war, he cited studies from think tanks across the political spectrum, including the **RAND Corporation**, the **Atlantic Council** and the **Center for a New American Security**. Valuing these institutions’ track records of independent analysis, Ploughshares Fund supported these studies. When independent institutions looked into the approaches for **dealing with Iran’s nuclear program, diplomacy won out time and again.**

WE HAD CREATED A POWERFUL INFRASTRUCTURE THAT COULD MOVE QUICKLY TO PUSH FOR EFFECTIVE DIPLOMACY WHEN THE OPPORTUNITY ARRIVED.

The Turning Point

Just as our case for diplomacy was taking hold, **the election of moderate Hassan Rouhani as president of Iran on a platform of economic relief opened a new window of possibility for negotiations.**



PRESIDENT
BARRACK OBAMA
UNITED STATES



PRESIDENT
HASSAN ROUHANI
IRAN



At the UN General Assembly meeting in September, Obama called Rouhani to talk about a nuclear deal. It was the first direct presidential level contact between the two nations since the Iran hostage crisis.

NEGOTIATIONS MOVED FORWARD AT A RAPID PACE, QUICKLY RESULTING IN A LANDMARK INTERIM AGREEMENT THAT FROZE IRAN'S PROGRAM AND SET IN MOTION A PROCESS FOR A MORE PERMANENT SOLUTION.

In press statements justifying the negotiations, a variety of administration officials adopted language from the Dent-Price letter—language our partners brought into the public debate—saying that it was time to “test diplomacy.”



July, 2013

In July, our coalition worked with members of the House of Representatives to organize a letter calling on President Obama to “test” whether diplomacy could work. **An unprecedented 131 members of the House of Representatives signed the letter** authored by Representatives Charlie Dent and David Price, **making it the strongest congressional statement of support for diplomacy with Iran on record.**



CHARLIE DENT
US REPRESENTATIVE
(R-PA)



DAVID PRICE
US REPRESENTATIVE
(D-NC)

“I FIRMLY BELIEVE THE DIPLOMATIC PATH MUST BE TESTED. CONCILIATORY WORDS WILL HAVE TO BE MATCHED BY ACTIONS THAT ARE TRANSPARENT AND VERIFIABLE.”

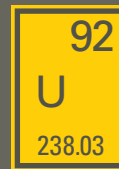
— President Barack Obama,
United Nations General Assembly,
September 2013

THE MOMENT THAT WE HAD BEEN WORKING FOR HAD ARRIVED. DIPLOMATS HAD SPACE TO GET TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. AND IT PAID OFF WITH THE SIGNING OF **THE JOINT PLAN OF ACTION.**

“AND WE ARE ENGAGED... AN OPPORTUNITY TO TRY TO PUT TO TEST WHETHER OR NOT IRAN REALLY DESIRES TO PURSUE ONLY A PEACEFUL PROGRAM, AND WILL SUBMIT TO THE STANDARDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN THE EFFORT TO PROVE THAT TO THE WORLD. SOME HAVE SUGGESTED THAT SOMEHOW THERE’S SOMETHING WRONG WITH EVEN PUTTING THAT TO THE TEST. I SUGGEST THAT THE IDEA THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS A RESPONSIBLE NATION TO ALL OF HUMANKIND WOULD NOT EXPLORE THAT POSSIBILITY WOULD BE THE HEIGHT OF IRRESPONSIBILITY”

— Secretary of State John Kerry
Ploughshares Fund Gala, October 2013

FOUR CONCRETE GAINS FROM THE JOINT PLAN OF ACTION



IRAN ELIMINATED ITS

20%

ENRICHED URANIUM STOCKPILE—VERY CLOSE TO BOMB-GRADE.

IRAN CAPPED URANIUM ENRICHMENT AT

5%.



IRAN CAPPED ITS NUMBER OF OPERATING CENTRIFUGES AND CENTRIFUGE PRODUCTION.

