



British American Security
Information Council

Annual Activities Report 2011

A summary of BASIC's activities for Advisors, Patrons, Donors and Partners

Introduction from the Chair

There was overwhelming momentum seen in 2010 on the international stage with numerous initiatives on arms control, nuclear non-proliferation, and disarmament. Unfortunately, this momentum was not as evident in 2011, as it seemed as though the international focus had shifted. Nevertheless, BASIC's tempo was itself maintained into 2011 as we attempted to play our role in returning the focus to effective efforts to achieve nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament in the United Kingdom, United States, Middle East, and Europe.

As you will see from this annual report on our activities, 2011 was a year of engagement and dialogue for BASIC: in the Middle East, and specifically in promoting the 2012 official conference on a WMD-Free Zone; with NATO states all around Europe to encourage members to reduce the Alliance's dependency upon nuclear weapons; and with Moscow in taking further bilateral and multilateral moves toward disarmament. Furthermore, BASIC deepened and diversified its engagement in the United Kingdom's deliberations on Trident replacement as it launched the high-profile

Trident Commission, due to report in early 2013. BASIC also re-organised its London office and moved close to Whitehall, reflecting its stronger focus on engagement.

Looking ahead to 2012, the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons is still a long way away. The international system is filled with numerous challenges, which some may believe to be roadblocks on the way to progress towards disarmament. However, BASIC sees opportunities within every block to create new approaches in achieving this goal. We are looking forward to another challenging and successful year.



Trevor McCrisken

Trevor McCrisken
BASIC Chair

Program Activities

In a year when attention focused instead on the Arab Awakening and economic crises, the trend toward global nuclear disarmament appeared to stall. Nevertheless, BASIC continued to achieve progress on a number of fronts, with particular focus on NATO's nuclear posture, the future for UK nuclear weapons, and the prospects for future negotiations in the Middle East over weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

Project in support of the 2012 conference on a WMD-free zone in the Middle East

Principal funder: UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office

In 2011, BASIC engaged with key players, both inside and outside government, in support of the planned 2012 conference on establishing a WMD-free zone in the Middle East. States Parties to the NPT decided in May 2010 to make the commitment to hold the conference, but it requires careful preparation to ensure that both Israel and Iran are present and that the conference finishes with some form of process to discuss mutual security and a WMD free zone. It is expected that this complex process will last for years and could benefit from the experience of multilateral Middle East arms control talks in the 1990s, known as ACRS (Arms Control and Regional Security). However, whilst there are severe strains that surely limit the level of optimism, the process does promise a chance of reframing the political and strategic stalemate in the region.

In January 2011, BASIC Program Director Anne Penketh consulted with government officials in Jordan, Egypt and Israel – which is not an NPT member – and established that the Israeli government is not opposed to attending the proposed conference, although it will need to be satisfied that the event would not be an “Israeli-bashing” exercise. She was also in contact throughout the year with U.S. and British officials – representing the depositary states of the NPT which are responsible for convening the 2012

conference – to push for the early appointment of a facilitator.

BASIC held a small technical Track II workshop in Malta attended by a dozen participants in their personal capacity from Israel, Iran, Egypt, the United Kingdom and the United States, which aimed to thrash out agenda issues that would be before the 2012 conference. The workshop in September, sponsored by the UK government, was attended by experts. The final report on the workshop produced a series of recommendations for policy-makers aimed at breaking down barriers of mistrust and outlining possible conditional offers aimed at curbing nuclear programs and the ratification of existing chemical and biological weapons treaties.

BASIC staff also briefed the Finnish facilitator for the 2012 Conference, Jaakko Laajava, following his appointment in October 2011.

BASIC finished 2011 preparing for a larger event in Cairo in late January 2012 to engage with representatives of the “emerging” Egyptian elite on the WMD-free zone in the Middle East. The event will be attended by foreign and Egyptian experts who will engage with politicians, diplomats, students of international affairs and academics in order to broaden support for the Middle East zone initiative which until now has been confined to expert circles.

