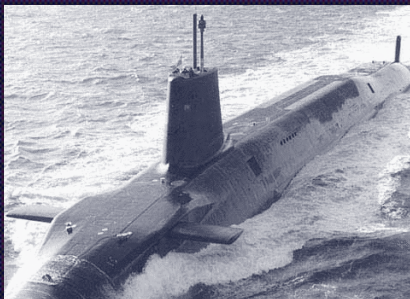




OxfordResearchGroup

building bridges for global security



In Perspective
2004 - 2006

OVERVIEW

WHO ARE WE?

Oxford Research Group (ORG) is an independent think tank based near Oxford which works to develop effective methods for people to bring about positive change on issues of national and international security by non-violent means. Established in 1982, it is a registered charity and a public company limited by guarantee. We employ a small core of staff and consultants, overseen by a Board of Trustees, and supported by a network of Patrons, Associates and Sustainers who come from all walks of life. In 2003 Scilla Elworthy, ORG's Founder Director, was awarded the Niwano Peace Prize, and in April 2005 *The Independent* newspaper named ORG as one of the top 20 think tanks in the UK.

WHAT ARE THE ISSUES WE ADDRESS?

The end of the Cold War generated great uncertainties about how to promote peace and security in the world. Nuclear proliferation, international terrorism, 9/11, Iraq, and the Israel-Palestine conflict, are just some of the major security challenges faced by the world. However, there is a growing consensus which transcends former divisions of left and right or north and south. People all over the world are coming to realise that current security approaches, particularly those adopted by the present US Administration and its principal allies, are not working. New, realistic and creative ways forward are being eagerly sought. We contribute to the development of policies for sustainable long-term security.

HOW DO WE WORK?

We carry out and commission research into realistic non-military alternatives to current security orthodoxy. We publish and disseminate our findings through reports, seminars, consultations and private dialogues. Our practice is to make accurate information available so that open public debate can take place. We also seek to foster dialogue between policy-makers and their critics, to help build bridges of understanding as a means of developing new ideas and making possible significant policy shifts.

We work in partnership with many other individuals and groups to develop and promote non-violent means of resolving global conflict.

WHAT ARE OUR GUIDING PRINCIPLES?

Dialogue. We believe that non-military approaches of dialogue, diplomacy and negotiation can resolve many conflicts more effectively, and with far less cost, than military approaches. Our experience is that ordinary individuals can effect substantial changes in the world if they engage in an informed manner with those who shape policy and insist on accountability, transparency and open direct communication.

Respect. We consider that attention to the quality of human relationships is key to any successful activity we undertake. This includes deep and respectful listening to those who do not share our views.

Prevention. We believe that most violent conflicts could be prevented by the application of proven and cost-effective non-military methods. To achieve sustainable security for the world, governments and people need to work together to address the root causes of conflict, to uphold international law, and to respect fundamental human rights.

Pragmatism. We aim to be ready to propose practical and achievable steps that can be taken in response to immediate threats and crises when they arise, while endeavouring to anticipate and warn of the likely results of current security policy decisions.

WHAT ARE OUR PROGRAMMES OF WORK?

We undertake three main programmes of work:

- Global Security (the 'war on terror'; human security; intervention)
- Nuclear Issues (proliferation; disarmament; energy security)
- UK Security Policy (the role of the military; UK nuclear weapons; relationships to the USA and Europe)

HOW ARE WE FUNDED?

We are entirely funded by charitable grants and donations. Around two thirds of our financial support comes from trusts and foundations in the UK and USA. Major recent funders include the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, the Ford Foundation, The Polden-Puckham Charitable Foundation, the Sigrid Rausing Trust and the Network for Social Change. The remaining one third of our income comes from individual supporters and one-off donations. We only accept sources of funding that allow us to retain our independence and integrity.

WHAT HAVE WE ACHIEVED?

We have played a key role in opening and sustaining dialogue between decision-makers in government and civil society. Our reports have been influential in shaping major policy debates. Our meetings have facilitated breakthroughs in creative thinking and the forging of new relationships. Our partnerships have magnified our influence with decision-makers and opinion formers.

WHAT ARE OUR LONG-TERM GOALS?

We aim to make significant contributions to a shift in global priorities, from military-based security that is focused on the preservation of narrow national and economic interests, towards human security based on the prevention of violent conflict, justice, human rights, and the fair distribution of the world's resources.

HOW CAN PEOPLE HELP US?

Become a Supporter or Sustainer.

We accept donations of any size, but we also have a special Sustainer programme for people able and willing to donate at least £1,000 per year.

Engage in the Dialogue Project.

This project offers training and support to groups wanting to engage in constructive dialogue with decision-makers on issues that ORG is working on.

Buy and circulate ORG publications.

Our regular publications and briefings provide up-to-date analysis and policy recommendations for all our programmes. Information about these, including our free email subscription service, is available on our website.

www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk

“ ORG’s star quality lies in its ability to bring together politicians, officials, commentators and academics from across the complete political spectrum and generate real dialogue on key issues facing the world today. All this in a warm, benign and trusting atmosphere where one feels safe in the knowledge that the views expressed will be treated with respect and the utmost discretion.”

Commodore Tim Hare, Director of Nuclear Policy, UK Ministry of Defence (1999-2001)

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WHO ARE WE?



We are an independent team of researchers, consultants and support staff, most of whom have worked together for many years. ORG is a registered charity, governed by a Board of Trustees and supported by a network of Patrons, Associates and Sustainers who come from all walks of life. We employ 13 members of staff, including 5 permanent part-time consultants who provide the leading expertise for our programmes of work. The major work of the office-based staff is in the organisation and planning of meetings and publications, as well as fundraising and supporter liaison. They are also responsible for the maintenance of good relations with ORG's extensive network of contacts and collaborating organisations, as well as undertaking research and developing projects. We are assisted by temporary graduate interns who work alongside us for periods of between 3-6 months.

OUR CONSULTANTS

Our consultants are appointed for their renown and expertise in the main areas of ORG's work and they guide the ORG programmes in their specialist area.

Frank Barnaby is Nuclear Issues Consultant to ORG and a freelance defence analyst. He is a nuclear physicist by training and worked at the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment, Aldermaston (1951-57). He was Executive Secretary of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs in the late 1960s and Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (1971-81). He is a prolific author and has written numerous papers and reports for ORG. He is also regularly consulted by the national and international media.

Paul Rogers is Global Security Consultant to ORG, and Professor of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford. He has worked in the field of international security, arms control and political violence for over 20 years. He lectures at universities and defence colleges in several countries and has written 20 books, including *Losing Control: Global Security in the Twenty-first Century* (Pluto Press, 2002), and several ORG briefing papers, numerous articles and other papers. He also writes monthly briefings analysing the international security situation for the Oxford Research Group website. He is a regular commentator on global security issues in both the national and international media.

Gabrielle Rifkind is Human Security Consultant to ORG. She is a group analyst, psychotherapist and specialist in conflict resolution. She has initiated and facilitated a number of Track II roundtables, and is currently working with NATO on organising a workshop to examine the links between the military and the human security agenda. She also hosts the media 'Liddite' Conversations with ORG. Her special interest is the Middle East and she is convener and initiator of the Middle East Policy Initiative Forum (MEPIF).

Janet Bloomfield is UK Security Policy Consultant to ORG, and is coordinator of ORG's 'Dialogue with Decision Makers' project. She is also the British Coordinator of the Atomic Mirror, which uses the arts to raise awareness of nuclear issues. She is a member of the Peace and Disarmament Programme of Quaker Peace and Social Witness in the UK and has been actively working for nuclear disarmament for over 20 years. She writes and speaks widely on peace and disarmament issues both in the UK and abroad.

Malcolm Savidge is Parliamentary Consultant to ORG. He was previously MP for Aberdeen North (1997-2005) and convener of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Global Security and Non-Proliferation, as well as chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on World Government and a member of the Parliamentary Labour Party Back-Bench Committees on Foreign Affairs, Defence and International Development. He has published articles in a number of journals and has regularly featured in national and international media.

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND STAFF

John Sloboda has been Executive Director of ORG since January 2004. He is also Professor of Psychology and Honorary Research Fellow in the School of International Relations, Politics and the Environment at Keele University. He is a founding member of Keele's Alternative Globalisations Research Network, and he collaborates in research on the psychological dimensions of public responses to the 'war on terror'. He has been active in human security initiatives for two decades, and is co-founder of the Iraq Body Count project.

Nick Ritchie is Associate Researcher (Nuclear Issues) with ORG. He worked as ORG's Research and Programme Coordinator until he left Oxford to embark upon a PhD at the Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford on US post-Cold War nuclear weapons policy. He has a BSc. (Hons.) in Peace Studies & International Relations from the University of Bradford.