IRAN DISABLED CENTRIFUGE CASCADES FOR

20%

ENRICHMENT.

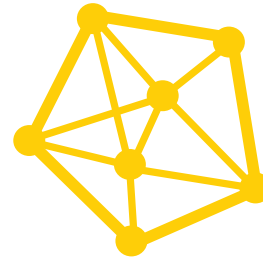
The Result

Despite the obvious efficacy of the Joint Plan of Action, those opposed to talks immediately pushed back.

“IF CERTAIN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WANT THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE MILITARY ACTION, THEY SHOULD BE UP FRONT WITH THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND SAY SO.”

— White House Statement

On December 18th, Senators Robert Menendez (D-NJ) and Mark Kirk (R-IL) introduced a new sanctions bill that threatened to derail implementation of the interim agreement and kill negotiations. It was the type of bill that had sailed through Congress in the past, but one that, given the active negotiations, was an unprecedented political challenge. By January 9th, the Kirk-Menendez bill had 58 co-sponsors, leaving it just two votes shy of the 60 votes required to overcome a filibuster and pass the Senate.



Working closely together, our coalition of grantees and partners sprang into action.

The Iran Campaign intensified efforts to demonstrate public support for diplomacy and urge individual members of Congress to let diplomacy work. A quick discretionary grant from Ploughshares Fund enabled a national poll demonstrating widespread support for diplomacy.



SUPPORT FOR THE IRAN AGREEMENT AFTER HEARING DESCRIPTION:

63%

RESPONDENTS WHO AGREED THAT “CONGRESS SHOULD CLOSELY MONITOR HOW THE AGREEMENT IS BEING IMPLEMENTED, BUT IT SHOULD NOT TAKE ANY ACTION THAT WOULD BLOCK THE AGREEMENT”:

68%

The poll provided such powerful support that senior officials circulated it widely on Capitol Hill and in the White House. Between Thanksgiving and January 31st, campaign partners like **J Street CREDO Mobile, Win Without War**, and the **Friends Committee For National Legislation** generated over 1,000,000 calls, emails and letters from citizens asking their elected officials to give diplomacy a chance. Campaign organizations placed 15 op-eds and 89 letters to the editor.

With public support growing and the anti-diplomacy effort flagging, Democratic signatories backed off their support for passing the bill. Multiple Senators who were quietly in support of diplomacy stepped forward to publicly champion seeking a diplomatic solution with Iran.

THE PROGRAM FOR PUBLIC CONSULTATION REPORTS:



AS THE CLOCK RUNS OUT ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH IRAN OVER ITS NUCLEAR PROGRAM, A NEW STUDY OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC FINDS THAT:

61%

FAVOR MAKING A DEAL WITH IRAN THAT WOULD LIMIT IRAN'S ENRICHMENT CAPACITY AND IMPOSE ADDITIONAL INTRUSIVE INSPECTIONS IN EXCHANGE FOR THE LIFTING OF SOME SANCTIONS. THIS INCLUDES:

62%

OF
REPUBLICANS

65%

OF
DEMOCRATS

51%

OF
INDEPENDENTS



By the end of February, the bill had stalled, and a clear line had been drawn in the sand. Our campaign successfully established political support for diplomacy and kept space open for the negotiations to continue.

"I REALLY SUPPORT THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS WITH IRAN. I THINK DIPLOMACY IS THE BEST WAY TO DEAL WITH THIS. I THINK WE'VE SET BACK THEIR ABILITY TO GET A NUCLEAR WEAPON ALREADY."

— Senator Al Franken (D-MN),
Constituent Breakfast

"WHAT PLOUGHSHARES FUND HAS DONE BY BRINGING THESE GROUPS TOGETHER—STRUCTURING A CAMPAIGN AND CRAFTING A STRATEGIC VISION—IS UNPRECEDENTED AND THAT'S PART OF THE REASON THESE BATTLES HAVE BEEN WON."

