THE FUTURE OF STRATEGIC DETERRENCE FOR THE UK

Wednesday 06 July 2005

	0815	Registration and Morning Coffee
	0855	Administrative Announcements
	0900	Conference Welcome Rear Admiral Richard Cobbold CB FRAeS, Director, RUSI
SESSION ONE: THE UK INDEPENDENT DETERRENT: POLICY AND REQUIREMENTS IN THE NEW STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT Chair (and Introductory Remarks): Admiral Sir Raymond Lygo KCB		
	0910	The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy Professor Sir Lawrence Freedman, Vice-Principal, Professor of War Studies, King's College, London
	0930	Professor Michael Clarke, International Policy Institute, King's College, London
	0950	Discussion Session
	1020	Morning Coffee
SESSION TWO: THE UK, THE US, FRANCE AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS Chair: Rear Admiral Richard Cobbold CB FRAeS, Director, RUSI		
	1050	Nuclear Deterrence and UK/US Relations Professor Ken Young, ESRC UK Centre for Evidence Based Policy and Practice, Queen Mary, University of London.
	1110	French Perspectives on Nuclear Deterrence Dr. Bruno Tertrais, Senior Research Fellow, Foundation for Strategic Research, Paris
	1130	Discussion Session
	1200	Lunch

SESSION THREE: THE PUBLIC DEBATE IN THE UK:

Chair: John Sloboda, Executive Director, Oxford Research Group

1300 Panel:

- Air Marshal The Lord Garden, Liberal Democrat Spokesman on Defence
- Professor Malcolm Chalmers, Professor of International Politics, University of Bradford
- Dr. Julian Lewis MP, Shadow Minister for Defence
- Richard Norton-Taylor, Security Editor, The Guardian
- 1400 Discussion Session
- 1440 Afternoon Tea

SESSION FOUR: THREATS, CURRENT AND FUTURE CAPABILITIES

Chair: Rear Admiral Richard Cobbold CB FRAeS, Director, RUSI

1510 Panel:

- Tim Hare, Director Marketing UK, Thales Underwater Systems Ltd
- Duncan Lennox, Editor, Jane's Strategic Weapon Systems
- Dr Chris Maddock, Independent Consultant and former official, UK Ministry of Defence
- 'Strategic Issues and Capability Choices for the UK' Michael Codner, Director, Military Sciences, RUSI.
- 1610 Discussion Session
- 1650 Closing Remarks:
 Rear Admiral Richard Cobbold CB FRAeS, Director, RUSI
 Conference Close
- 1700 Conference Reception in the Library

BIOGRAPHIES

Professor Malcolm Chalmers is Professor of International Politics at the Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford. His areas of specialism include UK defence budgeting, nuclear weapons policy and security sector reform. Relevant publications include The New Activism: UK Defence Policy since 1997; Uncharted Waters: The UK, Nuclear Weapons and the Scottish Question (with Professor William Walker); 'Bombs Away'? Britain and Nuclear Weapons under New Labour; and Defence for the 21st Century: Towards a Post-Cold War Force Structure.

Professor Michael Clarke is the Director of the International Policy Institute at King's College London. He was, from 1990 to 2001 the Director of the Centre for Defence Studies at King's College London, a MoD-funded research centre that concentrates on defence and security questions in the broadest sense of the terms. He is responsible for research direction at the International Policy Institute and for strategic leadership of all its programmes. He has previously been a teacher of international politics at the Universities of Aberystwyth, Manchester and Newcastle upon Tyne, and has also taught at the University of New Brunswick, and the Open University. He lectures regularly at many universities in the UK, as well as the new Joint Staff College, at the Royal College of Defence Studies, at the NATO School in Oberammagau and at the Clingendael Institute in the Netherlands. He has been a Guest Fellow at The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, and a Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. He has been the senior Specialist Advisor to the House of Commons Defence Committee since 1997, having served previously with the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee 1995-7, and on the High Level Group of Experts to advise Commissioner Van den Broek at the European Commission 1996-7. In 2004 he was appointed the UK member of the United Nations Secretary General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters, and was also elected to the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He is a member of the Board of Trustees for the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research in Geneva.

Rear Admiral Richard Cobbold CB FRAeS is Director of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (RUSI). He attended the Royal Navy Staff College and the Royal College of Defence Studies. Joining the Royal Navy in 1960 as a Supply Officer, he transferred to the Seaman Branch in 1967 to specialise as a helicopter observer. His at-sea postings included an exchange tour with the Royal Australian Navy from 1970-72, posting as Senior Observer of 820 Naval Air Squadron, command of the Tribal Class Frigate HMS Mohawk and the Type 22 Frigate HMS Brazen, as Captain of the 2nd Frigate Squadron in HMS Brilliant commanding the Royal Navy's Tasks Unit in the Gulf. Ministry of Defence postings have included the Directorate of Naval Plans, the Staff of Deputy Chief of Defence for Operational Requirements for Sea, and later Joint Systems. He retired from the Royal Navy in March 1994. He is a fellow of the Royal Aeronautical Society and of the Atlantic Council, a Governor of the London Naurical School and a specialist advisor to the House of Commons Defence Committee.