James Kemp is Research & Fundraising Officer (UK Security Policy) with ORG. Previously he worked as a research intern with Conciliation Resources, a London-based conflict prevention NGO. He has a BSc. (Hons.) in Politics & Anthropology from Oxford Brookes University and an MA in Human Rights from Sussex University.

Chris Abbott is Research Officer (Global Security) with ORG. Previously he worked as a researcher on a range of social and environmental issues, most recently with an indigenous peoples' rights organisation. He has a BSc. (Hons.) in Psychology from Royal Holloway, University of London and an M.Litt in Social Anthropology & Amerindian Studies from the University of St Andrews.

SUPPORT STAFF

Tony Thomson is ORG's Office Manager and has been with Oxford Research Group since its inception. He monitors specialist journals for ORG and is in charge of general office administration. He is an experienced and talented chef, and coordinates the catering for ORG's UK-based events, including our residential consultations at Charney Manor.

Janet Underwood is ORG's Financial Administrator. Prior to joining ORG in 2001, Janet worked for 22 years in the Finance Department of Trinity College, University of Oxford, the last 16 years as College Accountant.

Tom Midgley is ORG's IT Consultant. He is a freelance IT consultant who has been a long-standing supporter of ORG's work, and is now responsible for the smooth running of our IT systems.

Invitation only seminar on *Kosovo five years on: which way now for humanitarian intervention?* organised by ORG and hosted by King's College London, April 2004



Rosie Houldsworth is Assistant Director of ORG, and has been responsible for organising ORG's seminars and consultations for over 20 years, specialising in the complexities of participant selection, programming, drafting and communications. She taught French and German language and literature in schools in Britain, Switzerland, Germany and Australia before joining ORG at its inception in 1982.

“We have to move forward now from an outdated security system based on nuclear deterrence & alliances, to one based on cooperation & allegiance to humankind.”

Professor Sir Joseph Rotblat (1908-2005), Nobel Peace Prize laureate and Patron of ORG

OUR BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The Board of Trustees meets at least once a year at the annual general meeting to approve the accounts and review ORG's activities, strategic direction and financial situation. ORG is fortunate to benefit from a wealth of experience and wisdom in the members of its Board.

Dr. Scilla Elworthy (Chair)
 Dr. Frederick Mulder
 Dr. Frank Boulton (Company Secretary)
 Lady Anne Piper
 Professor Grigor McLelland (until 2005)
 General Lord David Ramsbotham
 Mary Moore
 Professor Oliver Ramsbotham

Dr. Scilla Elworthy, Chair of the Board of Trustees, founded Oxford Research Group in 1982 and was its Executive Director until December 2003. She is also founder and former Executive Director of Peace Direct. Scilla is a prolific writer, notably of studies on the role of women in international relations, and on the effectiveness of conflict prevention and resolution methods. Scilla was awarded the Niwano Peace Prize in 2003 and has been nominated three times for the Nobel Peace Prize for her work with ORG.

OUR PATRONS

ORG Patrons are renowned contributors to public life who endorse ORG's aims and support our work.

Dame Margaret Anstee, Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations (1987-93)
 Lorna Arnold, UK atomic energy historian
 General Dipankar Banerjee, Executive Director, Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo
 General Sir Hugh Beach, Director, Council for Arms Control (1986-89); Master General of the Ordnance, UK Ministry of Defence (1977-81)
 Professor Adam Curle, Professor Emeritus of Peace Studies, University of Bradford
 Air Marshal The Lord Garden, Liberal Democrat spokesperson on defence in the House of Lords; Assistant Chief of Defence Staff (Programmes), UK Ministry of Defence (1992-94)
 Nicholas Gillett, UNESCO consultant (1954-65); Gandhi Peace Prize winner (1999)
 Professor Frank von Hippel, Professor of Public & International Affairs, Princeton University
 Dr. Rebecca Johnson, Executive Director, The Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy; Senior Adviser, Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission
 Professor Jack Mendelsohn, George Washington and American Universities; Deputy Director, Arms Control Association (1985-98); Senior Foreign Service Officer, US Department of State (1963-85)
 Mary Midgley, moral philosopher and author
 Major-General Pan Zhenqiang, Professor of International Relations, Institute for Strategic Studies, PLA National Defence University, Beijing
 General The Lord Ramsbotham, Adjutant General, British Army (1990-93); HM Chief Inspector of Prisons for England and Wales (1995-2001)
 Hon. Douglas Roche, Senator, Senate of Canada (1998-2004); Chairman, Middle Powers Initiative
 Dr. Maj-Britt Theorin, President, International Peace Bureau (1992-2000); Member of the European Parliament (1995-2004); President, International Council of Parliamentarians for Global Action (1994-2004)



ORG brought Michael Douglas to London in March 2000 to address Parliament on the role the British Government could and should be playing to avert the dangers threatening key international arms control treaties. Here he addresses a press conference with Scilla Elworthy (ORG) and Dan Plesch (BASIC)

“I appreciate the way Oxford Research Group is prepared to look at all the arguments, for and against a particular policy, and the way it is concerned to test out those arguments as rigorously as possible.”

The Rt. Rev. Richard Harries, Bishop of Oxford

OUR ASSOCIATES

Associates of ORG are eminent individuals who have participated in one or more of ORG's consultations or roundtables and have expressed their willingness to personally and publicly endorse our commitment to seek to develop effective methods whereby people can bring about positive change on issues of national and international security by non-violent means.

They include:

Sir Michael Atiyah, President, Royal Society (1990-95)
Michael Attenborough, Artistic Director, Almeida Theatre
Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi, President, Palestinian Medical Relief Society
Professor Ken Booth, Head of Department of International Politics, University of Wales
Sir Samuel Brittan, Columnist, *Financial Times*
Professor Kevin Clements, Director, Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Queensland
Ann Cryer MP, MP for Keighly
Ambassador Jayantha Dhanapala, Under-Secretary General for Disarmament, United Nations (1998-2003)
David Edgar, Playwright
Dr. Haifa Abu Ghazaleh, UNIFEM Regional Programme Director, Jordan
John Gittings, Author; former foreign leader-writer, *The Guardian*
Commander Robert Green, Coordinator, Disarmament and Security Centre, New Zealand Peace Foundation
Professor Nick Grief, Head of Institute of Business and Law, Bournemouth University
Brian Hanrahan, Diplomatic Editor, BBC
Commodore Tim Hare, Director of Nuclear Policy, UK Ministry of Defence (1999-2001)
Rt. Rev. Richard Harries, Bishop of Oxford

Lindsey Hilsum, International Editor, Channel 4 News
Dr. George Joffe, Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge
Bruce Kent, Chair and Founder, Movement for the Abolition of War
Dr. Sverre Lodgaard, Director, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
Alice Mahon, MP for Halifax (1992-2005)
Dr. Ron McCoy, President, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War
Dr. Hugh Miall, Director, Richardson Institute for Peace, Lancaster University
Dr. Susie Orbach, Psychotherapist and writer
Mr. Niu Qaing, Secretary General, Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament, Beijing
Dr. Magnus Ranstorp, Director, Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, University of St Andrews
Ambassador Henrik Salander, Secretary-General, Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission
Professor Avi Shlaim, Professor of International Relations, University of Oxford
Clare Short MP, Secretary of State for International Development (1997-2003)
Jonathan Steele, Senior Foreign Correspondent, *The Guardian*

ETHICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

We are committed to progressive ethical, environmental and equal opportunities policies in all areas of our work and working practices. We continuously monitor and develop our policies and practices, and work to identify areas of potential improvement. More information is available from our website at www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk.

HOW DO WE WORK?

DIALOGUE IS THE KEY

We have developed and are constantly refining a range of tools and activities through which productive dialogues are achieved, to enable those in adversarial situations to reach a deeper understanding of each other and work together to resolve conflict. This process focuses not only on the content of our activity (what topics are covered) but also on the human interactions involved.

This approach to the planning of our meetings entails:

- careful preparation and briefing for participants;
- bringing together a mix of expertise (including military, academic, scientific, legal, policy-making, psychological and journalistic);
- combining a mix of perspectives and backgrounds reflecting, for instance, government and civil society, gender and age balance, and the relevant spread of regional, ethnic, religious and political backgrounds;
- confidentiality where needed to allow free exchange of views;
- bringing the personal to bear on the political and recognising that political and scientific decisions are made by individual human beings;
- recognising that people's minds can be changed by example rather than by assertion;
- supporting insights and shifts in perspective that can be gained through development of mutual respect and the building of trust between individuals;
- emphasis on creative problem solving rather than extensive presentation of well-rehearsed positions; and
- paying close attention to the comfort of participants and creating a relaxed environment to encourage people to open up to the possibility of change.

WHAT PEOPLE HAVE SAID ABOUT ORG MEETINGS

“The process enabled the expansion of ideas, proposal of new initiatives and the crystallisation of follow-on – very ambitious for a two day session and incredibly successful.”