— Trita Parsi, President
National Iranian American Council

THANKS TO OUR CAMPAIGN, AMERICANS NOW KNOW THAT IT IS WORTH GIVING DIPLOMACY WITH IRAN A CHANCE TO SUCCEED. AND CONGRESS KNOWS WE ARE WATCHING.



DONORS

DONOR PROFILE
ZACH BLUME

Give Peace a Dance

Zach Blume is a partner and managing director of Portal A, a creative studio with offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles that develops, produces and distributes video content built for the web. This year, Zach partnered with Ploughshares Fund to produce an online video meant to help promote diplomacy with Iran. He also felt inspired to become a supporter.

How did you become involved in Ploughshares Fund?

Zach Blume. I suppose it's in my blood. My dad, who previously served on the board of Ploughshares Fund, introduced me to the organization at a very young age - at a forum with George Shultz, Sam Nunn and William Perry - and I was hooked on the issue ever since.

What does a world without nuclear weapons look like to you? Why is it desirable?

ZB: A more stable world, where future generations can live without fear of an entire population being decimated in the blink of an eye.

Your firm, Portal A, worked with Ploughshares Fund to create an online video that treated a serious issue (diplomacy with Iran) in a lighthearted manner. In your experience, what's the advantage of using comedy to make causes more approachable?

ZB: Turning on today's news, you often find an odd mixture of sensationalism on one side, and superficiality on the other.

Satire and humor can strip out the fat, and cut right to the heart of an issue. What you see now is a lot of people relying on the Onion, Jon Stewart, Stephen Colbert and John Oliver as their primary sources of news and information - because these outlets capture the essence of serious, complex issues with a wink and a nod. That's what we tried to do with our Give Peace a Dance campaign - use comedians from two different worlds to humanize an issue, and break through in a funny, honest and provocative way.

Many people in their 20s and 30s view nuclear weapons as a thing of the past. How can we gain their attention on the serious threat posed by the 17,000 weapons that remain? Do we need to?

ZB: We absolutely do. The threat can feel less conspicuous, and more existential and removed from our daily lives, especially to the generations that didn't live through the Cold War. Add to that the fact that the conversation often remains isolated within DC policy crowds, and it's no surprise that this issue isn't at the top of my generation's priorities.

It's important for organizations like Ploughshares Fund to use out-of-the-box communication techniques to reach younger generations around the importance of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons - it's our responsibility now. Wait, I just turned 30. Am I still part of the younger generation? I hope so.

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**Ploughshares Fund's Nuclear-Free
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to building a world free of
nuclear weapons by including
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acknowledges and thanks the
following members for their vision
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2013-2014

A

JAMAL ABDI WASHINGTON, DC

To conduct research into the policy environment in Washington, DC as it relates to preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. **\$1,000**

ALLIANCE FOR NUCLEAR ACCOUNTABILITY SANTA FE, NM

To support the costs of hiring a development director, as well as advance preparation for ANA's annual DC Days. **\$25,000**

AMERICA ABROAD MEDIA WASHINGTON, DC

To support a series of televised town halls that connect officials, experts and audiences in Pakistan, India and Afghanistan to discuss shared regional challenges. **\$100,000**

AMERICAN SECURITY PROJECT WASHINGTON, DC

To educate congressional offices and other decisionmakers about policy options to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. **\$100,000**

AMERICANS UNITED FOR CHANGE WASHINGTON, DC

To support efforts to conduct polling on US attitudes on Iran diplomacy, and to disseminate the findings to key audiences, including policymakers and the media. **\$50,000**

AMERICANS UNITED FOR CHANGE WASHINGTON, DC

To support mobilization of grassroots constituents to contact their Senators about pending legislation on Iran sanctions. **\$14,971**

ARMS CONTROL ASSOCIATION WASHINGTON, DC

To support research and analysis, policymaker and media outreach, and leadership on reducing the risk from nuclear weapons, with an emphasis on influencing US nuclear weapons policy, US-Russia nuclear dialogue, US policy towards Iran and related topics. **\$210,000**

