

Dominique de Villepin delivers Alastair Buchan Lecture



The 2003 Alastair Buchan Lecture, 'Law, Force and Justice', was delivered on 27 March by French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin

The IISS invited French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin to deliver the 2003 Alastair Buchan Lecture on Thursday, 27 March. Entitled 'Law, Force and Justice', the Foreign Minister's speech concen-

trated on a range of principles that should inform decisions about military intervention. The Lecture, which took place only about a week into the Iraq War attracted considerable press interest. The Foreign Minister stayed at the

IISS after the Lecture to carry on informal discussions over lunch with members of the IISS Council and senior staff. The full text of his speech is available on the IISS website at www.iiss.org/devillepin.php.



Left to right: French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin, IISS Director John Chipman and IISS Council Chairman François Heisbourg



Members and press attend the 2003 Alastair Buchan Lecture at Arundel House

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Strategic Survey 2002/3 Launch

Strategic Survey, the Institute's annual evaluation and forecast of world affairs, was launched at a press conference held at Arundel House on 13 May. Most major print and broadcast media were represented, and some 80 journalists were in attendance. IISS Director John Chipman condensed the main points of the book in a focused and provocative opening statement, highlighting the continued operational viability of al-Qaeda and the need to rebuild transatlantic relations and international institutions following the diplomatic breakdown over the war in Iraq. In a spirited 45-minute question-and-answer session following the Director's remarks, journalists engaged IISS senior staff on a variety of strategic issues, including the terrorist bombings in Riyadh, the search for weapons of mass destruction

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Strategic Survey 2002/3 Launch

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IISS Director John Chipman delivers his statement at the launch of *Strategic Survey 2002/3* alongside IISS senior staff



Strategic Survey 2002/3 generated extensive media coverage

in Iraq, post-war political and diplomatic challenges in the Gulf and the Middle East peace process.

The extensive media coverage that *Strategic Survey 2002/3* received indicated the success of the launch. Its publication was noted by all wire services, all British broadsheets, a number of European publications and several major American newspapers. During the week of the launch, Jonathan Stevenson, Editor of *Strategic Survey* and IISS Senior Fellow for Counter-terrorism, was interviewed by more than 50

journalists and appeared on the main British television networks as well as CNN, NPR, CBS, CBC and Fox News. Due to the near-simultaneity of the launch and the suspected al-Qaeda terrorist attacks in Saudi Arabia and Morocco, the media seized upon *Strategic Survey's* conclusion that 'al-Qaeda (or its successor) remained a potent transnational terrorist organisation that could take a generation to dismantle'. Journalists were also keenly interested in the short-term impact of the war in Iraq on terrorist activity.

New Adelphi Papers

Adelphi Paper 355

The Role of the G8 in International Peace and Security

Risto E. J. Penttilä

This Paper is the first concise yet comprehensive analysis of the role of the G8 in international peace and security. It argues that the G7/8 has a long and impressive history in the field of international security and can be seen as a noteworthy 'second best' option after the UN Security Council.

The Paper further argues that China should be admitted into the G8 first as an observer and



later as a member. There is also a strong argument for the European Union to have one seat at the G8 even if such a change does not seem realistic today.

The G8 bears great resemblance to the 19th century Concert of Europe.

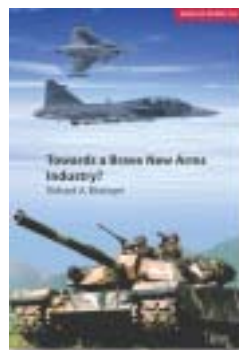
Whether it will assume a similar role in the 21st century depends in the final analysis on whether the United States welcomes such a role for the G8.

Adelphi Paper 356

Towards a Brave New Arms Industry?

Richard A. Bitzinger

Adelphi Paper 356 addresses the current dilemmas and likely future facing second-tier arms producing states. By examining the experiences and reactions of a cross-section of these producers, the paper analyses several issues. How have post-Cold War military, economic and technological challenges specifically affected these countries? How are secondary



arms producers reacting to these challenges? Which strategies have been successful and which have not, and what are the lessons for other second-tier and aspiring arms producers? Finally, given unfolding trends and develop-

ments worldwide, what might the structure and character of the global arms industry look like 10-15 years from now?

www.iiss.org

The launch of the microsite iiss.org/iraq resulted in a significant increase in visitors to the Institute's website. Average daily visitor numbers increased from a few hundred a day to several thousand with a peak of 8,000. The microsite carried military, economic and humanitarian analyses during the build-up to war and the conflict itself. Updates on post-war events are still being published and there are plans to produce an



electronic archive of the microsite to preserve the Institute's much credited analysis.

A History of South Africa's Chemical and Biological Warfare Programme: Lessons to be Learnt



Dr Gary Samore, IISS Director of Studies and Senior Fellow for Non-Proliferation, and Chandre Gould, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

On 1 April, the IISS hosted a Private Discussion Meeting with Chandre Gould, who gave a briefing on 'A History of South Africa's Chemical and Biological Warfare Programme: Lessons to be Learnt'. The presentation brought together officials and experts to discuss lessons that could be learnt from the chemical and biological weapons (CBW) programme of the apartheid governments in order to strengthen international non-proliferation efforts.