BASIC Trident Commission

Principal funders: Ploughshares Fund, Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, Polden Puckham Foundation and Nuclear Education Trust

In October 2010 the coalition government delayed the timetable for the construction of the replacement submarines until after the next election. The Commission was convened to utilise the window of opportunity for further deliberation and ensure that the upcoming public debate could be informed by a comprehensive analysis of relevant issues. We are living through a period of dramatic change in international affairs with new powers emerging, increasing nuclear proliferation

risks within both the community of states and terrorist groups, and growing financial pressure on western defence budgets.

The Commission was officially launched on February 9th in the House of Commons in front of a large and distinguished audience, including MoD Armed Forces minister Nick Harvey. BASIC's Executive Director, Paul Ingram, chaired the meeting, and speeches were also made by Sir Malcolm Rifkind (co-Chair) and other members of the Commission, James Blitz of the *Financial Times*, and Lord Hannay. We also held an October event in Parliament under a question-time format in front of an invited audience, who submitted questions on the United Kingdom's nuclear weapons posture and plans. BBC radio presenter Anita Anand chaired a stimulating debate with panelists: Baroness Shirley Williams; Dr. Julian Lewis, MP; Sir David Omand, former MoD and Cabinet Office senior official; Tim Hare, former MoD director nuclear policy; and Prof. Michael Clarke, Director of RUSI.



Ian Kearns, Malcolm Rifkind MP and Paul Ingram at the Trident Commission Launch

The Commission has met on a number of occasions throughout 2011 to discuss its process, background issues affecting deliberations, and some of the core issues. It has also met privately with interested parties and experts, including former U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. The Commission's first report, authored by Dr. Ian Kearns and entitled, 'Beyond the UK: Trends in the Other Nuclear Armed States', was published in October. Highlighting the continuing development of nuclear weapons in states that deploy them, the report

underlined the need for action beyond rhetoric, conclusions widely circulated in the media.

The Commission has also been receiving written evidence from a number of sources, addressing the following initial questions set forth by the Commission:

- 1.) Should the United Kingdom remain a nuclear weapon state?
- 2.) Is Trident renewal the best option?
- 3.) What more can the United Kingdom do to more effectively promote global nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation and nuclear security?

Thought-provoking evidence has been received from interested parties **on all sides of the debate**, including former and current parliamentarians, academics, NGOs, lobbying groups and religious groups thus indicating the broad public and cross-party interest in the Commission's work and the interest in a forthcoming national debate on Trident replacement.

The report, meetings and public engagement has enabled us to establish the objective nature of the Commission's process, building credibility for its future output in 2012. Awareness of the Commission among decision-makers in government, and with the media, is high, with a certain level of expectation around its output, also helping to facilitate BASIC's contacts with government in other related areas.

Progress of the Commission is due to speed up in 2012, as a final report with all of the Commission's observations should be published by the end of the year.



Sir David Omand, Baroness Shirley Williams, Dr. Julian Lewis, MP, Anita Anand, Tim Hare, and Michael Clarke at the Trident Commission debate in October

NATO's Nuclear Posture

Principal funder: William and Flora Hewlett Foundation

BASIC continued a joint project with the **Arms Control Association (ACA)** and the **Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH)** to engage NATO member states in discussion on the role of nuclear weapons in European security, in 2011 with a focus on the alliance's deterrence and defense posture review. In tandem with these partners, BASIC organized seminars across Europe.