ARMS CONTROL ASSOCIATION WASHINGTON, DC

To support increased Iran activities, including production of an updated Iran briefing book, an experts workshop and briefings for the media and policymakers. **\$25,000**

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE ASPEN, CO

To support a series of briefings for members of Congress and senior congressional staffers to discuss US policy options toward Iran. **\$35,000**

ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES WASHINGTON, DC

To provide analysis and pragmatic policy recommendations on India, Pakistan and the greater South Asia region. **\$130,000**

ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES WASHINGTON, DC

To support the Iran Task Force, a high-level, bipartisan group of experts and former officials working to inform the debate on US policy toward Iran. **\$80,000**

B

BERIM WASHINGTON, DC

To organize a February 2014 "fly-in" that brings constituents and prominent Iranian activists to Washington, DC to meet with members of Congress to discuss diplomacy with Iran. **\$14,950**

BERIM WASHINGTON, DC

To organize a July 2014 "fly in" that brings constituents, veterans and diverse Iranian voices to Washington, DC to meet with members of Congress to discuss options for limiting Iran's nuclear capability to civilian use. **\$25,000**

BROOKINGS INSTITUTION WASHINGTON, DC

To support analysis, education and outreach to media and policymakers about US-Russian arms control challenges and proposals to resolve them, and about the actual needs for US nuclear deterrence. **\$100,000**

BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS CHICAGO, IL

To update the Nuclear Notebook using enhanced graphics and design in order to appeal to a broader audience. **\$50,000**

Ploughshares Fund board member Kennette Benedict is the Executive Director and Publisher of this organization. Please see Conflict of Interest policy, page 31.

C

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE WASHINGTON, DC

To stimulate discussions among Chinese nuclear policy experts regarding China's nuclear weapons policies. **\$50,000**

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE WASHINGTON, DC

To support a series of three policy dinners to inform and shape elite opinions on how to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. **\$14,996**

CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS WASHINGTON, DC

To support a discussion of diplomacy with Iran at a joint Center for American Progress - Molad policy conference in Jerusalem. **\$12,500**

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND COOPERATION STANFORD, CA

To support efforts of North Korean experts to provide analysis and facilitate dialogue between the United States and North Korea to resolve the nuclear impasse. **\$100,000**

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND COOPERATION STANFORD, CA

To support travel costs associated with a March meeting in Beijing regarding security issues of mutual concern to the United States and China. **\$10,000**

Ploughshares Fund board member Philip Taubman is affiliated with this organization. Please see Conflict of Interest policy, page 31.

**CENTER FOR NEW AMERICAN SECURITY
WASHINGTON, DC**

To hold a series of “boot camps” to educate congressional staffers on the nature of Iran’s nuclear program and the requirements for an enduring and verifiable diplomatic resolution. **\$15,425**

**CENTER FOR NEW AMERICAN SECURITY
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support high-impact research and analysis related to the on-going P5+1 efforts to negotiate a credible, comprehensive and verifiable nuclear deal with Iran. **\$150,000**

**CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support the National Security Desk’s nuclear weapons-related reporting, directed by Managing Editor R. Jeffrey Smith. **\$70,000**

**CHICAGO COUNCIL ON GLOBAL AFFAIRS
CHICAGO, IL**

For a high-level Task Force on NATO nuclear weapons that will examine policy options and offer recommendations. **\$50,000**

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LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM**

To support efforts in Kashmir to work with a broad range of community, civil society and political actors to improve dialogue and cooperation on either side and across the Line of Control, ultimately contributing to a more inclusive and productive Indo-Pak peace process. **\$50,000**

**COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support analysis, media outreach and advocacy on nuclear weapons budgets and related policy issues. **\$70,000**