Michael Codner is Director, Military Sciences, RUSI. As such he conducts research on a variety of issues ranging from defence policy, strategic theory and doctrine, to defence management, future concepts and the application of technology to military capability. He also oversees conferences, meetings and lectures in these areas. He retired from the Royal Navy in October 1995 after a career as a Seaman Officer principally working in anti-submarine warfare, maritime strategy and doctrine, future concepts, defence policy and international issues. He was a lecturer in strategy and operational art at the US Naval War College, was a Defence Fellow at the Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, London and has held a NATO Fellowship working on coaltion interoperability. He lectures regularly at University College, London, Southampton University and

the University of St. Andrews. His written work includes editorship and principal authorship of the First Edition of BR1806: The Fundamentals of British Maritime Doctrine and numerous articles, papers and chapters in journals and collections.

Professor Sir Lawrence Freedman KCMG CBE FBA FKC is Vice-Principal & Professor of War Studies, King's College, London. He has been Professor of War Studies since 1982 and has recently been appointed to the position of Vice Principal (Research) having previously been Head of the School of Social Science and Public Policy. Professor Freedman has written extensively on nuclear strategy and the cold war, as well as commentating regularly on contemporary security issues. His most recent books include an Adelphi Paper on The Revolution in Strategic Affairs, edited books on Strategic Coercion and terrorism, an illustrated book on The Cold War, a collection of essays on British defence policy and Kennedy's Wars that covers the major crises of the early 1960s over Berlin, Cuba and Vietnam. A book on deterrence has just been published. He was educated at Whitley Bay Grammar School and the Universities of Manchester, York and Oxford. Before joining King's he held research appointments at Nuffield College Oxford, IISS and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1995 and awarded the CBE in 1996, he was appointed Official Historian of the Falklands Campaign in 1997. He was awarded the KCMG in 2003.

Air Marshal The Lord Garden KCB FRUSI is Liberal Democrat Spokesman on Defence. Tim Garden read Physics at Oxford and International Relations at Cambridge. He was a pilot in the Royal Air Force for 32 years and command posts included a V-bomber squadron and a helicopter station. He was the RAF Director of Defence Studies from 1982 to 1985. He became Assistant Chief of the Air Staff in 1991 and was subsequently responsible for forward planning for all three Services as Assistant Chief of the Defence Staff (Programmes) in the Ministry of Defence. His final military post was as the Air Marshal Commandant of the Royal College of Defence Studies. He retired from the RAF in 1996 and was then Director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, London. He has been Visiting Professor at the Centre for Defence Studies at King's College, London since 2000. He has sat as a Liberal Democrat peer since June 2004. He is the front bench Defence spokesman, is a member of the Delegated Powers and Regulatory Reform Select Committee and is President of Liberal International British Group. He has written widely on security topics, and his publications include two books: Can Deterrence Last? and The Technology Trap. He also broadcasts regularly on international affairs. He is an Honorary Fellow of St Catherine's College Oxford, a Fellow and former Council Member of the Royal Aeronautical Society (FRAeS), and an Associate Fellow of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He was appointed a Commissioner to the Commission on Globalisation in 2002, and was the Wells Professor at Indiana University for 2004. He is a Fellow and Council member of RUSI. He was appointed a CB in 1992 and received his knighthood in 1994. He was appointed as a Chevalier de l'Ordre National de la Légion d'Honneur by President Chirac in July 2003 for his work on Euopean defence issues.

Tim Hare Director Marketing UK, Thales Underwater Systems Ltd. He joined the Royal Navy in 1965 and after training in HMS Eastbourne, and service as a Midshipman in HM SHIPS Corunna and Cambrian, he obtained a degree in Electrical Engineering at the Royal Naval Engineering College at Manadon in Plymouth. He joined the submarine service in 1970 with sea appointments in HMS Osiris and the POLARIS submarine HMS Resolution. Other appointments in the procurement executive and at MOD London followed; all related to the policy, procurement and development of submarine weapon systems with a major focus on the POLARIS and TRIDENT submarine ballistic missile programmes. He was promoted Captain in 1993 and his first job was the Project Manager for the Vanguard Class SSBN Tactical Weapons System. He took up his final appointment as Director Nuclear Policy in the MOD, in the rank of Commodore in 1999 where he was responsible for the development and promotion of UK nuclear deterrence policy at home, in NATO and in the wider

international community, UK nuclear force planning and the provision of ministerial advice on the US missile defence initiative.

