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**A Programme for Promoting Nuclear  
Non-Proliferation: An International Project to  
Strengthen the Barriers against Nuclear  
Proliferation**

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**Summary:**

Full draft summary of proposal for the Program for Promoting Nuclear Nonproliferation.

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## Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation

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A PROGRAMME FOR PROMOTING NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION  
An international project to strengthen the barriers against  
nuclear proliferation

### Summary

It is an internationally accepted fact that any increase in the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons would add to the risk of nuclear war. In a long-term effort to reduce that risk, the international community has adopted a variety of measures and monitoring procedures designed to discourage potential nuclear proliferators. One of the principal elements in the resulting system of measures and procedures - the "non-proliferation regime" - is the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which was opened for signature in 1968 and entered into force two years later. Over 130 non-nuclear-weapon States are parties to this Treaty, obliging them not to acquire nuclear weapons and to submit all their nuclear activities to international verification by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to ensure that they are not used for the manufacture of such weapons or of any other nuclear explosive devices.

Every five years, the parties to the NPT hold a conference to review its operations and assure that the purposes and provisions of the Treaty are indeed realized. The next review conference will be held in 1990 and the Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation started its work in the Spring of 1987 with the immediate aim of helping to create conditions conducive to the success of that Conference, particularly in view of the fact that five years later another conference will be held to decide upon the Treaty's extension. Beyond that, the Programme has as its ultimate purpose of the Programme to help strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regime in general. To those ends, an international, non-governmental and informal system of collecting, exchanging and analyzing relevant information has been created. The Programme is engaged in bringing this information to the attention of government officials, diplomats, the research community, parliamentarians, non-governmental organizations and the media, so as to foster among those groups, and particularly among their younger members, a greater interest in, and a deeper knowledge of, the issues involved.

### Background of the Project

The Non-Proliferation Treaty imposes on non-nuclear-weapon States the obligation to refrain from acquiring or manufacturing nuclear weapons. In turn, the nuclear-weapon States that are parties to the Treaty have undertaken to negotiate, "in good faith", measures of nuclear disarmament. Among non-nuclear-weapon States there are many which consider the Treaty one-sided because it imposes a restraint on them that does not apply to the major Powers; the latter are also criticized for effectively continuing to rely on nuclear arms to maintain the equilibrium between them. A number of nations also see the controls some nuclear supplier countries impose on international trade as contrary to the provisions of the NPT.

Already at the first NPT review conference, in 1975, criticism was expressed of the way in which the Treaty was implemented. Five years later, at the second conference, this criticism had reached the point where participants were unable to agree on a final declaration. The third conference, in 1985, did end with a final declaration endorsing the Treaty and reflecting a consensus that - even though its implementation left much to be desired - the NPT served international security and justified the support of the international community.

This consensus may well have been due to a coincidence of positive factors which might not be present in coming years. There is, in particular, no guarantee that the persons attending and servicing the meetings in 1990 and 1995 will have the same level of substantive expertise and interest in the survival of the Treaty as was the case in 1985. It is critical that the next review of the implementation of the Treaty and the deliberations on its further duration should be conducted by persons committed to the cause of non-proliferation and that those involved in the reviewing process should be fully aware not only of current developments but of their background and their causes, the evolution of the non-proliferation system and the NPT, and the manifold aspects of their implementation.

### The Purposes of the Programme

The ultimate purpose of the Programme is to help strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regime and its shorter-term goal is to contribute to the success of the fourth review conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and of the 1995 conference that will decide on the Treaty's extension.

### Operation of the Programme

The Programme uses five main techniques to realize its aims.

**First:** an international networking exercise based on a Core Group



of around 15 experts, initially selected in part by the Programme Directors, and in part co-opted, from among well-known authorities in nuclear affairs, national security questions, diplomacy, and arms limitation. They participate in a personal capacity, serving in principle for the duration of the project, within the limit of their availability. The Core Group gives over-all guidance to the substance of the project and the way it operates. Members pool, exchange and discuss information on the many different aspects of the issue and pass the consolidated information on to those newly charged with the subject. They further discuss new proposals to strengthen non-proliferation and help the review conference succeed; make the respective communities of which they form part aware of the need to support the non-proliferation regime and the Treaty; where appropriate, they promote studies and co-ordinate ongoing research and study activity; and stimulate an outreach programme of publications and lectures to increase public awareness of the issues involved. The present composition of the Core Group is given in the attachment. The Group's semi-annual meetings are usually attended by observers on behalf of the United Nations and the I.A.E.A..

The Group's substantive discussions bear on three categories of subjects: "functional questions", including such issues as the technological factors that play a part in nuclear proliferation and the ways to counter it: export restrictions, safeguards etc.; "problem countries and areas"; and the issues likely to arise in the review of the implementation of individual NPT articles. Discussions are conducted on the basis of presentations by members and invited experts. The texts of these presentations will be consolidated in one or more publications to serve as background material for the conferences planned for 1989 and 1990 as well as for wider dissemination. Selected contributions are published as "occasional papers", of which so far (August 1988) two have been issued.

**Second:** a set of national networks complementing the international one to similarly exchange information, particularly with respect to past and present research.

**Third:** a non-proliferation "Newsbrief", circulated on a regular basis. This is linked to a special data base which is in the process of being created.

**Fourth:** conferences, each involving at least 50 invited civil servants, diplomats, legislators and academic personnel, to review the current status of nuclear (non-)proliferation and discuss issues and views likely to be encountered at the 1990 review conference. These conferences will comprise a strong element of training and will be complemented by lectures given by members of the Core Group and/or persons commissioned by them, for selected target constituencies.