“I thought the sessions where people put themselves into others’ shoes were very creative. They teased out the options in a way which a straightforward presentation by one or two speakers couldn’t do, and forced people to go beyond the usual group-think.”

“...a triumph... a really good philosophical experience in which people from a range of backgrounds reached out of their disciplines to exchange.”

WHAT HAVE OUR MEETINGS BEEN ABOUT?

The list below provides an indication of the range of topics and formats covered in our meetings during 2004 and 2005. More information about these meetings, and the programmes of which they form part can be found in the relevant section of *What does our work focus on?*, starting on p.15.

GLOBAL SECURITY PROGRAMME

Iraq and the War on Terror
Oxford Research Group and the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Global Security and Non-Proliferation hosted this parliamentary meeting to launch *Iraq and the War on Terror* by Paul Rogers, at the House of Commons in June 2004.

A Dossier of Civilian Casualties in Iraq, 2003-2005

This press conference was organised by Oxford Research Group and Iraq Body Count to launch *A Dossier of Civilian Casualties in Iraq, 2003-2005* at the Foreign Press Association in London in July 2005.

The Amman Roundtable on Human Security in the Middle East

This roundtable was held in Amman, Jordan, and was hosted by HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, in May 2004.

Israel-Palestine: What Future for the two Peoples? Confronting the Obstacles to a Viable Peace

Oxford Research Group co-organised this residential off-the-record consultation with the Middle East Policy Initiative Forum at a Quaker retreat near Oxford in April 2005. It brought together key actors from Israeli and Palestinian civil society together with Europe-based experts on the Middle East for two and a half days of intensive dialogue.

Kosovo Five Years On: Which way now for Humanitarian Intervention?

This invitation only seminar was held in collaboration with the Centre for Defence Studies at King's College London, in April 2004.

NUCLEAR ISSUES PROGRAMME

Towards a breakthrough at the NPT Review Conference

This off-the-record meeting for diplomats from over 80 countries party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in the run up to the NPT Review Conference, was organised in partnership with the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) and BASIC, and held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, in April 2005.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference: Breakthrough or Bust in '05?

This project and report launch, organised by ORG and BASIC for journalists, NGOs and government officials, was held at the Grayston Centre in London in January 2005.



ORG Executive Director John Sloboda (standing) sharing a panel with Ian Davis and Matt Martin, the Executive Director and Deputy Director (US) of BASIC, at the project launch of the joint ORG-BASIC *Breakthrough or Bust in '05?* project in London, January 2005

UK SECURITY POLICY PROGRAMME

The Future of UK Nuclear Weapons: Who Decides?

Oxford Research Group organised and hosted this residential off-the-record consultation for key insiders from the military and political nuclear establishment in dialogue with critics from the NGO and academic world, at a Quaker retreat near Oxford in December 2004.

“I very much like ORG’s holistic approach: they look after the whole man and woman at the same time as obliging them to give their all to the task in hand.”

Participant at a recent ORG consultation

'Liddite' Conversations

'Liddite' Conversations are regular dinner meetings engaging senior UK journalists from the print and broadcast media. Convened by ORG's Human Security Consultant, Gabrielle Rifkind, they are regularly attended by 20-25 people.

The conversations are informal but structured to stimulate high-quality debate on the issues addressed in ORG's policy briefings and other work. The aim is to deepen analysis of current events and crises, and introduce the global security perspective and policy recommendations contained in ORG reports into mainstream journalism.

They have been dubbed 'Liddite' Conversations after a phrase in Paul Rogers' book, *Losing Control: Global Security in the 21st Century* (Pluto Press, 2002), where he describes the pressure cooker effect which results from 'keeping the lid on' global security problems, instead of addressing the root causes of conflict and political violence, as "Liddism".

“Don't ever have any doubts about the value of the process you have initiated. It is valuable, especially for journalists who inevitably acquire tunnel vision in prolonged times of crisis.” Nick Gowing, Presenter, *BBC World News*

An example of the quality of thinking generated at these meetings can be seen in the report of a 'Liddite' Conversation held in September 2004 entitled *What would we want to say on Global Security to the new US Administration*, downloadable from the ORG website.



Discussion group in the garden of Charney Manor, a Quaker retreat and conference centre outside Oxford, where many ORG residential consultations for policy-makers and independent experts are held

HOW DO WE COMMUNICATE OUR WORK?

“I was struck immediately by the breadth and depth of ORG’s examination of serious issues, the objectivity of its research, and the courage with which it was prepared not only to study matters of current and public interest but to publish its views.”

General The Lord Ramsbotham, Adjutant General to the British Army (1990-93)

OUR WEBSITE

Our website, www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk is the first port of call for people wishing to know more about ORG and our work. The site offers a sign-up service to our International Security Monthly Briefings (see below). Other features include online donations, site translation into the major European languages, a comprehensive set of links to other useful websites, and the ability to search the site. The entire site is kept regularly up-to-date with details of our projects and publications, as well as the latest news from ORG.

It is complemented by our online shop at www.orgshop.org.uk where people from across the world can order ORG publications.

OUR MONTHLY EMAIL SIGN-UP LIST

Each month our Global Security Consultant, Paul Rogers, writes a concise monthly overview of the international security situation, focussing on current conflicts including Iraq and Afghanistan, the wider 'war on terror', and the implications of US and UK foreign policy for the rest of the world. These are published on the ORG website, and visitors can sign-up to receive them directly via email each month. This is a free service to which hundreds of MPs, diplomats, journalists, academics and concerned citizens from around the world have already signed-up. For more information please see our website.

OUR PUBLICATIONS

The publication of authoritative reports is a key ORG activity. These reports are:

- informed by rigorous research;
- written by the best experts available and subject to peer review;
- refined and improved through dialogue and consultation;
- aimed at promoting new thinking and realistic policy recommendations; and
- in a language and style that is clear, professional and accessible.

BRIEFING PAPERS

The majority of our reports are short briefing papers that can be downloaded from our website without charge. They are written to be relevant to current issues, with clear and concise analysis and recommendations. Below is a representative selection of titles published in 2004 and 2005 (for a full list please see our website).

GLOBAL SECURITY PROGRAMME

Israel-Palestine: What Future for the Two Peoples? Confronting the Obstacles to a Viable Peace

Middle East Policy Initiative Forum, April 2005

Endless War: The Global War on Terror and the New Bush Administration
Professor Paul Rogers, March 2005

Iraq in Light of the January Elections
Professor David Beetham, March 2005

The Report of The Amman Roundtable on Human Security in the Middle East
Oxford Research Group, May 2004

NUCLEAR ISSUES PROGRAMME

Thinking the Unthinkable: Japanese Nuclear Power and Proliferation in East Asia
Dr. Frank Barnaby and Shaun Burnie, August 2005

Nuclear Weapons Free Zones: The Untold Success Story of Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation
ORG/BASIC, February 2005

North Korea: Problems, Perceptions and Proposals
Dr. Frank Barnaby and Nick Ritchie, April 2004

UK SECURITY POLICY PROGRAMME

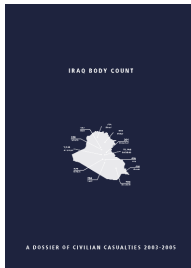
Dirty Bombs and Primitive Nuclear Weapons
Dr. Frank Barnaby, June 2005

Escaping the Subsidy Trap: Why Arms Exports are bad for Britain
Paul Ingram and Roy Isbister, September 2004

Putting People First: The Way Forward for the UK Armed Services
Dr. John Sloboda, with James Kemp and Chris Abbott, July 2004

IN-DEPTH REPORTS

Occasionally we also publish more in-depth reports, either as books or as a contribution to our Current Decisions Report (CDR) series. These are reports which tackle longer-term issues not directly linked to immediate events, and are available for sale. A selection of these publications is listed below.



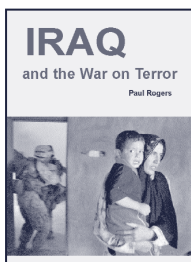
A Dossier of Civilian Casualties in Iraq, 2003-2005, July 2005

This report, published by ORG in association with Iraq Body Count, provides the first detailed overview of those non-combatants reported killed or wounded during the first 2 years of the ongoing Iraq conflict, up to 19th March 2005. Data has been extracted from a comprehensive analysis undertaken by the Iraq Body Count project of over 10,000 press and media reports. The report provides statistical data on the killed, the killers, the wounded, and the sources, together with a detailed commentary.