Chandre Gould is a researcher at the Centre for Conflict

Resolution in Cape Town. Between 1996 and 1999 she worked as an investigator for the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in which capacity she investigated the apartheid era's chemical and biological warfare programme. This resulted in a public hearing. Gould is co-author of *Secrets and Lies: Wouter Basson and South Africa's Chemical and Biological Warfare Programme* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2002) and *Project Coast: Apartheid's Chemical and Biological Warfare Programme*, published by the United Nations Institute for



The Private Discussion Meeting with Chandre Gould brought together senior officials and experts to discuss what lessons can be drawn from the history of the chemical and biological weapons programme undertaken by South Africa's apartheid-era governments

Disarmament Research (UNIDIR).

In her presentation, Ms Gould discussed the underlying motivations and objectives of South Africa's CBW programme which developed largely in response to the internal and external threat perceptions of the South African apartheid government. Gould

also examined the structure and organisation of the programme, code-named Project Coast, as well as the resources which enabled it to develop. Among the numerous issues discussed by participants were the recruitment of scientists and their employment after the termination of a CBW programme.

IN BRIEF

Gary Samore, Director of Studies and Senior Fellow for Non-proliferation, has spoken at a number of conferences during recent months. He gave a paper on 'The Future of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Regime' at a conference jointly organised by the IISS and the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels on 3 March. On 15 March, he spoke on 'Strategies for Dealing with North Korea' at a conference in Potsdam organised by the Institute for

Security Studies in cooperation with the German Foreign Office at the University of Kiel. On 25 March, he presented a paper on 'Dealing with CBW Proliferation in the Middle East' at an international symposium sponsored by the United Nations University in Tokyo. On 15 April, he spoke on the North Korean nuclear crisis at the Institut Français des relations internationales (Ifri) in Paris. On 1-2 May, along with **Adam Ward**, Senior Fellow for East Asian

Security, he hosted an international meeting at the IISS in London on Korean security issues (see page 8), including participation from North and South Korea, Japan, China, Australia, the US, UK, and Europe.

On 8 May, Consulting Senior Fellow for European Security **Klaus Becher** spoke at a workshop in Athens hosted by the Greek EU Presidency and the European Commission on security and

defence aspects of European space policy. He also attended the British-German Königswinter Conference in Berlin on 15-17 May.

After three and a half years at the Institute, during which he succeeded in establishing the Helmut Schmidt Fellowship Programme for European Security, Klaus Becher leaves the Institute as of June 2003 to work as an independent consultant on international security and technology.



Drive to double the IISS membership

During May the Director wrote to every member, enclosing two membership packs (see above) and seeking the involvement of all members in a membership drive. The aim is to double the Institute's membership in the next one to two years. Any member who requires more packs should email Christalla Leontis (leontis@iiss.org).

It is the current membership who is best placed to identify future members. We want, naturally, to see new faces in the Institute. Our subscription structure is designed to attract everyone from the new 'student' member to the mature expert, and to retain the loyal long-serving member with 'senior' status. The Institute's membership should represent the range of talent and knowledge needed in order to operate its research and conference programme effectively. We are thus seeking out, from an international base and across the professions with which we deal, people to actively and creatively contribute to the Institute's work.

All the materials sent out in May had been revised. The Application Form has a completely new look, the design taking account of our plans to provide Christalla with an improved relational membership database once funding is in place. We will be tracking, by region and subject, the interests of members to

allow for closer involvement in the Institute's activities. A recent decision that a Secunder is no longer required is reflected; new members need just one Proposer who is an existing member. Prospective members are now given their Application Form in the pocket of a full-colour folder that describes what it means to be a member of the IISS. As well as the entitlements, the text discusses how members are part of a club of experts and specialists in world events, with access to a network of analysts, writers and commentators. Increasingly, the Members Area of the website will service and support this networking function.

The Trustees, the Council and the Directing Staff all recognise the importance to the Institute of an expansion in numbers at this point in our history, and it is hoped that every member will be able, in John Chipman's words, 'to recruit one other member in the next few months'. More than one other member will be readily accommodated!

*David King,
IISS Administrative
Secretary*



“ The aim is to double the Institute's membership in the next one to two years. ”

New team for corporate and institutional members

*IISS Senior Fellow for International Affairs and Corporate Membership
Nicolas Maclean writes:*

Part of the Director's commitment to strengthen the Institute's membership base is my appointment this year as Head of Corporate & Institutional Membership in succession to Steve Simon who has returned to the States. My career has mainly been spent on strategic issues in a corporate environment, and I served for six years as Chairman of the Membership Committee while on the Council of Chatham House. My aim is to provide quality service and value for money to all our Corporate and Institutional Members, assisted by Christalla Leontis, Isobel Ward and Sarah Peskett.

The IISS already gives excellent value to its members and nominees through its very active meetings and research programme, but in addition the commercial market value of publications distributed amounts to more than £700 a year. An increasing number of these are now also available online. Corporate Members, in return for their higher subscriptions, are eligible for exclusive benefits such as periodic receptions and briefings not open to Individual Members. The IISS also supports its Corporate Members through its distinguished and highly experienced Corporate Advisory Panel.