On retiring from the Royal Navy in 2002, he took up his current position at Thales.

Duncan Lennox OBE is Editor, Jane's Strategic Weapons Systems. He served for 32 years in the Royal Air Force as an engineer specialising in guided weapons and air defence. He then worked in the Ministry of Defence Procurement Executive (now Defence Procurement Agency) on missile development programmes, and at HQ 11 Group (now 3 Group) on UK air defence. He was a founder member of the UK Strategic Defence Initiative Participation Office in 1985, and has been associated with ballistic missile defence issues ever since. He formed Duncan Lennox Associates in 1987, and provides consultancy services in the missile defence area to governments and industry. In 1989 he created Jane's Strategic Weapon Systems, which provides details of ballistic and cruise missiles, surface-to-air missiles and anti-ballistic missile systems throughout the world. He has written this publication since then, and it is continually updated. In 2002 he was appointed as a special advisor to the House of Commons Defence Committee.

Dr. Julian Lewis MP is the Conservative Party Member of Parliament for New Forest East and Shadow Minister for Defence responsible for the Royal Navy and Nuclear Deterrence issues. He has previously been Shadow Minister for the Cabinet Office and a member of the Defence Select Committee. Between 1981 and 1985, during the second wave of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), he was a leading organiser of the anti-CND, pro-Trident and Cruise Missile Campaigns. His doctoral thesis, undertaken at St. Antony's College, Oxford, was published in 1988 as "Changing Direction: British Military Planning for Post-War Strategic Defence, 1942-47". A second edition, based on newly declassified archives, appeared in 2003.

Admiral Sir Raymond Lygo KCB joined the Royal Navy at 18 as a Naval Airman 2nd class and thirty-six years later retired as a full Admiral, having been both Vice Chief and Chief of the Naval Staff. On retirement from the Navy, he joined British Aerospace (then a Nationalised company), took it into privatisation, and rose to Chief Executive before retiring twelve years later. He then became a Director of James Capel, London & Edinburgh Trust, and then Chairman of TNT Express UK & Europe, Rutland Trust PLC and of Liontrust First UK Investment Trust. He is President of the Fleet Air Arm Officers Association, a past President of the City Livery Club, a freeman of the City of London, and a Liveryman of both Coachmakers and Shipwrights.

Dr Chris Maddock is an Independent Consultant and former official, UK Ministry of Defence. He originally trained as a chemical engineer and joined the MoD over 30 years ago as a scientist at the Defence Operational Analysis Establishment. Subsequent appointments included being head of the weapons section of the Strategic Systems Performance Analysis Group in the early 1980s, when the Chevaline update to Polaris was introduced into service and Trident was chosen as its successor. He later worked for the Assistant Chief of the Defence Staff (Operational Requirements) Sea and the Capability Manager (Strategic Deployment) organisations, notably on the Business Cases for the submarine-launched cruise missile (TLAM) and the future carrier and its aircraft (CVF and JSF). His final MoD post was as a Deputy Director in the Chief Scientific Adviser's Directorate of Strategic Technologies, which has responsibilities for Ballistic Missile Defence and nuclear issues. Since leaving the MoD he has been working in defence consulting.

Richard Norton-Taylor is Security Affairs Editor, The Guardian. He joined the Guardian in 1975 as Europe correspondent based in Brussels. Since returning to Britain he has investigated official secrecy, behind-the-scenes decision-making in Government, and the activities of the security and intelligence services. In 1998, he was appointed security affairs editor at the Guardian. He has regularly contributed to BBC news and current affairs programmes and won the Freedom of Information

Campaign Award for Journalism in 1986. He has written a number of books, including, 'Truth is A Difficult Concept: Inside the Scott Inquiry' (Fourth Estate, 1995) and has contributed to 'The War We Could Not Stop' (2003) and 'The Hutton Inquiry and Its Impact' (2004), both Guardian Books. He has written and co-written a number of plays which have been performed at the Tricycle Theatre, London, a number of which have been televised and have been the recipient of numerous awards. These include an edited version of the 1946 Nuremberg trials, 'Half the Picture', an adaptation of the Scott arms-to-Iraq inquiry and 'The Colour of Justice', an edited version of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. In 2003, he wrote 'Justifying War', edited extracts from the Hutton inquiry and in 2005 the Tricycle performed 'Bloody Sunday', comprising of extracts from the Saville Inquiry.