- **Tallinn · March:** Workshop on NATO's nuclear deterrent and **Baltic security** with the International Centre for Defence Studies in Estonia. Issues ranged from future nuclear deterrence posture and **alternative strategic tools**, to the variety of **threat perceptions** and the Alliance's relationship with Russia.
- **Helsinki · April:** In collaboration with the Peace Union of Finland and the Finnish Foreign Ministry, the group gathered participants from Central and Eastern Europe, Scandinavia, Netherlands and Britain, to discuss the deterrence and defense review and relations with Russia. The event also examined the prospects for NATO contributing more actively to the **agenda of global nuclear disarmament**.
- **Brussels · May:** Two-day, high-level meeting, held shortly after NATO's deterrence and defence posture review was launched. Speakers included NATO Deputy Assistant Secretary General Jamie Shea and U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear and Missile Defense Brad Roberts. Among the more than 50 participants were many national representatives from NATO missions and senior NATO officials, **demonstrating the project's cumulated reputation**. The Ambassadors from Estonia, France, Germany and Norway as well as the First Secretary from the U.S. Mission gave provocative presentations on NATO's nuclear posture review alongside ourselves and other members of civil society. Our seminar was followed by a dinner for some of the participants hosted by the French Ambassador at his residence, and then another seminar on similar issues hosted by Carnegie Europe.
- **Rome · June:** Roundtable held alongside the Instituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) on "NATO's Nuclear Posture and Burden Sharing Agreements: an Italian Perspective". The roundtable explored why Italy has not taken an active role in the current debate on tactical nuclear weapons.
- **Washington, DC · November:** Conversation at German Embassy with about 20 experts and NATO diplomats. Topics focused on developments under the Alliance's ongoing deterrence and defense posture review, including addressing **threats during budget austerity** and maintaining political cohesion within the Alliance.
- **Berlin · later in November:** Two day roundtable event to examine ways to break the deadlock on bringing tactical nuclear weapons onto the nuclear arms control agenda. Almost all participants agreed that there is a need to go beyond traditional arms control measures to deal with tactical nuclear weapons, and there were recurring appeals to **break out of traditional modes of thinking**.

Also as part of the project on NATO's nuclear posture, BASIC joined the ACA in organizing a sign-on letter addressed to NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, in July.

The letter urged NATO to **reduce the role of nuclear weapons** and allow for the removal of U.S. tactical warheads, and was signed by **over two dozen experts and former senior officials**, including Sir Malcolm Rifkind, former UK Conservative Defence and Foreign Secretary, and Gen. (ret.) Bernard Norlain, former Air Defense Commander and Air Combat Commander of the French Air Force. ACA and BASIC issued a joint-press release to draw attention to the effort.

In addition, BASIC staff met separately with diplomats in Washington and London throughout 2011. In October, Paul Ingram presented a paper to a conference organized by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the NATO Defense College in Brussels concerning the issues at stake in the deterrence and defense posture review. The participants involved officials, diplomats and experts from think-tanks, discussing the wide range of issues affecting the negotiations on the review.

Other Events and Meetings

BASIC, in conjunction with the Verification Research, Training and Information Centre (VERTIC) held a private briefing on **Capitol Hill** in an effort to raise awareness and interest in the next steps in Russian-U.S. nuclear arms control and the **Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)**. Pavel Podvig, director of the Russian Strategic Nuclear Forces Project; Edward Ifft, Georgetown professor and former delegate to U.S. arms control negotiations; and Raymond Willemann, director of planning for the Incorporated Research Institutions for Seismology (IRIS), shared their expertise during the March 31st event.

BASIC staff also visited with Administration officials and other experts to help lay the groundwork for a new informational drive on the CTBT, of which the event on Capitol Hill was a part. Administration

officials and NGO staff supporting the treaty faced numerous challenges, however, because of the difficult political climate.

In June, Paul Ingram attended the Second 'International Conference on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament' in **Tehran**, where he delivered a paper on why the Iranians should **engage** with next year's intergovernmental conference on a **WMD-Free Zone in the Middle East**. The paper received a positive reception, with senior Iranian officials engaging in debate over the proposals.