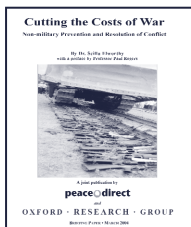
Everyone's Guide to Achieving Change: A step-by-step approach to dialogue with decision-makers, May 2005

This handbook is designed to introduce the reader to a successful way of achieving change through dialogue with decision-makers. It is based on over 20 years experience of dialogue with decision-makers as a means of achieving positive change. It offers a step-by-step approach for groups of citizens or individuals to engage directly with government decision-makers and policy advisers adopting an informed non-confrontational approach.



Iraq and the War on Terror, Professor Paul Rogers, June 2004

This book provides a month-by-month analysis of events as they were happening in Iraq, Afghanistan and the wider 'war on terror' over the 12 months since President Bush declared the end of major military operations in Iraq in May 2003. It brings together Paul Rogers' International Security Monthly Briefings as published during that period, and concludes with a commentary on the significance of the year's events and an analysis of the current situation. The second volume of this series will be published by I.B. Tauris in November 2005. *"Iraq and the War on Terror should be required reading in the Pentagon. The fact that it won't be is part of the problem."* David Loyn, BBC



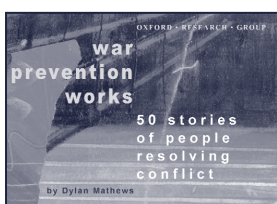
Cutting the Costs of War, Dr. Scilla Elworthy, March 2004

This report focuses on alternatives to war – ways of dealing with conflict that do not necessitate the use of further force. It argues that these methods are more effective and vastly cheaper than the use of military force. The report describes 13 effective conflict prevention measures, with examples of how each has been used, and analyses recent UK government initiatives in conflict prevention, making specific recommendations for how the UK could build on its initial achievements in this area.



Current Decisions Report No. 27, Nuclear Terrorism in Britain: Risks and Realities, May 2003

This Current Decisions Report contains papers by international experts on political violence, the psychology of terrorism, and nuclear technology. The report examines the different forms it could take and the risks of it occurring in Britain, and it makes recommendations to government and the nuclear industry on how to minimise the risk. It arose from an ORG seminar held at Rhodes House in Oxford in December 2002, at which the authors had presented papers to an audience of journalists, government officials, and industry representatives.



War Prevention Works: 50 Stories of People Resolving Conflict, Dylan Mathews, September 2001

A book of 50 short accounts from around the world of what ordinary people are doing to stop war armed only with integrity, stamina and courage. From community level violence to inter-state wars, and from 1946 to the present day, these stories highlight the tools and techniques used by ordinary people, NGOs, church groups and many others to help resolve conflicts around the world. Each story includes maps, facts and figures, and costs relating to the conflict.

WHO ARE OUR PARTNERS?

OTHER NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOs)

ORG has built strong cooperative relationships with other NGOs working on issues of peace and security. In recent years we have been increasingly involved in collaborative projects, forming partnerships and groupings that have enabled the NGO community to become more effective.

In 2005, we also began to work with a selected group of NGOs in other European countries to promote new security thinking across European civil society.

Our partner NGOs are listed below

(in alphabetical order, UK-based unless indicated otherwise):

- Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy
- Atomic Mirror
- British American Security Information Council (BASIC)
- Centro de Investigación para la Paz (CIP), Spain
- Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament (CPAPD), Beijing
- Citizens' Nuclear Information Center, Japan
- Crisis Action
- Greenpeace
- Groupe de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix et la Sécurité (GRIP), Belgium
- Instituto de Estudios Transnacionales (INET), Spain
- Institute for Peacework and Nonviolent Conflict Transformation, (IFGK), Germany
- Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques (IRIS), France
- International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW)
- Iraq Body Count (IBC)
- Medact
- Middle East Policy Initiative Forum (MEPIF)
- NGO Peace and Security Liaison Group (PSLG)
- Peace Direct
- Peace Studies Group, Centre For Social Sciences, Coimbra, Portugal
- Quaker Peace and Social Witness
- Saferworld
- Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research (TFF)
- Transnational Institute (TNI), Holland
- The WMD Awareness Programme
- Waging Peace
- World Court Project

*“Oxford
Research
Group can
be regarded
as one of
the most
influential
institutions
in the
world peace
movement.”*

Major-General Pan
Zhenqiang, PLA
National Defence
University, Beijing

Other organisations with which ORG has jointly hosted meetings include:

- The Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (RUSI), London
- Chatham House, London
- King's College London
- Balliol College, University of Oxford
- St. Antony's College, University of Oxford
- Rhodes House, Oxford
- Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford
- United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), Geneva
- The United Service Institution of India, New Delhi

OUR FUNDING PARTNERS

We have a track record as a highly cost-effective organisation, with a compact staffing structure and minimal overheads. Our focus on relationships and collaboration means that we have been able to make a relatively large impact with very modest expenditure. Although we involve many people in our work, we remain completely independent. We are not a membership organisation, and we have no affiliations to any political party, government, or profit-seeking organisation. Those who fund our work do so freely, because they support what we are doing. We are indebted to them and consider them as true partners in our work. The table below shows a summary of recent income, identifying all grants of £5,000 or more by source. Our total income for 2003 was £225,248 and for 2004 was £155,795. Full accounts have been prepared according to Charity Commission requirements and are available for inspection on request.

Donations made and grants awarded from January 2003 to July 2005

Source	Amount (£)
Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust	167,451
Network for Social Change	42,750
Ford Foundation	40,155
Niwano Peace Foundation	36,590
Polden Puckham Charitable Foundation	35,000
Nuffield Foundation	10,317
Sigrid Rausing Trust	10,000
Portobello Fund	10,000
Ploughshares Fund	7,165
Birthday House Trust	5,000
Other (inc individual donations & small trusts)	106,065

“The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust has worked with Oxford Research Group continuously since 1983. It is rare for the Trust to provide support over a period as long as this, and the fact that we have done so is testimony to ORG’s enormous authority and competence. I have no hesitation in commending ORG to others who might be contemplating an involvement with the organisation.”

Juliet Prager, Deputy Trust Secretary, Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust

WHAT DOES OUR WORK FOCUS ON?

ORG's work is currently organised under three main themes:

- Global Security (the 'war on terror'; human security; intervention)
- Nuclear Issues (proliferation; disarmament; energy security)
- UK Security Policy (the role of the military; UK nuclear weapons; relationships to the USA and Europe)

These themes are closely linked together: they all encompass issues where global perspectives are required for lasting peace and security. Having separate but linked themes allows us to maintain continuity in our work at the same time as retaining the ability to respond rapidly to the changing international situation. Continuity is required to build up expertise, authority and relationships of trust. Rapid response ensures that our work relates to the current concerns of decision-makers and society at large. Each theme is linked specifically to the expertise of one or more of ORG's consultants.

Global Security

The 1990s were a decade where the major powers concentrated on investing ever-greater sums of money in elaborate weaponry in an apparently unending search for security through military superiority. ORG has consistently debated the wisdom of this approach with policy-makers. As early as 1992 we published our first major analysis of peaceful settlement of disputes in *The Peacemakers: Peaceful Settlement Disputes since 1945*. Since then we have used many opportunities to develop the case for non-military forms of conflict prevention as being more effective than investment in military hardware. Attempting to solve one strategic problem in a unilateral-militarist way, can risk increasing other equally serious strategic risks. Our research continues to focus on the need to replace deterrence with security policies that take account of the broader global issues that face humanity in the 21st century.



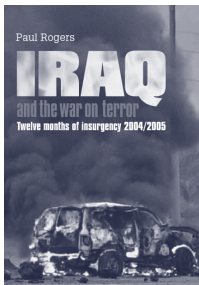
US Marines calling to women and children during a house-to-house search near Fallujah in Iraq, April 2004

“Unless there is a fundamental change of policy in Iraq, we are at the onset of a period of conflict that may last thirty years.”

Paul Rogers, *Iraq and the War on Terror*, June 2004

GLOBAL SECURITY

Unlike traditional notions of international security, the 'global security' approach seeks new comprehensive, systematic and worldwide responses rooted in a deeper understanding of underlying trends and causes of instability. Threats to security, such as global warming, resource depletion, terrorism, and pandemic disease, do not respect national boundaries, so security can no longer be guaranteed through states simply attending to their own national interests.



ORG International Security
Annual Report 2005

IRAQ AND THE 'WAR ON TERROR'

Key question: What are the realistic alternatives to military confrontation between the USA and so-called 'problem states'?

Since 9/11, ORG's Global Security programme has concentrated on critically assessing the implications of the 'war on terror', which has been the West's main response to 9/11.

This programme is spearheaded by Paul Rogers' International Security Monthly Briefings.

Each year these briefings are compiled, with new commentary and analysis, into an International Security Annual Report for the preceding year. Each report is published as a book to stand as a

lasting historical and analytical record of the evolving 'war on terror'. The first book in the series,

Iraq and the War on Terror, was published by ORG in 2004, with the second published by I.B. Tauris

at the end of 2005.