However, our base of Corporate and Institutional Members is surprisingly low, given the vital relevance of our

work and services in this uncertain world. Whether for risk assessment and strategic planning or networking and business development, both Corporate and Institutional Membership of the IISS offer many advantages. I have already appealed to each member of staff to contact me with their suggestions for new members, and many have come forward with helpful ideas or personal introductions. Through the Newsletter, I now appeal to each reader to kindly look through our 2003 List of Corporate and Institutional Members and to contact me (maclean@iiss.org) with suggestions or introductions. This will help guarantee the mainstream future of the IISS.



**Nicolas Maclean CMG,
Senior Fellow for International
Affairs and Corporate Membership**

The Second IISS Global Strategic Review: 'Geopolitical Change, The Use of Force, and New Strategic Doctrines'



GSR 2003 will be held at the Lansdowne Resort from 12–14 September

As all members should have been advised, preparations are underway for GSR 2003 which this year will take place from 12–14 September at the Lansdowne Resort just outside Washington DC. This year the GSR will address three principal issues: the changing shape of the Middle East, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the debate over new strategic doctrines.

The conference will be plenary-based, with brief presentations and ample time for discussion. Plenaries will address the following topics: 'The New Iraq and the Changing Shape of Gulf Stability'; 'Political and Curriculum Change in the Middle East'; 'The West and its Institutions': 'Losing Allies but Gaining Converts?'; 'Next Phases in the Campaigns Against Terrorism and WMD'; 'Media

Perspectives on Public Opinion and the New Security Challenges'; 'The Changing Nature of Sovereignty and Strategy'; and 'New Strategic Doctrines for a New Age'.

A strong group of experts has already agreed to speak, including:

- Ambassador Diego Arria, Director, The Columbus Group and former Venezuelan Ambassador to the UN;
- Assistant Secretary William J. Burns, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, US State Department;
- Professor Eliot Cohen, Director, Strategic Studies Program, SAIS;
- Mme Thérèse Delpech, Director of Strategic Affairs at the French Atomic Energy Commission and IISS Council Member;
- Professor Sir Lawrence Freedman, Professor of War Studies at King's College, London;

- Dr Yoichi Funabashi, Senior Correspondent of the *Asahi Shimbun*;
- Dr Shafeeq Ghabra, President, American University of Kuwait;
- Professor Christopher Greenwood, Professor of International Law, London School of Economics;
- Ambassador Richard Haass, Director of the Office of Policy Planning, US State Department;
- Professor Michael Mandelbaum, Christian A Herter Professor and Director, American Foreign Policy Program, SAIS;
- Lt Gen (Retd) VR Raghavan, Director of the Delhi Policy Group;
- Eric Rouleau, syndicated columnist, author and consultant, and former French Ambassador to Turkey;
- Dr Gary Samore, IISS Director of Studies and Senior Fellow for Non-Proliferation.

“ This year the GSR will address three principal issues: the changing shape of the Middle East, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the debate over new strategic doctrines. ”

The IISS has invited President Bush to make the Keynote Address.

With regard to social aspects of the GSR, the countryside around the Resort is outstanding, and the facilities, rooms and food are first-rate.

Furthermore, Sir David Manning, British Ambassador to Washington, has kindly offered to give a reception at the Residence for those members still in the Washington area on Sunday evening. This will take place between 5–7pm.

Those members who wish to attend and have yet to book should complete their registration form and return it immediately to Christalla Leontis, IISS Membership Secretary.

In the post-11 September period, border security has become an increasingly important issue in the overall security agenda of many governments, including those of the European Union (EU) and Russia.

At present, the EU and Russia share only one border – between Russia and Finland. However, their common borders will increase substantially after the next round of EU enlargement takes place to include the three Baltic States and Poland.

One of the main requirements of EU membership has been for candidate states to improve their border infrastructure in order to provide a stronger deterrent against old and new threats. However, at the same time, the EU does not want to isolate Russia. For its part, the Russian government and in particular the administrations of those Russian regions bordering prospective EU candidate states, is increasingly concerned about the effects the border changes will have on their economies, cross-border contacts and security.

In order to contribute to this policy debate the IISS Russian Regional Security Forum, together with the Kaliningrad State University (CASE program) and Carnegie Moscow Center,

IISS visits Kaliningrad to discuss border security of an enlarged European Union



From left to right: Alexei Ignatyev, East-West Institute; Robert Nurick, Director Carnegie Moscow Centre; Professor Vladimir Kanter, Baltic CASE; Oksana Antonenko, IISS Senior Fellow and Professor Andrey Klemeshev, Rector Kaliningrad State University

held a conference entitled 'EU Enlargement and Russia's Border Regions: Borders without Dividing Lines' on 21–22 February. The conference took place in Kaliningrad, where concerns over border changes are particularly acute due to its status as an exclave, separated as it is from Russia by the future EU

members, Lithuania and Poland.

The IISS Kaliningrad conference discussed the new post-enlargement border regime between Russia and the EU specifically addressing the experience to date and anticipated challenges ahead in the relationships between Russia's border regions and the EU's present and

future member states.