Dr John Sloboda is Executive Director, Oxford Research Group (ORG). His research interests include human security, humanitarian interventions, civilian casualties in the Iraq War, and the psychology of public opinion post 9/11. Under his leadership, ORG has undertaken projects which include: a joint ORG-BASIC initiative to promote progress on non-proliferation treaty objectives; promoting accountable decision-making on the future of the British Trident nuclear deterrent; and developing an internationally acceptable framework for military intervention on humanitarian grounds. He trained as a research psychologist and is Professor of Psychology and Honorary Research Fellow in the School of Politics, International Relations and the Environment at the University of Keele. In 1999-2000 he worked with the Committee for Peace in the Balkans, and researched effects on the civilian population of the NATO bombing campaign. After September 11th 2001 he set up and ran the daily peaceuk.net mailing list disseminating critical non-violent perspectives on 'the war on terror'. He co-founded a key source of information about civilian casualties for media and NGOs worldwide during the Iraq war and its aftermath, www.iraqbodycount.net. This work has led to extensive media coverage (including BBC Radio 4 and the World Service), and many press interviews. He has written for the Guardian, Open Democracy, and a number of more specialist publications. He is a founder member of the Network of Activist Scholars of Politics and International Relations (Naspir).

Dr. Bruno Tertrais is a Senior Research Fellow at the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS). Between 1990 and 1993, he was the Director of the Civilian Affairs Committee, NATO Assembly, Brussels. In 1993, he joined the Délégation aux Affaires stratégiques (Policy Division) of the French Ministry of Defense as an analyst (European affairs). In 1995-1996, he was a Visiting Fellow at the RAND Corporation, Santa Monica. From October 1996 until August 2001, he was Special Assistant to the Director of Strategic Affairs at the French Ministry of Defense. He is also an Associate Researcher at the Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI) and a member of the editorial board of Critique internationale, a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), and an contributing editor to Survival. He has written extensively on international security and his latest publications include 'Nuclear Disarmament: How to Make Progress' in Burkard Schmitt (ed.), Effective non-proliferation: The European Union and the 2005 NPT Review Conference (EU Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Paper n° 77, April 2005) and War Without End (The New Press, 2005). He graduated from the Institut d'études politiques de Paris in 1984. He also holds a Master's degree in Public Law of the University of Paris (1985), and a Doctorate in Political Science of the Institut d'études politiques de Paris (1994).

Professor Ken Young AcSS is Director, ESRC UK Centre for Evidence Based Policy and Practice, Department of Politics, Queen Mary, University of London. He taught at the Universities of London, Kent, Bristol, and Cambridge before joining QM in 1990 from the University of Birmingham, where he was Director of the Institute of Local Government Studies. He was Vice-Principal of Queen Mary and Westfield College from 1992 to 1998, and has practical experience of the world of public policy. He served as Specialist Adviser to the House of Commons Environment Committee in 1982-83, and as Research Director and Adviser to the Committee of Inquiry into the Conduct of Local Authority

Business in 1985-86. He was a member of the Local Government Boundary Commission, 1989-91. Much of his past work has been in the field of urban politics, local government and London governance. For the past few years he has switched his efforts into defence policy, and he is presently writing a history of the politics of weapon system procurement during the heyday of the UK 'independent deterrent'. This work focuses both on politics within Whitehall and on the special relationship with the United States. Another major concern of his is with the 'evidence based policy' movement, and since 2000 he has been Director of the ESRC UK Centre for Evidence Based Policy and Practice, based here in the Department of Politics at Queen Mary. This is an active and productive group of researchers whose aims are to elucidate the linkages between research and decision making, and to work towards better informed policy making and more relevant and usable research. The Centre is associated with an important new international journal, Evidence and Policy: A Journal of Research, Debate and Practice (Policy Press, Bristol), the first issue of which appeared in January 2005. Professor Young will be joining King's College, London as Professor of Public Policy in September 2005.

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Delegate List

(Correct at the time of going to print)

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Mr Douglas Barrie
Mr Abdul Basit
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Associate Director
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Captain Faslane Flotilla

Aerospace Analyst
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ECC Management and Development Unit Partner

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Opposition Defence Spokesman Strategic Policy Adviser Director Director Editor

Independent Consultant

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Mr Duncan Scott Mr Neil Seagrave

Mr Brian Shepherd

Dr John Sloboda Mr Peter Spiegel Mr Ian Stallion

Captain Nick Stanley Dr Jeremy Stocker Mr Peter Starkey Security Studies

Rear Admiral John Trewby Lieutenant DJ Turner Dr Bruno Tertrais Mr Chris Streeten Mr Pete Treasure Ms Claire Taylor

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Business Development Manager

Defence Correspondent Head of Systems Director

Director of Studies & Head of MTR Programme Programme Director Systems Assistant Director Strategy

Senior Research Fellow Defence Specialist

Naval Adviser Secretary

Secretary To The Defence Press & Broadcasting Advisory Committee Captain SM FasFlot Research Student

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