As part of a special project supported by the Ploughshares Fund, Paul Ingram travelled to **Moscow** with Dr. Ian Anthony of SIPRI at the end of November to gather Russian perspectives on the next steps in nuclear arms control. Paul presented to participants made up of officials and expert think-tankers at seminars organized by the PIR Centre and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Moscow to discuss the obstacles to progress in arms control and disarmament between Russia and NATO. On his final day, he presented a paper on the different approaches to Iran's nuclear program between Russia and the West in a session organized by the Center for Energy and Security Studies. All three seminars were held in a **frank and open manner**, at a time of strained relations with NATO.

To wrap up the year, Paul joined top level arms control officials and presented on NPT diplomacy toward 2015 at the Wilton Park Conference (UK) in December: 'Challenges of the nuclear non-proliferation regime.'

All-Party Parliamentary Group on Global Security and Non-Proliferation

BASIC staff member Lorna Richardson is Clerk to the APPG. Meetings held were:

- January 12: 'Lessons of Intervention' with Prof. Susan L. Woodward (The Graduate Center, CUNY, New York), Dr. Toby Dodge (Queen Mary,

University of London. and IISS), and Dr. John Macmillan (Brunel University)

- January 18: 'The Future of Intervention' with Rory Stewart MP, Emma Sky (former advisor to the US military) and Lord Ashdown.
- January 19: Margot Wallström, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict
- February 10: 'French Views on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation' with Senator Josselin de Rohan (Chair of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Defence and the Armed Forces
- February 16: 'Making an International Arms Trade Treaty Bullet Proof' with Alistair Burt MP (FCO Minister for Counter-proliferation), Kate Allen, (Director of Amnesty International UK) and Brinley Salzmann (Export Group for Aerospace and Defence).
- March 28: 'Tackling the threat from biological weapons' with Amb Paul van den Ijssel, President-designate of the Seventh Review Conference of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention
- June 21: 'The Arab Spring: an overall view' with Amb Lakhdar Brahimi, former Foreign Minister of Algeria and member of The Elders.
- June 23: 'Afghanistan: negotiating peace' with the co-Chairs of Intl Task Force on Afghanistan in its Regional and Multilateral Dimensions: Amb Thomas Pickering, former US Undersecretary of State, and Amb Lakhdar Brahimi.
- September 12: 'Al-Qaeda and the 9/11 wars' with Jason Burke (South Asia Correspondent for The Guardian and author of "*The 9/11 Wars*")
- October 20: 'Prospects for Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation in 2012 and Beyond: International Perspectives' with Amb Wael Al Assad (Director, Disarmament and Multilateral Relations, League of Arab States), Dr. Jianqun Teng (Director, Centre for Arms Control & International Security Studies, Beijing), Dr. Randy Rydell (Senior Political Affairs Officer, UN Office for Disarmament Affairs), and Dr. Vladimir A. Orlov (President, PIR Centre, Moscow).

- December 13: 'The United Nations and the Responsibility to Protect' with Edward Luck (Special Adviser to the UN Secretary-General on the Responsibility to Protect).

Organization and Staffing

The London office moved to Whitehall, near the heart of British government, in November. (Please see the end of this report for our new UK address)

We are very excited to announce that Rachel Staley joined BASIC as a program support officer in London at the end of 2011. Previously, she worked with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Global Security Institute. Rachel holds an MA in Non-Proliferation and International Security from King's College London and a BA in International Affairs and Anthropology from Northeastern University.

Kim Waller, finance and communications coordinator (with BASIC for over 7 years), and program officer Laura Spagnuolo (with BASIC for 3 years) wrapped up their time with BASIC. Laura went on to work in the health charity sector, and Kim was moving on to the humanitarian aid and development sector. We appreciate immensely their service.

We are grateful to Marco Marilli, who worked temporarily with BASIC London in a support function and who played a central role in the office move. We would also like to thank the dedicated interns who have worked at BASIC in 2011, including: David Adelman, Emily Gade, Charly Gordon, Lukas Milevski, Naomi Falkenburg, Brett DuBois, Suzzette Lopez Abbasciano, Nikita Shah, Julie Ronbeck, and Ben Thomas.