D

**DRUCKER & ASSOCIATES*
WASHINGTON, DC**

To provide strategic advice and additional outreach capacity for efforts to build political support for preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. **\$60,000**

F

**FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS
WASHINGTON, DC**

To provide insight into the budgetary and policy outlooks for US nuclear weapons modernization programs over the next five to ten years. **\$2,000**

**FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support the Nuclear Information Project’s analysis and outreach on nuclear weapons programs, budgets and policy. **\$75,000**

**FOUNDATION FOR NATIONAL PROGRESS
SAN FRANCISCO, CA**

To support investigative journalism on national security policy issues. **\$1,500**

**THE FOUNDATION FOR A CIVIL SOCIETY
NEW YORK, NY**

To support The Iran Project’s efforts to inform the public debate about policy options to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons through the publication and broad disseminate of reports, op-eds and other writings. **\$100,000**

**THE FOUNDATION FOR A CIVIL SOCIETY
NEW YORK, NY**

To educate policymakers and the media about the potential impact of a comprehensive nuclear agreement with Iran. **\$150,000**

**THE FOUNDATION FOR A CIVIL SOCIETY
NEW YORK, NY**

To increase short-term staff capacity to support enhanced congressional outreach and public education activities. **\$25,000**

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

To educate and mobilize FCNL’s extended network to help shape the public debate about policy options to resolve concerns over Iran’s nuclear program. **\$25,000**

**FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION
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To support an integrated lobbying strategy to build support for pragmatic approaches to resolve the Iranian nuclear issue, and to educate Congress and the public about possible solutions. **\$25,000**

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

To support policy advocacy on reductions to US nuclear weapons budgets and reduced roles and numbers of nuclear weapons. **\$100,000**

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For work with the Peace and Security Funders Group. **\$15,000**

G

**GLOBAL ZERO
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To support an international network of elites and student constituents, media outreach, analysis and bold advocacy for aggressive steps to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons worldwide. **\$100,000**

**GULF 2000 PROJECT, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK, NY**

To support analysis, reporting and other efforts to inform the debate about Iran’s nuclear program and international diplomatic approaches to verifiably prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. **\$75,000**

H

**WILLIAM HARTUNG
NEW YORK, NY**

For a scoping research study to provide recommendations about reducing the role of ICBMs in US nuclear posture. **\$3,500**

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To support staff time dedicated to laying the groundwork for CTBT. **\$15,000**

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To support a short-term effort to promote policy recommendations on US nuclear weapons programs and highlight cost saving opportunities. **\$20,000**

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GRANTS LIST 2013-2014

HERBERT SCOVILLE JR PEACE FELLOWSHIP WASHINGTON, DC

To support fellows working on international security issues at leading Washington, DC-based organizations. **\$50,000**

I

INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP WASHINGTON, DC

To support research, reporting and advocacy efforts to help prevent and resolve deadly conflict in Pakistan. **\$75,000**

J

J STREET WASHINGTON, DC

To educate Congress and the public about policy approaches to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. **\$75,000**

J STREET EDUCATION FUND INC WASHINGTON, DC

To engage and mobilize a national network of members and supporters to participate in the public debate about the US policy options toward Iran. **\$25,000**

L

LBLG FUND WASHINGTON, DC

To support travel costs to Geneva to provide media coverage of the nuclear negotiations between Iran and the P5+1. **\$3,200**

LUGAR CENTER WASHINGTON, DC

To support the establishment of an arms control and nuclear weapons program that uses Senator Richard Lugar's profile and the expertise of the Center's staff to advance the nuclear security agenda. **\$75,000**

M

MAINSTREAM MEDIA PROJECT ARCATA, CA

To support the placement of expert spokespeople on radio and television programs to discuss issues related to nuclear negotiations with Iran. **\$10,000**

MONTEREY INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES MONTEREY, CA

To support a public education campaign on the status of Iran's nuclear program, including the launch of an online resource and an enhanced media presence. **\$75,000**