“Paul Rogers’ monthly columns are a must for those who want to know the truth about the military situation in Iraq.” Clare Short MP

As early as 2002 we were warning that a pre-emptive attack on Iraq would increase, rather than decrease, global and regional instability, and lead to an unacceptable cost in terms of human life and well-being. Since the invasion of Iraq, ORG has continued to chart and analyse developments, including the increasing civilian death toll, the changing tactics of radical paramilitary organisations such as al-Qaida, and the potential for new conflicts involving countries such as Iran. We have argued that current policies offer no real potential for peace, and we have developed policies which offer a realistic prospect for progress towards peace in the region (see, *Endless War: The Global War on Terror and the new Bush Administration*, March 2005).

Future work will chart, and attempt to predict, the likely outcomes of a continuation of present pre-emptive policies in the region, with particular attention to developments in Iran, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and North Korea, all of which have the potential to attract further destabilising military engagement by the USA and its allies.

ORG is supporting Iraq Body Count and others who are contributing to a 'Count the Casualties' initiative, calling for the UK government to commission a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the full human cost of the Iraq conflict. In July 2005, Iraq Body Count, in association with ORG, published *A Dossier of Civilian Casualties in Iraq, 2003-2005*. This provided the first detailed overview of those non-combatants reported killed or wounded during the first two years of the ongoing conflict, up to 19th March 2005. The report received huge media attention across the world, featuring on radio and television news, and in media outlets as diverse as the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Tehran Times*, *Xinhua News* and *Al Jazeera*. The UK *Independent* newspaper dedicated an entire front page to the report's findings that 24,865 civilians were reported killed in Iraq since 20th March 2003, with US-led forces alone being responsible for 37% of the deaths.

ORG will continue to work for full accountability and compensation for victims of war, and will work with other organisations to initiate a dialogue with international bodies on how the responsibility to account for civilian casualties of war might become a binding obligation on warring parties.

“It is a miracle of condensed information and has had an electric impact in the press; it will alter all the terms of the ongoing public debate about Iraq.”

Mary Moore, former diplomat and Principal of St. Hilda's College, University of Oxford (1980-90), commenting on *A Dossier of Civilian Casualties in Iraq, 2003-2005*



On 20th July 2005, *The Independent* newspaper dedicated the entire front page to the findings of the Iraq Body Count report

HUMAN SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HUMAN SECURITY

Human security can be defined as the set of conditions in which civilian populations are enabled to pursue lives free from hunger, poverty, oppression, avoidable illness, unemployment and arbitrary dislocation. Generally, contemporary wars threaten rather than enhance this security within the regions where they are prosecuted.

Key question: Are there ways to foster productive dialogues with terrorist, insurgent and paramilitary organisations?

The often neglected needs of people and communities on the ground in areas of conflict has prompted ORG to put work on human security at the forefront of its concerns. Listening to, assisting and empowering people whose lives have been torn apart by war is one important way of prioritising human security considerations. We have helped to empower and channel the voices of civil society to international leaders, through initiatives such as the Amman Roundtable on Human Security in the Middle East held in Jordan in May 2004 (see box p.18).

“Military tacticians should recognise that where the local population are humiliated and dehumanised, this will yield recruits for terror.” Report of the Amman Roundtable, May 2004

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict casts its shadow on the entire international security agenda. Its resolution is an integral part of achieving peace and security in the Middle East, ending the ‘war on terror’ and curbing nuclear proliferation. ORG has entered into a strategic partnership with the Middle East Policy Initiative Forum (MEPIF), founded by our Human Security Consultant Gabrielle Rifkind in 2002 to bring together a range of experts to explore creative non-military policy options, including the contribution third parties could offer. ORG and MEPIF provide an ongoing environment for key actors from Israeli and Palestinian civil society to engage with one another to develop new proposals for breaking the deadlock in the peace process. The first fruits of this partnership was a residential consultation in April 2005 on Israel-Palestine: What Future for the two Peoples? Confronting the Obstacles to a Viable Peace at a Quaker retreat centre near Oxford.

“The most important message of Northern Ireland – and it was learned through bitter experience – is that you must include all the parties in the process, whether you like it or not, whatever their faith. You must get them all around the table and hear the different voices. You have to listen to begin with, and keep listening for as long as it takes. This lesson has not been learned in the Middle East.”

Gabrielle Rifkind, ORG Consultant, interviewed in the *Lebanese Daily Star*, 30th July 2005

Our work on the Israel-Palestine peace process will develop through a series of residential consultations with key thinkers and political players. Linked to this will be further work on creating the right contexts for off-the-record dialogue between supporters of violence and their political opponents, as a means of supporting the development of a fully inclusive political process.

THE AMMAN ROUNDTABLE ON HUMAN SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, MAY 2004

This was held in Jordan, to allow maximum participation from people in the region at a time of great tension and instability. A team of Oxford Research Group facilitators drew together a carefully balanced group, containing civil society representatives from a range of Middle Eastern countries, alongside those from outside the region with relevant experience in building civil society in other areas of conflict (such as Northern Ireland and the Balkans).

The meeting was facilitated in such a way as to ensure clear recommendations owned by the regional participants. There was particular focus on the challenges facing civil society in the region, and on how it can further tackle human security issues from the bottom up.

The participants examined the chasm that exists between the policy-makers and the experience of the people on the ground, and particularly why so little attention is paid to the needs of ordinary people by those charged with managing the conflict.

The meeting helped crystallise thinking about needs for people in the region in a way that added to productive proposals for action. These included mechanisms for breaking the cycle of violence and priorities for empowering civil society, including women.

A report containing the main recommendations was sent to countries participating in the G8 meeting held shortly afterwards, and is available from our website. Positive responses to the recommendations were received from several key players, including representatives of the UK government. Ownership of taking the process forward was left firmly in the hands of the regional participants.

Report of the *Amman Roundtable on Human Security in the Middle East*, May 2004

The Amman Roundtable Human Security in the Middle East



Meeting co-hosted by HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal and Oxford Research Group, Amman, 11-12 May 2004

“It is too easy for heads of state to assert that “all diplomatic avenues have been explored”. History shows this is rarely the case.”

John Sloboda and Chris Abbott, *The “Blair Doctrine” and after: 5 years of humanitarian intervention, openDemocracy*, 22nd April 2004



US soldier on patrol in Afghanistan

HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

Key questions: Are interventionist wars ever justified? If so, what are the criteria for justification and how can they be conducted in such a way as to maximize their chances of enhancing peace and security for people on the ground? Are there robust and practical alternatives to the use of military force when intervening in situations of conflict?

We are examining whether the principles of humanitarian intervention can be improved in the light of their recent flawed applications (in Kosovo for instance). The prevention of genocide and mass starvation have been accepted as a responsibility of the international community (the ‘responsibilities to protect’), but processes for decisive and disinterested action are not easy to agree. Military intervention can only be a last resort, with much greater attention needed to long-term conflict prevention and peacebuilding. Re-assessing the conflict-prevention roles of international bodies such as the UN, the EU and NATO will therefore become increasingly central to our work. We are also looking at ways that the UK government can implement the ‘responsibilities to protect’ framework and promote this agenda on the international stage, particularly the UN Security Council.

Our work needs to focus on the issue of *how* to intervene (while upholding human security priorities) as much as on *when* to intervene. In collaboration with NATO, we are initiating a project on Reconciling the Requirements of Contemporary Operations with the Needs of Human Security, which will catalyse further projects designed to turn principles of intervention into practical and positive policies and instruments, focussed on non-military approaches, but with military intervention held in reserve as an absolute last resort.

THE REAL THREATS TO GLOBAL SECURITY

Key questions: What are the real threats to global security? How can the threats from such sources as international terrorism be countered in ways that also address the longer-term threats posed by climate change, environmental degradation and socio-economic divisions?

Our work involves a wide-ranging assessment of the variety of threats faced by humanity, among which terrorism is only one, and in terms of lives lost, a relatively minor one. We seek to place the response to terrorism in a broader perspective, to take account of economic, health, environmental and other long-term threats to human survival and well-being. Current responses to terrorism may, at best, ignore these broader threats, or at worst, actually contribute to them.

Our analysis leads us to conclude that future conflicts will arise out of four factors:

- the growing divide between rich and poor;
- the further spread of military technologies (including ‘weapons of mass destruction’, or WMDs);
- the adverse effects of climate change and global warming; and
- competition for increasingly scarce resources, such as oil and water.

In this context, the marginalised majority is increasingly likely to support political violence against the rich minorities of the world. While middle-power states may be increasingly unwilling to accept the dominance of the West, Western leaders will nonetheless try to maintain the status quo, by military means if necessary.

This is why a new model of security is needed – one which addresses the root causes of conflict.