BASIC in the Media and Publications

BASIC staff members were regularly quoted in print and broadcast media, and published their own comment pieces throughout the year. BASIC also published more substantial reports online, often with external partners.

Selected BASIC in the Media articles:

- ‘Damping the powder-keg: Paul Ingram responds to ‘Playing with fire in the Middle East,’ *Open Democracy*, December 16
- Paul Ingram quoted in ‘A ‘Game Changer’ in Iran?’ *Huffington Post*, November 9
- Anne Penketh interviewed in ‘Concern Grows Over Prospects for Middle East Disarmament Meeting,’ *IPS News*, August 25
- Ian Kearns quoted in ‘Nuclear weapons case to be examined by commission,’ article from *The Guardian* about the Trident Commission, February 9

Paul Ingram also hosted a weekly peak-time hour-long discussion program on Iranian state-controlled TV, on issues related to global and Middle East security.

A comprehensive list of BASIC appearances in the media are available on the website:

<http://www.basicint.org/news/basic>

Selected Publications:

- ‘Beyond the UK: Trends in Other Nuclear Armed States’ (Report for the Trident Commission)
-Dr. Ian Kearns, October
- ‘Workshop on WMD-Free Zone in Middle East’
-Paul Ingram, September
- ‘NATO’s Nuclear Posture and Burden Sharing Arrangements: an Italian Perspective’
-Laura Spagnuolo, June
- ‘Multilateralizing Nuclear Arms Control: An Agenda for the P5’
-Andrew Cottey, June
- ‘What’s next with Trident and the United States’
-Chris Lindborg & Christopher Carr, April

Special BASIC-ACA-IFSH paper series on NATO’s nuclear posture:

- ‘The Future of NATO’s Nuclear Weapons’
-Ambassador Rolf Nikel, November

- ‘Revising NATO’s Nuclear Posture: The Way Forward’
-Oliver Meier, August
- ‘Reducing the Role of Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Perspectives and Proposals on the NATO Policy Debate’
-Paul Ingram and Oliver Meier, May

A comprehensive list of BASIC and joint publications are listed on the website:

<http://www.basicint.org/issues/publications>

In addition to those longer publications, BASIC posted more frequent briefings, including three regular email newsletters:

- **This Week:** A look at what’s next in the nuclear world.
- **Getting to Zero Update** (every one to two months): Comprehensive survey of developments in nuclear arms control, missile defense and nuclear postures and programs of key states.
- **Iran Update** (monthly): summaries of developments related to Iran’s nuclear program.

The most recent editions are highlighted on BASIC’s homepage. To subscribe to any of those newsletters, or to subscribe to BASIC’s Press Releases, please go to:

<http://www.basicint.org/updates/subscribe>

Also, follow **BASIC on Twitter:**

<http://twitter.com/basic2010>

BASIC Board in 2011

Dr. Trevor McCrisken (Chair), Assoc. Prof in U.S. foreign policy at the Univ. of Warwick.

Amb. Robert Barry (Secretary), former U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria and Indonesia, Head OSCE Mission in Bosnia (1998-2001).

Dr. Andrew Cottey, Jean Monnet Chair in European Political Integration, Cork Univ.

Amb. Jonathan Dean, former U.S. Ambassador to the MBFR Talks.

Amb. James Goodby, former arms control diplomat, with Brookings, Hoover and MIT.

William D. Hartung, Center for International Policy
Susan Kincade (Treasurer), financial consultant.

Elizabeth Kinder, musician, documentary maker and feature writer.

Amb. James Leonard, former U.S. Rep to the Conference on Disarmament.

Dr. Daniel N. Nelson, President of Global Concepts and Communications, Washington, DC.

Prof. James O'Connell, founder head of Bradford University School of Peace Studies.

Sima Osdoby, consultant on democratic institutions and civil society.

Malcolm Savidge, former British MP.

Prof. Joanna Spear, Director, Security Policy Studies Program, Elliott School, George Washington University.



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