MOORE + ASSOCIATES* NEW YORK, NY

To design and implement a public voice campaign to help shape the narrative in the Jewish community about options to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. **\$125,000**

MOORE + ASSOCIATES* NEW YORK, NY

To research and design a "cultural strategy plan" that provides options of short- and long-term activities that could begin to shift public perceptions about the role and value of nuclear weapons. **\$20,000**

N

NATION INSTITUTE NEW YORK, NY

For a rapid response project to debunk misinformation in the debate over negotiations with Iran, as well as in-depth journalistic pieces exploring the domestic politics at play. **\$60,000**

NATIONAL IRANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL WASHINGTON, DC

To support advocacy and media work to shape the debate among policymakers and in the media on credible approaches to resolving the nuclear impasse. **\$110,000**

NATIONAL IRANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL WASHINGTON, DC

To support an Iran Diplomacy Task Force to promote proactive efforts from members of Congress in support of diplomatic solutions to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. **\$49,545**

NATIONAL SECURITY INITIATIVE WASHINGTON, DC

To support a luncheon to educate reporters covering Iranian President Hassan Rouhani's speech to the United Nations General Assembly as well as writing broader stories on the prospects for the nuclear negotiations. **\$2,600**

NATIONAL SECURITY NETWORK INC WASHINGTON, DC

To educate the media and policymakers about policy options to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. **\$75,000**

NAUTILUS OF AMERICA BERKELEY, CA

To support a Track Two workshop in Beijing to explore security issues with North Korean officials. **\$25,000**

NEW SECURITY ACTION WASHINGTON, DC

To engage and mobilize progressive grassroots constituencies nationwide to be active participants in the public debate about US policy toward Iran. **\$25,000**

NONZERO FOUNDATION INC PRINCETON, NJ

To support an increased volume of high-quality reporting and analysis related to Iran and the on-going nuclear negotiations. **\$50,000**

NUCLEAR WATCH OF NEW MEXICO SANTA FE, NM

To provide insight into the budgetary and policy outlooks for US nuclear weapons modernization programs over the next five to ten years. **\$2,500**

NUCLEAR WATCH OF NEW MEXICO SANTA FE, NM

To support the Weapons Watch Project, which scrutinizes nuclear weapons programs, provides analysis to media, policymakers and nongovernmental colleagues and advocates for nuclear weapons reductions. **\$70,000**

* Program Contract

P

**PEACE ACTION WEST
OAKLAND, CA**

To support targeted advocacy efforts to advance the nuclear security agenda, with a focus on reducing the nuclear weapons budget and resolving the Iranian nuclear impasse. **\$30,000**

**PEACE DIRECT USA
NEW YORK, NY**

To support on-the-ground efforts to work with youth to challenge extremist narratives and create a positive future for Pakistan. **\$50,000**

**PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NJ**

To support expert analysis and recommendations related to reducing tensions between the United States, the international community and Iran. **\$70,000**

**THE PROJECT ON GOVERNMENT OVERSIGHT
WASHINGTON, DC**

For investigations and analysis of US nuclear weapons plans and programs that identify wasteful spending; outreach to media and policymakers about the programs; and advocacy for spending cuts, stronger oversight and accountability. **\$50,000**

R

**RETHINK MEDIA
BERKELEY, CA**

To amplify the voices of prominent former officials, military officers and experts in the Iran debate through targeted state and national media outreach. **\$20,000**

**RETHINK MEDIA
BERKELEY, CA**

To provide strategic and tactical communications support for policy campaigns to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon and to encourage reductions in spending on US nuclear weapons programs. **\$130,000**

T

**TAXPAYERS FOR COMMON SENSE
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support analysis, policymaker and media outreach to highlight wasteful and unneeded nuclear weapons spending programs. **\$50,000**

**TRI-VALLEY CARES
LIVERMORE, CA**

For a collaborative effort to influence the make-up and implementation of a federal NNSA laboratory review commission. **\$25,000**

