

April 18, 1991
Letter, Ben Sanders to Wade Greene

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Summary:

Request for support for the PPNN from the Rockefeller Family via Wade Greene.

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Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation

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April 18, 1991

Mr. Wade Greene
Rockefeller Family Office
30 Rockefeller Plaza, Suite 5600
New York, N.Y. 10112

Dear Mr. Greene,

Mrs. Hilary K. Palmer of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund has suggested that I should draw your attention to the Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation and inquire whether there is a possibility of obtaining support for that Programme from any individual member of the Rockefeller Family.

The Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation ("PPNN") is an international networking project created in 1987 to help reduce the risk of the spread of nuclear weapons to new countries. The first phase of PPNN's work came to an end in 1990 and efforts to raise funds for the period 1991-1993 are underway.

The aims, activities and methods of work of the Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation during the first phase of its existence are briefly described in the enclosed report on its activities over 1987-1990. Those activities have been very productive. PPNN's publications - of which some recent samples are also enclosed - are found to fill a widely felt need. The conferences it has held, to generate among diplomats and government officials a greater awareness of proliferation issues and of the measures that are and might be taken to solve them, have met with a lively response. The practice of inviting senior representatives and academic observers to substantive sessions of the Core Group is said to have made a perceptible contribution to the interest those groups take in the subjects under discussion.

A small non-governmental organisation of truly international character, PPNN has gained credibility for the objectivity of the way in which it analyses and imparts information, both in print and at its meetings. In its three years of existence it has become known as a useful source of information, consulted by public media, government officials, parliamentarians and researchers. Its work is increasingly appreciated by governments and international institutions and in the non-governmental and academic communities.

As shown in the report on the work done so far, in the past three years PPNN's attention has focused mainly on the fourth review conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) which was held in August/September 1990. In the aftermath of that conference, the need for a concerted effort to devise, strengthen and sustain international measures to deter the spread of nuclear weapons - and their means of delivery - to new countries is obviously as acute as ever.

Against the background of an improved political climate that holds the promise of progress in arms control and disarmament, the nuclear non-proliferation scene shows some positive potential but the balance still comes down on the negative side. Not only are a number of states in regions of acute political tension continuing to develop their nuclear capabilities while persisting in their refusal to join international programs that would help to disarm the growing suspicion about their intentions, but there are indications that several states which are part of such programs are also seeking to develop nuclear weapons. Political upheavals in various parts of the world and the resulting changes in traditional relationships call for renewed assurance that the NPT can continue to fulfil the stabilizing function it has performed so well in the past.

The circumstances point to clear priorities. Adherence to the NPT must be reaffirmed and strengthened, so that the Treaty may continue to play its stabilizing role in a changing world and remains in place as the cornerstone of the non-proliferation system also after the extension conference of 1995. The non-proliferation system must be reinforced by collateral measures apt to appeal to states outside the NPT. The search for arrangements that can give the international community more confidence in the nuclear intentions of those states makes it necessary to involve them in intensified dialogue.

PPNN is well-positioned to play an active part in a diversified effort of this kind. Its new program is envisaged in part as a long-term preparation for the NPT extension conference of 1995, which will require very careful groundwork. In the shorter term, the program provides three new elements, notably, a dialogue with non-parties to the NPT on ways of assisting them to maintain and demonstrate their non-nuclear-weapon status; the development of collateral measures to strengthen the non-proliferation system and consideration of means of reinforcing the stabilizing function of the NPT in situations of political change; and the investigation of the conditions that will make it more likely that, at the 1995 conference, parties will agree on a lengthy extension of the NPT, and possible ways of realizing those conditions. The failure of the 1990 NPT Review Conference to agree on a final declaration raises some doubts that agreement about a lengthy extension of the Treaty will be readily obtained. The last point is therefore particularly important.

The new program, presenting a schedule of activities for the period 1991-1995, is enclosed herewith, in the form of a "Proposal for Support" , along with a draft budget drawn up separately for the first three years of that period and for the latter two years. As has been the practice during the first stage of PPNN's existence, the budget foresees very low operating costs, reflecting, inter alia, the facts that the University of Southampton charges only a nominal 5% for its supporting services and that the American side of the exercise is conducted at minimal expense.

So far, the lion's share of PPNN's funds was received from United States foundations, while significant donations were also obtained from British sources. Annex C4 of the 1990 Annual Report, of which a copy is also enclosed, contains a summary of the grants received for the first phase (1987-90) of PPNN's work. In seeking to raise funds for the second phase of PPNN's existence, serious efforts are made to find support also outside those two states. I enclose a summary document indicating the current state of fund-raising for the Programme, the grant-making institutions approached, the grants pledged and the amount still to be raised. As you will see, there is still a considerable gap between the sum budgeted and the funds actually raised up to now.

I should point out that while the fund raising efforts were going on, program activities have continued without interruption. The Core Group has been newly constituted, to reflect greater emphasis on the developing areas of the world; a list of the new membership goes herewith. The Winter 1990/1991 issue of the quarterly **Newsbrief**, which is attached, came out in January. The Spring issue will go to print in a few days. Work is underway on two significant papers, to be published shortly in a new "PPNN Studies" series. Preparations are under way for the first semi-annual meeting of the Core Group, to be held in Guernsey, British Channel Islands, in mid-May, 1991. As a sample of the ground covered at such meetings, I enclose the draft agenda. We expect that the planning and management aspects on the agenda will take up half a day; the remaining two days will be devoted to substantive discussions. Plans for the Autumn meeting include a one-day "extended Core Group session" to which 15-20 delegates to the United Nations General Assembly will be invited. The meeting will have at its focus a series of presentations on the issue of a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing and its relationship with the NPT, by high-level experts advancing technical arguments for and against such a ban and by diplomats discussing the political aspects. We are now discussing possibilities of holding the meeting at the Center for Environmental Studies at Princeton University, where this issue is receiving particular attention, and which is in easy reach from the United Nations.

I hope that this letter and the accompanying information will enable you to judge whether and to what extent our activities would qualify for support by a member of the Rockefeller Family. It is obviously not possible for me to judge what amount of support one might request; given the unfavourable financial situation in which PPNN finds itself at the moment, any level of support would be welcome.

If additional information is needed to enable you to consider a specific request for support to our Programme, I would be happy to provide it. As I spend a part of my time in New York City, I would be readily available to call on you at your convenience, if you think that would be useful.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ben Sanders", with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Ben Sanders
Executive Chairman, PPNN

Encl.