This model is based on three principles:

- action to reverse the widening gap between rich and poor;
- action to support economic development which does not destroy the environment and deplete finite resources (sustainable development); and
- action to halt increased global militarisation and the spread of WMDs.

ORG is committed to developing and promoting realistic non-military alternatives to the current security orthodoxy which embody these core principles.

Nuclear Issues

ORG was founded in the belief that crucial defence issues, including those relating to nuclear weapons, should be the subject of informed public debate. Historically, decisions affecting UK nuclear weapons have been shrouded in secrecy and removed from parliamentary and public scrutiny. This isolated the decision-making process from the checks and balances that independent expert opinion could provide, and also from Parliament and wider civil society.



The destroyed city of Hiroshima after the dropping of the atomic bomb on 6th August 1945, which killed around 140,000 people

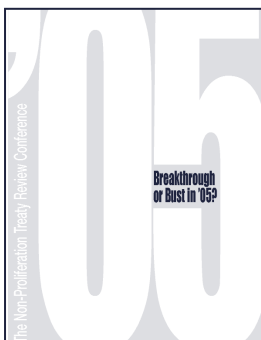
Our early work analysed the structures and processes of nuclear weapons decision-making worldwide, and developed methods of non-confrontational dialogue, in order to enable groups of concerned citizens to engage personally with decision-makers. By the late 1990s, the much talked of “window of opportunity” for nuclear disarmament following the end of the Cold War had closed, and the dangers of nuclear proliferation were greater than ever. At that time, ORG began to bring together senior officials from governments of the nuclear nations with their opposite numbers from the non-nuclear nations for off-the-record consultations, where they could tackle the obstacles to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, and set them in the wider context of other emerging security challenges.

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND NON-PROLIFERATION

Key questions: How can states possessing nuclear weapons fulfil their commitments to nuclear disarmament? How can states that are developing nuclear weapons be persuaded not to?

The spread of nuclear weapons, nuclear technology and materials is still one of the greatest security challenges. ORG continues to address these dangers, which come from both state and non-state, particularly terrorist, actors. In addressing the questions of proliferation, including that of how states that are suspected of developing nuclear weapons – as in the cases of North Korea and Iran for example – may be persuaded not to, we emphasise dialogue between the key players, and the development of robust collective approaches, rather than the use of threats and pre-emptive military force.

During 2004-'05 ORG worked in partnership with the British American Security Information Council (BASIC) on a joint programme designed to try and ensure the best possible outcome for the May 2005 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference (see box p.22). Under the heading *Breakthrough or Bust in '05?* we published a series of briefing papers containing recommendations on key aspects of the NPT which required urgent progress, and promoted these recommendations at a preparatory meeting in Geneva for the ambassadors of all the countries involved (see box p.22).



“Our message has been a simple one: the NPT will only remain relevant and effective if it is universally accepted that it stands for compliance by all, for all, without exception or excuse”

Final ORG/BASIC report in the *Breakthrough or Bust in '05?* briefing series for governments

“To gloss over the hypocrisy of the Nuclear Weapons States, which are modernising nuclear weapons and ensconcing them in their ongoing military doctrines, while urging abstinence on everyone else, is stunning.”

Professor Sir Joseph Rotblat (1908-2005), Nobel Peace Prize laureate and Patron of ORG, in his Message to the 7th NPT Review Conference, *Remember Your Humanity*, May 2005

THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

The 1970 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) is a near universal international treaty in which the 5 states with nuclear weapons agreed to work towards reducing and finally eliminating their nuclear arsenals in exchange for a commitment from the non-nuclear weapons states never to develop nuclear weapons. In return, the nuclear weapon states promised to assist these countries in developing peaceful uses of nuclear energy for themselves. All the signatories to the Treaty come together at 5-year intervals to review the treaty's progress at a Review Conference at the United Nations.

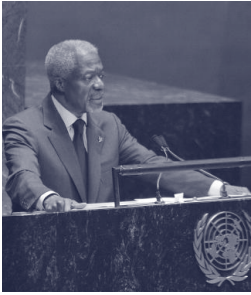
However, the NPT contains a serious contradiction. So-called peaceful nuclear technology is identical to the nuclear technology needed to fabricate nuclear weapons.

The Treaty attempts to solve this paradox by requiring the non-nuclear-weapon parties to conclude safeguards agreements with the IAEA (the International Atomic Energy Agency which verifies governments' commitments to the NPT). But some nuclear facilities, such as plutonium reprocessing plants, are impossible to safeguard effectively, and there will always be the risk that nuclear materials from a civilian nuclear power programme could be diverted by a government for a secret nuclear weapons programme, or stolen by terrorists. Their output can be converted to Mixed Oxide Fuel (MOX), easily usable by terrorists to make a crude atomic bomb.

ORG will continue to work on a range of concrete initiatives to strengthen the NPT regime and revitalise the Treaty, such as:

- strengthening counter-nuclear terrorism measures and raising political and public awareness of the increasing risk of nuclear terrorism;
- promoting realistic and verifiable steps that nuclear weapons states can take towards dismantling their own nuclear arsenals;
- strengthening IAEA safeguards, to make it more difficult to acquire fissile materials to make nuclear weapons;
- rejuvenating the Conference on Disarmament by starting negotiations for a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (see box p.23);
- ending plutonium reprocessing that allows the production of Mixed Oxide (MOX) nuclear reactor fuel which could be used for crude atomic weapons; and
- persuading the British Government not to replace its Trident nuclear weapons system when it reaches the end of its service life (see p.27)

ORG believes that the only ultimate safeguard for humanity against nuclear catastrophe is the total elimination from the world of all nuclear weapons.



UN Secretary-General
Kofi Annan addressing
the 2005 NPT Review
Conference on its
opening day

TOWARDS A BREAKTHROUGH AT THE 2005 NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE, APRIL 2005

ORG co-hosted this roundtable in Geneva with BASIC and the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) in the final weeks leading up to the NPT Review Conference. It was attended by representatives from the delegations of over 80 countries party to the Treaty. Held off-the-record, the meeting allowed an unusually frank and productive exchange to take place. The ORG/BASIC briefings had previously been distributed to all ambassadors, and were widely held to express a balanced package of measures which commanded respect. The meeting was organised and chaired in a way which allowed delegates to feel free to critically engage with each other while not directly confronting another government's position. This helped significant positive movement towards a common position which could not have been achieved so easily in other more traditionally-run international meetings.

Although the Review Conference itself was unsuccessful in reaching consensus, a strong will emerged amongst many delegations to look for new and creative ways of moving forward. Important lessons need to be learned from the way that international negotiations are managed. Outdated systems of diplomacy, poorly devised meetings and counter-productive rules of engagement can lead to failure, even with the most robust and realistic policy proposals on the table. This has implications for ORG, which is well placed to make a leading contribution to a focused assessment of the "fitness for purpose" of the institutions and cultures within which non-proliferation and disarmament negotiations currently take place.

“If I were to characterise US, NATO and, therefore by implication, British nuclear policy, in one sentence, I would say the policies are immoral, illegal, militarily unnecessary, very, very dangerous in terms of the risk of accidental or inadvertent launch, and destructive of the non-proliferation regime. It’s absurd, insane.”

Former US Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara speaking on BBC Radio 4's *Analysis* programme with several members of ORG, 25th August 2005

FISSILE MATERIAL CUT-OFF TREATY (FMCT)

A Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) would ban the further production of fissile materials – weapon-grade plutonium and uranium – for use in nuclear weapons, and is widely regarded as the most important next step towards nuclear disarmament, yet progress on negotiating an FMCT has been severely deadlocked for years.

Since February 2002, ORG has organised and hosted a series of unofficial, residential consultations for a small group of 15 diplomats and independent experts who come together for intensive off-the-record dialogue on how to surmount the obstacles to the negotiation of an FMCT.

In February 2003 we published *The FMCT Handbook: A Guide to a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty*, which was launched at the UN Conference on Disarmament in Geneva and a copy given to every delegation.

“The ORG FMCT consultation was an opportunity to help shape and refine ideas for governments to take diplomatic steps to enhance prospects of an FMCT negotiation. The setting – and ORG’s bridge building approach – facilitated a free exchange of views which was very constructive.”

Ambassador Les Luck, Permanent Representative of Australia to the Conference on Disarmament, 2003

ENGAGING CHINA

ORG Consultant Frank Barnaby in discussion with a Chinese General at a private roundtable held for an ORG delegation at the PLA National Defence University in Beijing, March 2000

Key questions: What role can China play in enhancing global security? How can China meet its energy needs without increasing conflict over resources?

Early in its work, ORG recognised the growing importance of China’s role in global security and nuclear disarmament. We established what was to become a long-term arrangement with the Chinese People’s Association for Peace and Disarmament (CPAPD) of reciprocal seminars and opportunities for face-to-face dialogue between senior military and civilian policy-makers and experts from China and the West on issues of mutual concern.