The conference identified the concerns and policy challenges in the region regarding trade, visa regimes, cross-border cooperation and regional stability. It also discussed strategies for dealing with these issues at the federal and regional level. Particular attention was paid to evaluating practical implications of the EU–Russia agreement on special transit arrangements between Russia's mainland and its Kaliningrad exclave. Finally, a number of presentations focused on assessing key threats and challenges to border security including illegal migration, trafficking in drugs, small arms and people and cross border crime.

The conference was attended by representatives of all those Russian regions (Arkhangelsk, Murmansk, Pskov, Leningrad, Kaliningrad) bordering the present and future members of the European Union. Other Russian regions such as Novgorod, Moscow and St. Petersburg and from those countries bordering or neighbouring Northwest Russia (Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland) plus Germany, the UK, US and Moldova, were also represented.

New Journal

A new journal entitled *Russia's New Southern Border: Western Siberia-Central Asia* has been published by the Russia and Eurasia programme. The journal includes papers from a number of Russian and Central Asian scholars assessing Russia's policy towards Central Asia, the implications of the US-led military campaign in Afghanistan for regional security, and an assessment of migration trends, inter-ethnic relations in Central Asia and cross-border relations between Western Siberia and Central Asia. Please contact Kathryn Pinnick at pinnick@iiss.org



if you would like to receive a copy of this publication.

IN BRIEF

On 13–15 May, Senior Fellow for Russia and Eurasia **Oksana Antonenko** participated in the international conference 'Central Asia in the XXI century' which took place in Tashkent (Uzbekistan) and was organised by the Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. In June Ms Antonenko will attend conferences in Tajikistan and Kazakhstan with a view to discussing proposals for expanding IISS activities in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

On 25 April, **Oksana Antonenko** spoke on NATO–Russia relations at

the Northern European Security Forum which took place in Tallinn (Estonia) and was organised by the Estonian Foreign Policy Institute and Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.

On 11 April, **Oksana Antonenko** participated in a seminar on Georgian security which was organised by Institut de Relations Internationales et Strategiques in Paris.

In late February, **Adam Ward**, Senior Fellow for East Asian Security and Editor of *Strategic Comments* travelled to Washington DC for a series of meetings to discuss regional

'War in Iraq and Black Sea Regional Security'



Left to right: Charles Grant, Director, Centre for European Reform; Professor Michael Clarke, Director, International Policy Institute, King's College and Oksana Antonenko, IISS Senior Fellow for Russia and Eurasia

On 9 May, 2003, the Russia and Eurasia Programme hosted a one-day international conference entitled 'War in Iraq and Black Sea Regional Security'. The conference was organised with the Harvard University Black Sea Security Programme. Conference participants included senior officials from the Ministries of Defence, National Security Councils, Foreign Ministries and Parliaments as well as representatives of think-tanks and academic institutes from eight countries of the Black Sea Region: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, Turkey and

Ukraine. In addition to regional participants, the conference was attended by IISS senior experts, representatives of the UK government, members of London-based think-tanks and selected press representatives.

The conference presented an opportunity for representatives of the Black Sea region countries, British and other participants to assess the impact of the US-led military campaign in Iraq on Black Sea regional security, focusing particularly on US relations with Turkey, geo-political and security challenges for the South Caucasus and implications for major regional infrastructure



Conference participants from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova, Turkey and Ukraine

projects (such as the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline). In addition, the conference analysed the impact of the Iraq crisis on NATO's future role with reference to the NATO enlargement process following the NATO summit in Prague, as well as NATO's relations with Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia.

Conference speakers included: Professor Michael Clarke, Director of the International Policy Institute, King's College London; Jonathan Stevenson, Senior Fellow for Counter-terrorism, IISS; Charles Grant, Director of the Centre for European Reform; Dr Shirin Akiner, School of

Oriental and African Studies; Eric Povel, NATO; Omer Tuzel, Head of Disarmament Section, MFA (Turkey); Movses Akopian, Advisor to the Minister of Defence (Armenia); Elman Agaev, Deputy Head of Security Affairs Department, Ministry of Defence (Azerbaijan); Colonel Mitko Zapryanov, Defence Information Service (Bulgaria); Major-General Tudor Munteanu, Deputy Secretary of State (Romania); Boris Andresyuk, Deputy Chair of the National Security and Defence Committee, Ukrainian Parliament; Colonel Sergei Gutsu, Ministry of Defence (Moldova); and Mamuka Kudava, MFA (Georgia).

security issues with US officials and brief them on the Institute's Asia-related research activities, particularly with regard to the North Korean nuclear crisis. At the State Department's East Asian and Pacific Affairs Bureau, he met with Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary Donald Keyser, as well as with US Special Envoy for Negotiations with North Korea Ambassador Jack Pritchard. At the National Security Council, he met with Director for Asia, Dr Michael Green. Together with Senior Fellow for Asia-Pacific Security and Editor of the *Adelphi Papers* Dr Tim Huxley, he visited a variety of Washington

DC and New York-based research institutions to explore possible opportunities for collaboration.