**TRI-VALLEY CARES
LIVERMORE, CA**

To support analysis and outreach to local, regional and national media, policymakers and colleague nongovernmental organizations to advocate for reduced nuclear weapons spending. **\$50,000**

U

**UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support analysis and advocacy efforts to reduce the role and numbers of US nuclear weapons. **\$50,000**

V

**VET VOICE FOUNDATION
PORTLAND, OR**

To support efforts to educate policymakers and the public on veterans' perspectives on a diplomatic approach to resolving the Iranian nuclear program. **\$25,000**

**VOTEVETS.ORG ACTION FOUNDATION
PORTLAND, OR**

To bring the voices of veterans into the debate about Iran's nuclear program through media outreach, policymaker education and advocacy efforts. **\$25,000**

W

**WIN WITHOUT WAR
WASHINGTON, DC**

To educate grassroots constituencies and public officials about policy options to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. **\$50,000**

**JOEL WIT
WASHINGTON, DC**

To support policy analysis and recommendations to help inform and shape the US approach to North Korea, and for Track Two engagement with North Korean officials. **\$70,000**

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

To mobilize WiLL members and WAND community leaders to educate policymakers about the fiscal savings and security benefits of reducing the US nuclear arsenal. **\$40,000**

Ploughshares Fund board member Edie Allen is a member of this organization's Board of Directors. Please see Conflict of Interest policy, page 31.

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

To support WAND's Nuclear Weapons Policy Officer to strengthen and coordinate advocacy for nuclear disarmament and security measures, especially nuclear weapons budget cuts. **\$75,000**

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

To educate and engage WiLL members and WAND community leaders to help shape the public debate about US spending on nuclear weapons and the broader nuclear security agenda. **\$60,000**

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

To support the Peace and Security Strategy Retreat. **\$15,000**

FINANCES

2013-2014

Ploughshares Fund's operations and grants are aimed at activities that have the potential to affect public policy, that is, reach policymakers, the media and the public with information they need to make sound decisions about international security issues. To insure maximum impact, all annual contributions go directly to the programs we fund, with nothing subtracted for administration or fundraising.

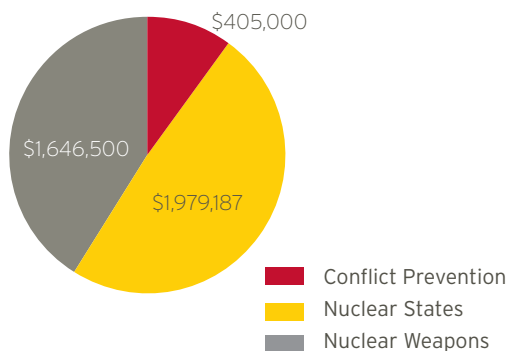
In 2014, Ploughshares Fund exceeded its contributed income budgeted goal for annual support and gave grants totaling \$4,029,037, this in addition to our own programmatic activity. Operational expenses are paid for by the Fund's Board of Directors and a draw from our capital reserves (which includes board-designated endowment funds). This year, 79% of our budget

was spent on grantmaking and program services, exceeding standards set by the National Charities Information Bureau/Better Business Bureau and Charity Navigator.

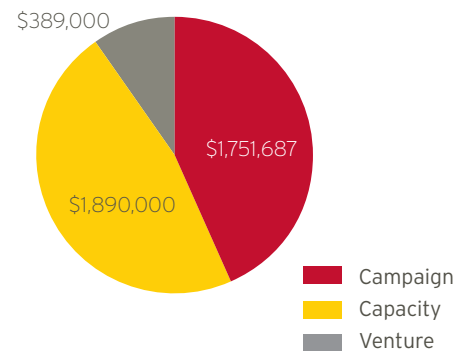
In 2014, Ploughshares Fund's investment income was \$4,958,022 compared to an investment return in 2013 of \$3,361,948. Ploughshares Fund's investment portfolio is actively managed by the Fund's investment committee with counsel of an investment manager.