Issues for discussion so far have included nuclear proliferation, the weaponisation of space, and the role of major powers in reducing the threats to global security. An emerging interest for ORG is to promote dialogue with the Chinese on promoting realistic alternatives to nuclear power which could enhance global security by limiting the spread of fissile materials and defusing global resources wars. This will be linked to an analysis of the capacity of renewable energy sources to meet global energy needs. Dialogue with the Chinese on this issue will be inaugurated in a joint ORG-CPAPD seminar in Beijing in November 2005 entitled: *New threats to security in a multipolar world: global challenges and global solutions.*

“After the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 in New York and Washington the next rung on the terrorist ladder of escalation of violence may well be the fabrication and use of a nuclear weapon.”

Frank Barnaby, *Dirty Bombs and Primitive Nuclear Weapons*, June 2005

SECURITY PROBLEMS POSED BY NUCLEAR POWER

Key questions: Is nuclear power an acceptable source of energy? How best can people be protected from the dangers of nuclear accidents and nuclear waste? Are there realistic alternatives for supplying the world's energy needs which do not involve the dangers inherent in nuclear technology?

There is currently a strong pressure from several quarters to construct new nuclear power reactors, in a so-called ‘nuclear renaissance’. This has arisen mainly because global warming has become a major political and public issue and it is argued by some that nuclear power produces relatively small amounts of greenhouse gases and would therefore contribute little to global warming.

In 2005, ORG joined forces with scientists from Imperial College London to develop and promote a robust and cost-effective case for investing in renewable energy rather than nuclear energy as a response to dwindling oil stocks and global warming. Our programme involves an analysis of the security dangers associated with a nuclear renaissance, and questions the assumptions of the nuclear industry and its supporters.

We argue that:

- nuclear reactors discharge radioactive wastes into the environment – the air, sea and water – and a politically and publicly acceptable way of disposing of high-level radioactive waste has yet to be found;
- nuclear reactors inevitably produce plutonium that can be used as the fissile material for the fabrication of nuclear weapons, thereby increasing the risk of nuclear-weapon proliferation and nuclear terrorism;
- an accident in a nuclear-power reactor may, as the Chernobyl accident showed, spread radioactivity over continents;
- new nuclear reactors are not needed because improvements in energy efficiency and the use of renewable energy sources, particularly solar energy, could solve our energy problems; and
- the costs of building and decommissioning nuclear power reactors mean that nuclear power has never been economic and is unlikely to be in the future.

NUCLEAR TERRORISM

Key questions: How can the threat of nuclear terrorism best be countered? What is the likelihood of terrorist use of radiological and fissile materials? What are the vulnerabilities of the UK's civil nuclear infrastructure to terrorist attack?

ORG has carried out extensive research into the risks and realities of nuclear terrorism and has consistently urged the UK government to take it very seriously. It is a sobering fact that the fabrication of a primitive nuclear explosive using plutonium or highly-enriched uranium would require no greater skill than that required for the production of the nerve agent used by the AUM group in the Tokyo underground in 1995.

To effectively counter nuclear terrorism it is important to prevent terrorists from acquiring the fissile materials – plutonium and highly-enriched uranium – needed to fabricate a primitive nuclear explosive and from acquiring significant quantities of radioactive materials to build a so-called ‘dirty bomb’. Our aim is not to scaremonger, but to provide sound independent advice to government, and stimulate a thorough and constructive debate on the issue. ORG, therefore, recommends that much more effort be put into the protection of the radioactive materials used in medicine, industry and agriculture. We also emphasise the crucial importance of effective intelligence in countering nuclear terrorism.

In June 2005, we published *Dirty Bombs and Primitive Nuclear Weapons* by Frank Barnaby, in order to provide the public with more information on these threats.

UK Security Policy

ORG has for many years encouraged the British government to open its security policy-making to full democratic accountability, and to prioritise multilateralism and conflict-prevention within the framework of international law. In 1997 we advocated a leadership role for the new Labour government in promoting an effective and truly global security structure that would reduce the need for offensive weapons, particularly nuclear weapons: our submissions to the Strategic Defence Review at the time stressed the centrality of non-military aspects of security, including the environment, economic polarisation, energy and the prevention and resolution of conflict.



British soldiers with the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan

“The British Army has developed highly regarded manuals for the training of peacekeepers, through sometimes bitter experience in many conflicts.”

Scilla Elworthy, *Cutting the Costs of War*, ORG and Peace Direct briefing paper, March 2004

We have worked both behind the scenes with officials from the Ministry of Defence, the Foreign Office and Cabinet advisers, and publicly through seminars and research reports. We engage with parliamentarians, academics and other non-governmental organisations to develop and promote policies which will strengthen Britain’s commitment to conflict prevention.

THE UK IN THE WORLD

Key question: What role can Britain play in promoting international peace and security?

ORG has consistently pressed for a significant increase in government resources allocated to conflict prevention strategies, rather than reacting to crises with threats and the use of pre-emptive military force.

A recent Government statement characterised Britain’s role as one of acting “as a force for good by strengthening international peace and stability” (MoD Public Service Agreement, 2005-2008). Currently, ORG is working with others to stimulate a comprehensive debate on a role for the UK armed forces in the 21st century; one which would build on their widely recognised skills in nation building, conflict prevention and peacekeeping. ORG has published recommendations on how the UK can develop its ability to excel in these areas, by putting more resources into people and their training, rather than into the procurement of ever more expensive and elaborate war-fighting equipment.

Currently, ORG forms part of an alliance of non-governmental organisations, the NGO Peace and Security Liaison Group (PSLG), which meets on a regular basis with officials from the UK Government’s Global Conflict Prevention Pool and the Post-Conflict Reconstruction Unit, to discuss government conflict prevention policy and how it can be developed and implemented most effectively.

“A unified and coherent European voice can be a powerful stabilising and uniting influence in a world where competing ideologies threaten to fragment the world order.”

Statement by the founding members of the European Peace and Security Policy Initiative, May 2005

BRITAIN IN EUROPE

Key question: How can Britain enhance its role as a ‘force for good’ in the world through the European Union?

ORG has had a longstanding interest in the evolving post-Cold War European defence debate. ORG publications such *Beyond Deterrence: The New European Defence Debate* (Hugh Miall and Oliver Ramsbotham, 1991) began to articulate policies which turned away from a ‘traditionalist’ view of war-fighting and deterrence, towards a view of global interdependence and common security.

Recently, with funding from the Ford Foundation, ORG has facilitated the formation of a new strategic partnership between a small number of European policy-oriented peace and security organisations – the European Peace and Security Policy Initiative (EPSPi) – to explore ways in which Britain can play a more positive and integrated role within a European Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). This project aims to build a network of influential progressive European civil society organisations, independent analysts and parliamentarians to engage with national and EU policy-makers in developing positive proposals for common European foreign and security policies in areas such as: humanitarian intervention, terrorism, regime change, the war on drugs, failed states and nuclear weapons.

The initiative was launched at a meeting of the Executive Directors in Paris in April 2005, and, to date, nine European NGOs from eight countries have joined. The project is drawing together a European Peace and Security High-level Panel of experts from around Europe to help communicate progressive analysis and security policy recommendations in national and European policy forums.

ORG is also undertaking an initial analysis of where UK security strategy converges with and where it diverges from current European security and defence policy, and how this relates to Britain’s role within NATO and as the prime ally of the USA.



ENGAGING POLITICIANS

Dialogue with government policy-makers and politicians is at the core of ORG’s UK Security Policy programme. We invite politicians from across the political spectrum and civil servants to all our consultations and meetings, which are held off-the-record where appropriate, and we work closely with individual parliamentarians and government policy advisers on specific aspects of our programmes. We regard the nurturing of these relationships as vital to the effectiveness of ORG’s work.

United Nations
headquarters in New York
and United Kingdom
Houses of Parliament
in London



THE FUTURE OF UK NUCLEAR WEAPONS

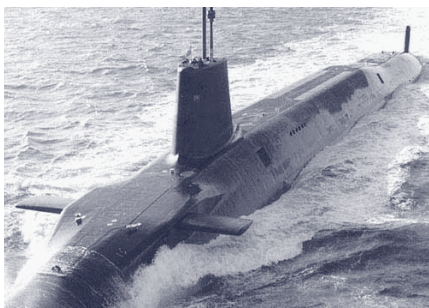
Key question: Does Britain need to retain its nuclear weapons into the 21st century?

ORG has consistently argued that the UK's nuclear weapons do not increase security, especially in the post-Cold War and post-9/11 context. The continued possession of nuclear weapons encourages others to acquire them, undermines international treaties to control their spread, and perpetuates strategies based on the threat of mass murder. Above all, we believe that decisions affecting nuclear weapons policy should be taken only after full consultation, and an open and informed parliamentary and public debate.