**Fifth:** the production and dissemination of educational and information material directed at general as well as at specialist audiences.

#### Organization and Schedule

The Programme is administered by the University of Southampton, United Kingdom, as a project of the Centre for International Policy Studies in the Department of Politics. It is jointly managed by Mr. Benjamin Sanders of the Netherlands and Dr. John Simpson of the United Kingdom. Mr. Sanders (formerly Director, Information and Studies Branch of the UN Department for Disarmament Affairs; Secretary-General of the third NPT review conference; and chief of section in the Safeguards Department of the IAEA) has his base in New York, where he conducts the overall supervision and co-ordination of the Programme. He acts as chairman of the Core Group. Dr. Simpson, currently Senior Lecturer in Politics at the University of Southampton and Deputy Director of its Centre for International Policy Studies, runs the European end of the project, acting as rapporteur of the Core Group and convener of the conferences.

In its present phase, the Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation is expected to run until the end of 1990, i.e. through the end of the next review conference of the NPT. The Core Group meets twice a year, alternately in Europe and in North America. Two major conferences are scheduled for April/May of 1989 and 1990; one of these will probably be held in the United Kingdom and the other elsewhere in Europe. Consideration is also given to cooperation with other groups in the organisation of meetings on subjects of joint interest.

The present budget for the project is attached. Eventual costs will depend to some extent on the exchange rate between the US dollar and the other currencies in which expenditures are incurred. Also attached is a summary of the funds granted or pledged so far, and of the sources.



To: potential funding sources

1. Mr. John Tirman  
Executive Director  
The Winston Foundation for World Peace  
401 Commonwealth Avenue  
Boston, Mass 02215

Dear Mr. Tirman,

It was kind of you to respond so quickly to my letter of July 25. I was away from New York when your letter of August 1 arrived, which will explain my belated reaction.

I should like to give you all relevant material for a further consideration of possible support by your Foundation to our project. Since I wrote, the second issue of our **NEWSBRIEF** was issued and we have also published Occasional Paper No. 2. Copies of both publications are enclosed, together with a consolidated and updated description of our project and all pertinent financial data. I hope this meets the criteria of a "standard request for funding", to which you refer in your letter. If that is not the case, I would be grateful if you could let me know how I should proceed.

Regarding a possible meeting in New York, as plans stand now, my co-director, Dr. John Simpson, and I will be visiting Washington, D.C. and Charlottesville, Virginia between the 7th and 9th September. On the 13th of that month I should leave for Geneva, where we have meetings on the 15th and the 17th, and go on to Vienna to attend the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency. On 26 September I should be in the Netherlands, inter alia to discuss at the Foreign Ministry there possibilities of a jointly organised seminar. I should be back in New York on the 29th of that month. I am sorry if this should make it impossible for us to meet here, but, as I said before, I shall be happy to come to Boston at a time convenient to you.

- ....
2. Mr. Frederic A. Mosher  
Program Chair  
Avoiding Nuclear War  
Carnegie Corporation of New York  
437 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Mosher,

You may recall that, after being introduced by Dr. Gwyn Prins from Cambridge University, I wrote to you on February 2 to draw your attention to the Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation, of which I am in over-all charge. Since I was hoping to have an opportunity of personally giving you the full details about our work, with the eventual view to seeking the support of the Carnegie Corporation, my letter did not pretend to give a complete picture of the aims and activities of the Programme. I nevertheless received a card, advising me that my proposal was being referred to the appropriate program staff for consideration.

Since I have <sup>not</sup> heard further from the Carnegie Corporation, I thought it might be useful now to amplify the partial information contained in my earlier letter. To that end, I attach a consolidated and updated description of our project, which briefly presents its aims and activities, together with a full description of the present financial situation. As you will see, partly as the result of the newly unfavorable exchange rate between the US dollar and the British pound and partly because of the initial under-budgeting for several items, in particular the **Newsbrief** (which has met with greater interest than expected and is therefore being issued more often and in greater numbers than originally foreseen) we are at present facing a financial shortfall of.... For your information, I enclose copies of the first two issues of the Newsbrief as well as of our first two "Occasional Papers". Also enclosed is a set of notes on the most recent meeting of the Programme's Core Group, which illustrates its modus operandi.

[ up to you, John, to find an elegant begging formula - my inspiration has run out]

...

3. Mrs Constance Eiseman  
Secretary  
The Prospect Hill Foundation  
420 Lexington Avenue, Suite 3020  
New York, N.Y. 10170

Dear Mrs Eiseman,

Following our meeting on July 25 and our subsequent telephone conversations I take pleasure in sending you a consolidated and updated description of the aims and activities of the Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation, together with several publications that have come out since we met. To amplify the description of the activities of the Core Group contained in the basic write-up I also send you a set of notes from the last meeting of the Group, which may shed further light on its work. I also attach all pertinent financial data available so far, with regard to funding and actual and expected expenditures.



As you will see, projecting present conditions we expect a shortfall of approximately ..... This is due partly to the change in the dollar/pound ration that has occurred since our budget was first drawn up, and is caused in part by the fact that some items were initially underbudgeted. In particular, at the time our original request was made, we did not fully recognise the amount of work involved in the project, which in fact is continuously expanding with the intensification of the networking function and the growing interest in our publications. In respect to the latter, both the frequency with which the Newsbrief appears and the circulation have had to be increased to meet the rather unexpected demand.

Anything you think you can do... [ John....?]

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