At June 30, 2014, Ploughshares Fund's net assets were \$40,157,143 compared to net assets at June 30, 2013 of \$36,262,220. Of the 2014 total net assets, \$35,953,171 is held in our capital reserves, which were established to provide stable and predictable funds for annual and long-term grantmaking and operations.

GRANT TOTAL BY CATEGORY



GRANTS BY STRATEGY



FINANCIAL REPORT¹

SUPPORT AND REVENUE	2014	2013
Contributions	5,979,058	6,031,735
Interest and short term investment	513	-1,658
INVESTMENT RETURN	4,958,022	3,361,948
Changes in value of split-interest agreements	4,676	4,900
TOTAL SUPPORT AND REVENUE	10,942,269	9,396,925
EXPENSES		
Program Services		
Grants from Ploughshares Fund	3,704,037	3,779,448
Grants from Cowles Fund	325,000	335,000
Special Projects	16,327	27,126
Program support	1,528,120	1,202,768
Supporting Services ²		
General administration	563,362	444,713
Development	910,500	838,408
TOTAL EXPENSES	7,047,346	6,627,463
CHANGE IN NET ASSETS	3,894,923	2,769,462
NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR	36,262,220	33,492,758
NET ASSETS, END OF YEAR	40,157,143	36,262,220

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES	2014	2013
For fiscal year ended June 30, 2014		
Assets ³		
Cash and cash equivalents	2,838,825	1,243,610
Promises to give	1,809,700	2,144,750
Interest receivable and other assets	76,251	82,207
Long term investments	36,294,012	33,923,742
Fixed assets (less accumulated depreciation and amortization)	82,493	45,211
TOTAL ASSETS	41,101,281	37,439,520
LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS		
Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	105,837	74,310
Grants payable	805,996	1,066,009
Deferred revenue	32,305	36,981
TOTAL LIABILITIES	944,138	1,177,300
NET ASSETS		
Unrestricted	12,195,124	10,859,038
Temporarily restricted	22,171,487	19,900,565
Permanently restricted	5,790,532	5,502,617
TOTAL NET ASSETS	40,157,143	36,262,220
TOTAL NET LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS	41,101,281	37,439,520

¹ A completed audited financial report is available upon request.

² All administrative and fundraising expenses are covered by contributions from Ploughshares Fund's Board of Directors, an annual draw from the capital reserves and allocations from a few foundations.

³ These assets include investments in Ploughshares' Pooled Income Fund.

⁴ Includes \$1.033m restricted to funding N Square in fiscal years 2015 and 2016.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST POLICY: As a public foundation, dependent upon the contributions and involvement of the public, Ploughshares Fund has a special commitment to ethical behavior and transparency in our work. The board and staff of Ploughshares Fund are encouraged to play active roles in their communities, which may lead, from time to time, to potential conflicts of interest or the appearance of such. We acknowledge the existence of any such conflicts or appearance of conflicts openly and appropriately as required by applicable law, Ploughshares Fund by-laws and established policy. In cases where a grant is awarded and one or more of Ploughshares Fund's board members has abstained from voting on or discussing the proposed grant because of a conflict or the appearance thereof - for example, he or she is a member of that organization's Board of Directors or is employed by the organization - such circumstances are clearly identified in the Annual Report.

INFORMATION FOR APPLICANTS: Ploughshares Fund supports organizations and individuals working to build a safe and secure world. Please refer to our website ploughshares.org for guidelines, application requirements and deadlines.

PLOUGHSHARES FUND

INVEST IN SECURITY AND PEACE WORLDWIDE

1808 Wedemeyer St., Suite 200
The Presidio of San Francisco
San Francisco, CA 94129
415.668.2244

1100 Vermont St NW, Suite 300
Washington, DC 20005
202.783.4401

www.ploughshares.org



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