In late March, Adam Ward and Director of Studies Dr Gary Samore travelled to Japan and South Korea as part of their efforts to raise awareness of the IISS Korean Security Programme and to pursue fund-raising opportunities. In Tokyo, they had a series of excellent meetings, including with Senior Vice-Foreign Minister Toshimitsu Motegi, Vice-Foreign Minister Yukio Takeuchi and Deputy Foreign Minister Hitoshi Tanaka. At the Blue House in Seoul, they discussed the North

Korean crisis with National Security Advisor Ra Jong Yil and Presidential Foreign Policy Advisor Ban Ki Moon.

In addition to his editorial responsibilities on *Strategic Comments*, Adam Ward contributed a chapter to *Strategic Survey 2002/3*, published in May. On 9–11 May, he took part in a conference at Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, entitled 'Japan in the 21st Century'. On 20 May, he was a speaker at a briefing on China for some 50 members of the House of Commons and House of Lords, organised by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. His presen-

tation dealt with military dimensions of Chinese foreign policy.

On 10 April *Military Balance* Editor and Research Fellow for Russia and the CIS Christopher Langton presented a paper entitled 'A Review of Global Security' at a Study Day run by Headquarters United Kingdom Support Command in Germany. The aim was to update and inform British military and international liaison staff about the spectrum of modern threats. On 9 May, he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate from Schiller International University in recognition of his work in Peace Studies.



North Korean Nuclear Crisis Workshop

On 2 May, as part of its Korean Security Programme, the Institute held a timely one-day workshop at Arundel House to address the current dispute concerning North Korea's nuclear activities and to anticipate how growing tensions on and around the Korean Peninsula might be resolved.

Organised by Senior Fellow for East Asian Security and Editor of *Strategic Comments* Adam Ward, and Director of Studies and Senior Fellow for Non-proliferation Dr Gary Samore, the off-the-record workshop involved some 50 diplomats, analysts, parliamentarians and officials from North Korea, the United States, South Korea, Japan, China, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Australia and European Union institutions. The workshop was the product of a year of initiatives, beginning with Adam Ward's May 2002 week-long visit to Pyongyang, to deepen contacts with North Korean officials and make them aware of the value of the IISS as an independent forum in which officials and analysts can meet outside of formal channels to exchange views and think creatively about pressing strategic issues.

The North Korean delegation, which visited the United Kingdom at the invitation of the IISS, was led by Vice-Foreign Minister Choe Su Hon. Other members of

the delegation sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs included Ri Byong Gap, Vice-Director of the European Department, and Kim Song Gyong, Section Chief of the European Department. This marked the first visit to Europe by a senior North Korean official since the crisis surrounding North Korea's pursuit of a clandestine uranium-enrichment programme broke in October 2002, precipitating Pyongyang's withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and throwing the 1994 Agreed Framework into terminal disarray. It was also the first overseas visit by a senior North Korean official since April's trilateral talks in Beijing between the United States, North Korea and China, and therefore marked an excellent opportunity to take stock of the latest diplomatic ini-

tiatives. Vice-Foreign Minister Choe used the opportunity of his visit to schedule ministerial meetings with counterparts at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, all of whom also attended the IISS workshop, as well as to formally open – amid considerable media interest – the North Korean embassy in London.

The opening workshop session, chaired by Gary Samore, featured two keynote addresses. Vice-Foreign Minister Choe offered a critical appraisal of the current direction of North Korea's relations with European Union members and institutions, urging them to play a greater role in strategic affairs affecting the Korean Peninsula and to deepen forms of economic and technical assistance. In his remarks, which can be viewed on the IISS website ([www.iiss.org/northkoreanwork-](http://www.iiss.org/northkoreanworkshop)

shop), Bill Rammell MP, UK Parliamentary Undersecretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, stressed that while European countries were willing to help draw North Korea out of its isolation, this was contingent on a resolution of the nuclear crisis. For its part, the United Kingdom was inclined to cooperate, but also was willing to confront North Korea with others in the absence of progress on the nuclear issue.

The second session addressed the nuclear issue in greater depth and from a number of contrasting perspectives. Vice-Foreign Minister Choe traced the evolution of the current crisis as seen from Pyongyang, and voiced his expectation that Washington would respond favourably to proposals put to James Kelly, US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific, during his talks in Beijing with North Korean negotiator Li Gun. Glyn Ford, Member of the European Parliament, highlighted the manner in which, from a European perspective, both Washington and Pyongyang had mishandled their relationship through the last decade and suggested pointers for the future. In his presentation, Henry Sokolsky of the Washington-based Non-proliferation Policy Education Centre assessed North Korea's likely nuclear capabilities and the potential implications of its nuclear 'breakout' for the global non-proliferation regime. Joel Wit, a Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies with long direct experience of US-North Korea negotiations, addressed the considerable technical difficulties that would surround nuclear verification and inspection efforts, even if it proved politically possible to arrive at a new agreement providing for such measures.

The workshop then moved on to discuss the economic dimension of security on the Korean Peninsula. Bradley Babson, a Senior Advisor to the World Bank, analysed North Korea's economic conditions and Pyongyang's



Left to right: Adam Ward, Bill Rammell MP, Dr Gary Samore and Choe Su Hon

IISS/CEPS European Security Forum “

For more than two years, the European Security Forum in Brussels, a joint undertaking by the IISS and the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), has been a highly successful attempt to bring the international strategic debate on current issues relevant to European security to the attention of the principal European and North Atlantic institutions. Involving Brussels-based high-level officials and a multinational group of invited members from a wide range of backgrounds, the meetings have been highlights of the Brussels circuit and have continued to attract first-rate speakers and participants.