“The frozen confrontation between government and anti-nuclear campaigners that characterised the 1980s made dialogue extremely difficult, and everything needs to be done to ensure that an engaged and nuanced dialogue can unfold around forthcoming decisions.”

The Future of British Nuclear Weapons: Who Decides? Report of the ORG consultation on the future of British nuclear weapons, December 2004

One of the four British Vanguard-class nuclear submarines, armed with up to 48 Trident warheads, is always on patrol as part of the UK's nuclear weapons policy



In 2003, the UK Government announced that a decision on whether to replace or renew the UK's current nuclear weapons system, Trident, will be taken before the 2010 general election. In December 2004, ORG decided the time was right to start to bring together the best military, political, legal, ethical and technical experts from the UK and elsewhere to start a discussion on all the key aspects relating to such a decision (see box p.28). Subsequently, ORG became a partner in a programme designed to foster a wide-ranging debate between government, parliament and civil society and to assess Britain's security needs in the 21st century, the effects of British nuclear weapons on global security, and whether nuclear weapons are fit for current and future threats.

“In order to avoid preaching either to the converted or to ideologically closed ears, this project seeks to move the argument from the traditional question of whether or not Britain should have ‘The Bomb’ to a genuine debate among stakeholders on how best to enhance national and international security.”

Beyond Trident: UK Security in the 21st Century, joint project proposal of the ACRONYM Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy, BASIC, ORG and the WMD Awareness Programme, January 2005

As part of this programme ORG will produce a Current Decisions Report which will take the form of a set of published debates between prominent authorities on the military, political, legal, ethical and democratic aspects of the Trident decision. The authors will set out contrasting positions and respond to each other's concerns.

To increase the effectiveness of civil society's engagement with decision-makers on these issues, we shall also offer Dialogue Workshops to groups of UK citizens who are concerned about the question of Britain's nuclear weapons, and want to do something constructive to influence government policy.

RESIDENTIAL CONSULTATION ON THE FUTURE OF BRITISH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, DECEMBER 2004

In December 2004 ORG brought together a group of military and civilian policy-makers, academics and independent experts in a Quaker retreat and conference centre near Oxford for two-days of discussion on a range of issues relating to the decision on whether to replace or renew the UK's current nuclear weapons system.

This off-the-record consultation enabled people from different backgrounds and with opposing views to engage with each other constructively, listen to each other's point of view and learn from the solid experience and knowledge each had to offer. Participants acknowledged that the meeting helped sow the seeds for a public debate about the future of Trident, which have since borne fruit in several fora.

Discussion in the 13th century Solar at Charney Manor during an ORG residential consultation



“ORG produced an atmosphere which was very conducive to productive discussion. This is an important, distinctive and almost a unique selling point. It also challenged one's moral stance when arguing against a different viewpoint in an otherwise informal and agreeable environment.”

UK ARMS EXPORTS

Key question: Are British arms exports good for Britain?

The international trade in weapons entails many threats and dangers. Since 1992 ORG has consistently challenged the economic, military and industrial rationales for government support of the arms trade through its publications and dialogues.

In 2001, ORG undertook a joint research and advocacy project with Saferworld which resulted in the publication of *The Subsidy Trap: British Government Financial Support for Arms Exports and the Defence Industry* (Paul Ingram and Ian Davis, July 2001). The report reveals that, contrary to popular belief, the UK arms industry does not boost British jobs and that each person directly employed in the arms export industry is subsidised by the British taxpayer by approximately £4,000 per annum. During the research stage of this project ORG and Saferworld held a series of meetings with government officials and independent experts to test the methods for calculating this subsidy.

Since publication the principal author of this report, Paul Ingram, has given evidence at Trade and Industry Select Committee hearings and appeared frequently in the media to discuss the findings. A booklet up-dating the figures in the 2001 report, entitled *Escaping the Subsidy Trap: Why arms exports are bad for Britain*, was brought out in September 2004 by a consortium of ORG, Saferworld and BASIC. ORG will continue with its partner organisations to seek opportunities to press for greater accountability and transparency in an area of government activity which does not receive the public scrutiny it deserves.

HOW CAN PEOPLE GET INVOLVED?

BECOME AN ORG SUPPORTER

Supporters pledge an annual donation of £30 or more, and in return receive regular mailings and notifications of ORG events and publications, as well as a periodic newsletter. To become a supporter, simply complete the standing order form available from our website or office and return it to ORG. Alternatively, one-off donations can be made by cheque or through our website.

JOIN THE SUSTAINER SCHEME

A 'Sustainer' is a supporter of ORG's work who is willing to commit a donation of £1,000 or more per year for at least three years. ORG Sustainers play a core role in spreading our work within civil society. In return for their commitment we provide an exclusive portfolio of information and resources, at the centre of which are twice-yearly private buffet-receptions during which briefings are provided by invited international experts who deliver cutting edge thinking and analysis on security issues. During these meetings, and at other times, we also provide opportunities for those Sustainers who wish to offer their views and expertise about how to most effectively pursue our strategic aims. Please contact our Executive Director, John Sloboda, if you are interested in becoming a Sustainer.

BUY AND CIRCULATE OUR PUBLICATIONS

Although many of our publications are available for free download from our website, the more substantial publications are available for sale. Buying these, or giving them as presents, is a simple way in which you can assist ORG both financially and practically, by spreading the word about our work. We are also happy to send a copy of this prospectus to anyone, free of charge, if you are able to supply a name and address.

JOIN THE EMAIL SIGN-UP LIST

Receive free email notification of Paul Rogers' International Security Monthly Briefings, and other ORG publications and news. Simply visit our website at www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk and enter your email address.

PARTICIPATE IN THE DIALOGUE PROJECT

If you are interested in our dialogue method and in learning how to apply it yourself, you can buy our popular handbook *Everyone's Guide to Achieving Change*. This is now in its fourth edition and is available from ORG for £5 plus postage. If you or your group would like to host a dialogue training session, we are happy to provide a facilitator and background materials on the key issues that we are working on at the moment. We can offer full day and part day workshops as well as short workshops as part of a larger meeting. To book a session, please print and fill in the form available from our website and send it to the ORG office. Alternatively you can email Janet Bloomfield on janet.bloomfield@oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk.

INTERNSHIPS

Oxford Research Group offers graduate internships throughout the year. We offer three days a week, which allows interns to find part-time paid work outside ORG if they need to. We pay a basic £30 a day to cover expenses. The internship is an excellent opportunity to gain first-hand experience of how a successful, small NGO works to achieve positive change in the field of human and global security. We hope in return to benefit from your own knowledge and experience. An application form can be found on our website, and either post it to us or attach it to an email, together with your CV and details of referees, and we will quickly get back to you.



Charney Manor, a Quaker retreat and conference centre near Oxford, where many of ORG's off-the-record consultations take place

www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk

“ Many groups publish studies, convene symposia, and promote their own solutions to international security challenges. ORG, however, has its own distinguished contributions in this field that set it apart. It has successfully lured opposing sides in major international controversies into productive Track II sessions. It has taken principled positions without allowing itself to become an instrument of partisan politics. It has contributed to the education of a younger generation, whose leadership will be indispensable in addressing the security challenges ahead, both new and old. It has also sensibly preserved a core of experts who together provide exactly the kind of institutional memory needed to frame enlightened policy recommendations. Through such capabilities, ORG has gained the respect of governments and groups in civil society throughout the world.”

Ambassador Henrik Salander, Secretary-General, Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission

“ORG plays an essential and unique role in the international NGO community. They bring together governmental and non-governmental communities and allow the two to talk, and – more importantly – to listen to one another. ORG’s approach to a thoughtful exploration of the issues is needed more than ever.”

Professor Jack Mendelsohn, US Department of State (1963-85)

“Oxford Research Group has found a unique formula for their meetings, combining tranquility, conviviality and simplicity to facilitate exceptionally searching, well informed and stimulating discussions. Their modesty disguises a more effective approach to difficult issues than you find at the ostensibly more powerful institutions.”

Dr. Rosemary Hollis, Director of Research, Chatham House

“Oxford Research Group is a vital voice of sanity in a dangerous world, educating and informing us about the real meaning of security.”

Isabel Hilton, writer,
broadcaster and Editor
of *openDemocracy*

“I was first introduced to Oxford Research Group, during the Cold War, when I was serving in the Army. I was struck immediately by the breadth and depth of its examination of serious issues, the objectivity of its research, and the courage with which it was prepared not only to study matters of current and public interest but to publish its views. It retains all these characteristics, which is why it remains such a valuable and respected member of the international affairs community.”

General The Lord Ramsbotham, Adjutant General to the British Army (1990-93) and HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (1995-2001)

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