At the IISS, these meetings have been coordinated by Consulting Senior Fellow for European Security Klaus Becher in the framework of the IISS Helmut Schmidt Fellowship Programme for European Security. The specific formula, with one

speaker from an EU country, one from the United States and one from Russia at each meeting – all non-officials, with ample time for discussion, has proven to be the right one, generating interesting debate and helping to better understand and manage diverging viewpoints and interests on emerging common issues.

The meeting on 3 March focused on the future of the nuclear nonproliferation regime, with special attention to the challenges in North Korea, Iran and South Asia. The panel of speakers included Bruno Tertrais (Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, Paris), Vladimir Orlov (Center for Policy Studies in Russia, Moscow) and IISS Director of Studies Gary Samore.

On 12 May, the forum analysed and discussed Turkey's strategic future, with introductory presentations by Nathalie Tocci (CEPS), Hüseyin Bagci (Middle

The IISS/CEPS meetings have been highlights of the Brussels circuit and have continued to attract first-rate speakers and participants. ”

East Technical University, Ankara), Natalia Oultchenko (Russian Academy of Sciences) and Henri Barkey, (Lehigh University).

This meeting, like previous ones, profited from the presence of a number of experienced practitioners of international security policy who have been regularly attending IISS/CEPS European Security Forum events, including Walt Slocombe, former US Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, and Gareth Evans, former Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the International Crisis Group.

The meetings, initially launched under a grant from the German Marshall Fund of the United States, have been made possible by support from various sources, including a selection of European and North American companies and the US Mission to the European Union.

Klaus Becher, who has been a Senior Fellow at the Institute since 1999, leaves the IISS in June 2003 to build up his own consultancy business in the UK and in Germany. The Institute is seeking the continuation and further intensification of the IISS Helmut Schmidt Fellowship programme for European security and hopes that the Ebelin and Gerd Bucerius ZEIT Foundation will extend its grant in honour of former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who famously delivered the Alastair Buchan Memorial Lecture at the IISS 25 years ago – at the time helping to trigger NATO's crucial double-track decision on inter-

mediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

Dana Allin, Editor of *Survival* and Carol Deane Senior Fellow for Transatlantic Affairs, will take over from 1 June as co-director of the European Security Forum on the IISS side, working with Michel Emerson, his counterpart at CEPS. The meetings in Brussels will continue to be chaired by François Heisbourg, Chairman of the IISS Council. The next European Security Forum meeting in July will discuss the question "Old Europe", "New Europe": Is there still a future for CFSP and ESDP?

All papers of the European Security Forum are available to the public on the website www.eusec.org. It can also be accessed via a link on the IISS website. Each meeting's papers, with a chairman's summary of the discussion, are also available in a series of brochures published at CEPS in Brussels (*ESF Working Papers*). The second volume of the book series *Readings in European Security* – a collection of one year's worth of papers – is scheduled for publication in the autumn.



Klaus Becher, Consulting Senior Fellow for European Security

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recent reform initiatives, while Kim Song Gyong called for greater outside economic assistance and investment. Aidan Foster-Carter, Honorary Senior Fellow in Modern Korea at Leeds University, set out the prospective impact of the current nuclear dispute on North Korea's international economic relations. The final session of the workshop featured a wide-ranging panel discussion entitled 'The Way Ahead', and included presentations by Ri Byong Gap; Dr Ronald F. Lehman, Director of the Center for Global Security Research at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory; Dr Rosalind Marsden, Director for Asia-Pacific at the FCO; and Dr James Hoare, former British Charge d'Affaires in Pyongyang.

Aiming to build on this initial success, the Institute plans to hold additional meetings over the coming months. While London-based diplomats from



Kim Il Soo, Minister, South Korean Embassy, London

South Korea, Japan, and China participated in the workshop, officials from national capitals will be enlisted for subsequent meetings. The Institute is in the process of raising funds for a sustained multi-year programme of activities combining events and publications. For more information about the IISS Korean Security Programme, contact Adam Ward (ward@iiss.org). The complex administrative demands of the 2 May event were met with customary efficiency by Gillian Hannant, Administrator (Research and Grants).

IISS-US update

IISS-US continues to expand with current research projects being extended and new ones starting. More staff have been taken on at the Washington DC office and the line-up is now as follows:

- President and Executive Director: Terence Taylor
- Consulting Fellow: Marco Vicenzino (Latin America, Membership and Media Relations)
- Research Fellow: Dr Elizabeth Prescott (Life Sciences and Biotechnology)
- Research Fellow: Genevieve Lester (Risk Analysis)
- Research Assistant: Natasha Pirzada (Assistance to Research Fellows and Office Support)

Extramural Fellows:

- Senior Consulting Fellow: Linda Robinson (Colombia – Washington DC)
- Senior Consulting Fellow: Gareth Jenkins (Political Islam in Turkey – Istanbul)
- IISS-US/CGSR Senior Fellow: Dr Jean Savy (Risk Analysis – Livermore CA)
- Consulting Fellow: Vladimir Belskiy (US Policy and Eurasia – Washington DC)

Biotechnology Industry Project

The joint IISS-US and Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute (CBACI) project on the Future of the Biotechnology Industry: Safeguarding the Opportunities and Managing the Risks has been buoyed by renewed funding from the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) for two more years. The project team welcomes the addition of Dr Elizabeth M. Prescott, a new Research Fellow for IISS-US. Dr Prescott comes with a D.Phil. in Chemical Pathology from Balliol College, Oxford and has work experience with the National Academy of Science in the US. With this addition, the team is moving into the next stage of the project to establish a world association of biotechnology

companies to encourage the safe and secure operation of facilities and business practices. Efforts to reach out to industry leaders around the world have continued. Recent activities include engaging biotechnology executives in Basle, Manchester, Oxford, Munich and Tokyo. Additionally, on 11 June there will be a joint meeting on the project with the National Academy of Science's Forum on Emerging Infections, which will facilitate discussion with academic and industry leaders about the importance of the intersection between the life sciences and security. The support for this important project from individuals and organisations around the world continues to grow.

IISS-US speaking event

Taking advantage of his presence for a month at the Woodrow Wilson International Center For Scholars, IISS-US sponsored a talk by Professor Sir Adam Roberts, Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at Oxford University and IISS Council Member, entitled 'The Law of Armed Conflict and the Conduct of Military Operations in Iraq' to a gathering of IISS members and their guests at the Willard Intercontinental Hotel in Washington, DC, on 28 April 2003. The event was attended by more than 90 people, including

Sir Michael Howard, President Emeritus of the IISS Council, who was in Washington DC conducting research at the Library of Congress. A lively discussion followed the talk on a full range of law of armed conflict issues, particularly in relation to the current US national security strategy.

Risk Analysis

The new project 'Living with Risk', a collaboration between IISS and the Center for Global Security Research (CGSR) at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, has seen several important events since its inception on 28 February, 2003.

The project, overseen by Terence Taylor (IISS) and Dr Ron Lehman (CGSR), and led by IISS/CGSR Senior Fellow Dr Jean Savy, aims to enhance the capabilities of high-level policy decision-makers faced with making decisions in complex emergency situations. One objective of the project is to describe the best available analytical methods and process tools, and to help decision-makers understand their use, limitations and benefits.

For general guidance, the project has created a Senior Advisory Panel (SAP), composed of internationally recognised experts in the fields related to risk analysis and terrorism. The SAP presently includes Professor

George Apostolakis of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Professor William Kastenberg of the University of California, Berkeley, Nobel Laureate Joshua Lederberg of Rochester University, Professor Elizabeth Pate-Cornell of Stanford University, and Professor Detlof von Winterfeldt of the University of Southern California.

Practical aspects of high-level policy decision-making will be covered by the addition to the SAP of people with hands-on experience.

The SAP met in its present form on 25 April at Stanford University to review the general content of the project, and to help in preparations for the first workshop. Several members of the project participated in the Spring Session of the World Federation of Scientists meeting in Erice, Italy, 11-15 May. Prior to the plenary sessions, the Permanent Monitoring Panel (PMP) on Risk Analysis, chaired by Terence Taylor, met on 10 May to discuss the work of the PMP and to use the synergies with the 'Living with Risk' project. At the plenary, Terence Taylor chaired the session on Risk Analysis, and William Kastenberg and Jean Savy made presentations on the project.

The workshop of 17-18 July, to be held at Arundel House, will review the general bases of risk analysis, with an emphasis on terrorism. We will propose a unified definition of risk in this particular context, and will review new approaches to analyse and mitigate risk. We will discuss the proposed case studies and select working group chairs.

Fortunately, we will have additional help from Ms Genevieve Lester, who is joining us on 1 June as a Research Fellow in the IISS Washington DC office.

Genevieve Lester will work with Senior Fellow Dr Jean Savy on the project. She will divide her time between the Washington DC office and the Center for Global Security Research (CGSR) at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) in California.



Professor Sir Adam Roberts (IISS Council Member) with IISS-US staff at his speaking event in Washington DC on 28 April. From left to right: Consulting Fellow Vladimir Belskiy, Consulting Fellow Marco Vicenzino, Sir Adam Roberts, Research Fellow Dr Elizabeth M. Prescott and Terence Taylor



Among the participants at the World Federation of Scientists meeting at Erice, Italy, 11–15 May were, left to right, Dr Jean Savy (IISS/CGSR Senior Fellow), Eileen Vergino (Deputy Director CGSR), Michael Moodie (IISS Member and President CBACI), Olivia Bosch (IISS Member and Senior Fellow RIIA), Professor William Kastenberg (University of California Berkley)



IISS members Dr Michael Sturmer (left) and Ambassador Henning Wegener, participants in the Permanent Monitoring Panel on Risk Analysis at the World Federation of Scientists Meeting in Erice, Italy

Genevieve Lester is a graduate of the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies in Washington DC and was a Fulbright Scholar at the Berlin Technical University. She joins IISS-US from the Royal Institute for International Affairs in London. Genevieve was also a researcher at Arundel House during 2001.

Political Islam in Turkey

IISS-US Senior Consulting Fellow Gareth Jenkins has continued to conduct research for the IISS book project on Political Islam in Turkey, which was launched in September 2002. In March 2003 he visited London and Paris to brief members of the policy community. He is due to travel to Washington in June 2003 to meet with members of the US policy community, and hold a seminar at the IISS-US office. In March 2003, he published an analysis of the Turkish Islamist movement in *Survival* ('Muslim Democrats in Turkey?', Vol. 45, No. 1). He has continued to research written resources and conduct interviews with Islamist politicians, businessmen and members of the secular establishment. In May he travelled to the Anatolian city of Konya, traditionally one of the Islamist heartlands, to conduct meetings

with local Islamist politicians, academics, businessmen and NGOs. The project has two part-time research assistants: Begum Saruhan, who in addition to maintaining the project's databases has been conducting research on the Alewite religious minority and the record of the Islamist parties in local government; and Yagmur Acar who has continued to research the role of women in the Islamist movement, interviewing female politicians, academics and members of Islamist NGOs.

Colombia

Senior Consulting Fellow Linda Robinson continues to make excellent progress with her project 'Colombia's War and the US Response: A Case Study of US Special Forces in 21st Century Conflicts'. The Colombia project is an important contribution to the future development of the IISS-US programme for Latin America and is providing a greater understanding and analysis of the use of Special Forces. On 13 June, she held a workshop in Washington DC involving key participants from US Special Forces to analyse the results of her work so far. During the Iraq War, Linda Robinson worked for the journal *US News and World Report* as an embedded reporter with US Special Forces.

Other activities

Terence Taylor has been engaged in a wide range of speaking activities. Among these was a talk he gave as the lead speaker on 18 March at a seminar organised by the Japanese Cabinet Office staff in Tokyo. The topic was Weapons of Mass Destruction and Terrorism. The talk and the discussions included the technical aspects of the use of these weapons by terrorists, the nature of terrorist groups that might resort to such weapons and the possible range of policy responses. While in Tokyo, Terence Taylor had meetings on 20 March with Toshiaki Ogasawara (IISS Council Member and Chairman of NIFCO and the *Japan Times*) and with senior members of the Japanese Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association and the Chugai Pharmaceutical Company in connection with the IISS-US/CBACI Biotechnology Industry project.

Terence Taylor was a speaker and a session panel member at a Duke University conference on 10–11 April at Durham, North Carolina on the laws of armed conflict. His talk focused on the legal aspects of the implementation of verification regimes under the various arms control treaties and in relation to Iraq. On 14 April, Terence Taylor was in Los Angeles as a speaker at an

event sponsored by the Pacific Council that was organised by IISS member Dr David Karl and chaired by another IISS member, James Thompson – President of RAND. Along with Vice-Admiral Jay Campbell, a naval aviator and until recently Chief of Operations and Plans at US Central Command, Terence Taylor spoke about the aftermath of, and the lessons from, the military operations in Iraq. Marco Vicenzino also attended the meeting taking the opportunity to promote IISS membership possibilities in southern California. Again with the focus on Iraq, on 30 April, Terence Taylor was the speaker at a luncheon discussion meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Club held at the Yale University Club in New York City. In Erice, Italy from 10–15 May, Terence Taylor chaired meetings and gave presentations at a World Federation of Scientists meeting focusing on the challenges posed to the scientific and technical community in supporting policies to counter terrorism (see also report on Risk Analysis above) On 21 May, he was in Geneva to give a talk and lead a discussion on inspections in Iraq that was part of an international training course, run by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, for senior military officers and officials from NATO Partnership for Peace countries.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies

The Gerald Segal Research Fellowship Appeal

PRIZE ESSAY COMPETITION

Dr Gerald Segal, who died in November 1999, had been Director of Studies at the International Institute for Strategic Studies since September 1997. He joined the IISS in September 1991 as Senior Fellow for Asian Studies. During his career, Gerald Segal was unusually productive: he wrote more than a dozen books and published 130 articles. Though his published work encompassed diverse topics, his greatest contribution was in the analysis of Asian strategic and security issues. Alongside his own direct contributions, Dr Segal also did much to encourage research and writing on Asian security by younger and less widely-published colleagues.

The Research Fellowship appeal, launched shortly after Gerald Segal's death, remains open for contributions. However, pending the accumulation of funds sufficient to support a Research Fellowship in Asian Security at the IISS, the appeal's steering committee has decided to inaugurate an annual prize essay competition aimed at encouraging writing on Asian security amongst younger scholars.

The closing date for this year's competition is **30 September 2003**. Authors who will be under the age of 35 on that date and who hold a university degree are invited to submit policy-relevant essays on any contemporary aspect of Asian security to **Dr Tim Huxley, Senior Fellow for Asia-Pacific Security, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Arundel House, 13-15, Temple Place, London, WC2R 3DX** in hard-copy form. Authors should include full contact details, including an e-mail address, and a brief biographical resumé.

It is recommended that essays should be approximately 5-6,000 words long, and certainly no more than 8,000 words. The winning author will be awarded a cash prize of £1,000. Together with other submissions of sufficient quality, the winning essay will be considered for publication in the Institute's quarterly journal, *Survival*.