

**FORD FOUNDATION RESEARCH PROJECT 'NORTH/SOUTH SECURITY RELATIONS'****Department of Politics****UNIVERSITY of SOUTHAMPTON**

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Telex 47661



December 10, 1986

Our Ref: C:let\Sanders.5

Mr Ben Sanders,  
 Director  
 Information and Studies Branch  
 United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs  
 Room 3150A  
 New York  
 NY 10017  
 United States of America

Dear Ben,

It is 6.50 in the evening on Tuesday and I have at last managed to finish the letters that I promised you yesterday together with the revised document.

I have taken the budget to our accountant and he has suggested certain changes which leave us in a position of being slightly above the previous budget if the out-reach programme is excluded, but not too significantly so. I suggest that we now regard this as the final version and once I receive your OK I will send it to all the UK funding organisations. The letters are self explanatory; the only issue is whether the letters from the Vice Chancellor should be to the Programme Officers or to the Presidents of the Foundations.

I have started to make enquiries about the first planning meeting and our initial soundings suggest that we could be accommodated in the Old Government House Hotel in Guernsey during the weekend of Thursday, 14 May to the morning of Saturday, 16 May but that the remainder of May is not available. We are still making enquiries about early June, and I am also making attempts to obtain information about hotels on Jersey. I will let you know more details when they become available but I think we should start sounding out people on dates as soon as possible.

Yours in haste and some exhaustion; I now have to start to think about my two lectures at the Civil Service College tomorrow!

Yours as ever and many thanks for a very enjoyable and productive weekend.

*Elizabeth Schlamm*

*W* John Simpson

P.S. Liz Schlamm my secretary will write you a separate note if she has any further information about the availability of the Old Government House Hotel in early June.

**Principal Researchers: Professor P.A.R. Calvert, Dr.J. Simpson, Dr.C.A. Thomas, Mr.P. Williams, Dr. R. Allison**

Supplementary Letter to Palmer and Schoettle.

Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation

(You will be interested to know, <sup>As of 1986</sup> (I am sure) that we were able to meet together both in Southampton and London from 5-8th December to discuss the above programme and to draft amendments to its related proposal document. We enclose with this letter copies of the document that has resulted from our deliberations.

The major changes from the previous version are a redrafting of the section dealing with the structure of the project, the inclusion of a more detailed budget statement, specific provision for outreach activities and the addition of bio-data on ourselves. We hope that in its new form it will be suitable for submission to your Boards of Trustees, but would be happy to consider any further amendments that you might suggest in this context.

We also took the opportunity to meet with David Fischer and Harald Muller in London on the 8th and discuss the programme with them. It was agreed that it would be crucial to harmonise the activities of the CEPS/PRIF programmes with ours, and agreed a number of measures to ensure that this would occur. Harald also pointed out that our programme document gives little indication of the likely substance of the discussions among the Core Group, but is primarily organisational and procedural in its content.

While we accept this point, we do not wish to dictate a substantive programme of work to the Core Group before it has had its first meeting. We are therefore proposing to deal with this legitimate comment in two ways. First, we intend to hold the first planning meeting of the Core Group either in mid-May or early June of 1987, so that a programme of substantive activities can be elaborated at a very early stage in our work. This will be held in the UK Channel Islands and we believe that it should be possible to obtain UK funding to cover most of its cost. Second, we would like to use the remainder of this letter to indicate the substantive issues we believe the Core Group could usefully discuss. [ You may also care to note that we have tentatively scheduled further meetings of the core group for October 1987 (US); March 1988 (UK); October 1988 (US); March 1989 (US); October 1989 (US) and March 1990 (UK). ]

*might*      *such points as*

The Core Group and the networking operations should, in our opinion, be free to range over all those issues that members of the Group consider important for nuclear non-proliferation, but we would anticipate that these would include:

- The future of nuclear power, including issues such as inherently safe reactors and non power uses of nuclear energy;
- Methods of strengthening the non-proliferation regime;
- Arms control activities and the non-proliferation regime;
- Security and the non-proliferation regime;
- Supplier/Recipient relations in the nuclear energy field;
- The functioning and strengthening of safeguarding activities, including their use as a confidence building measure;
- How to deal with potential proliferators;
- Regional Conflicts and their impact on the NPT;
- What to do if additional states were to acquire nuclear weapons or use them;
- How to deal with the 'grey market' in nuclear equipment and materials;
- The development of Nuclear Free Zones, including the problem of nuclear armed naval vessels;
- Procedural problems of NPT conferences and their possible solutions
- How to make Peaceful Nuclear Explosives illegitimate.
- How to enhance regional non-proliferation initiatives and structures and harmonise these with more universal aspects of the regime.

This list is not exhaustive, but we hope it will dispel any feeling that we have concentrated our planning on issues of organisation at the expense of those of substance.

*is ready*

We understand that <sup>the</sup> Vice Chancellor of the University of Southampton ~~will~~ write to you shortly on behalf of the University with a formal request that your Board of Trustees should consider our proposal at its earliest convenience. <sup>or</sup> If you considered it appropriate, we have no objection to you reproducing relevant parts of this letter for their information, *delete*

Yours faithfully,

Ben Sanders

John Simpson

*We enclose a draft letter to that effect, to which we should be happy to have your reaction. Please let us know to whom that letter should be addressed.*

Draft letter from the Vice Chancellor  
to Ford & Rockefeller

[ Ben: Should this be to the President or Chairman of the Board  
of Trustees or Schoettler and Palmer? ]

I am writing to you on behalf of my University to formally request that you should consider making a substantial grant to our Department of Politics to assist in the financing of a very important and innovative programme of international activities being proposed by Mr Ben Sanders and Dr John Simpson. Details of this programme are given in the attached proposal document.

The total programme will run from 1 March 1987 to 1 November 1990, and require a global sum of \$547,208 for its completion. I recognise that no one funding body is likely to be in a position to finance the total programme unilaterally, and it was therefore very realistic for Sanders and Simpson to attempt to put together a consortium of Foundation support from Europe and the United States to provide the necessary funding. Their soundings have indicated that a grant of \$200,000, just over 36% of the total, would be the most appropriate request that I could make, and wish now to make a formal application for this amount.

The University will give Sanders and Simpson every support in pursuing their programme of work, and to this end is prepared to both accept responsibility for supervising the implementation of the project and administer its finances for a nominal 5% overhead charge. Since many of the costs of the programme will be incurred in dollars, there would clearly be considerable advantages in maintaining a dollar account as part of the financial arrangements for this programme. You may also care to note that the University is taking steps to enhance the tax advantages accruing to United States organisations who contribute towards its activities. Details of this are included in the proposal document.

This University has always regarded equal treatment of the sexes as a keystone of its employment policies, and it employs a significant proportion of females among its teaching and research staff. I am particularly delighted to report that there are 7 females and 11 males among the teaching, research and support staff employed in the Department of Politics.

The programme which is outlined in the accompanying document is a very practical one, but one which could have great significance for the future of international relationships. I have every confidence that the complementary skills, experience and abilities of Mr Sanders and Dr Simpson will see it through to its fruition, and you may rest assured that they have my full support in their endeavours.

Yours faithfully,

PROGRAMME FOR PROMOTING NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION (PPNN)

## A PROPOSAL

for

A Programme of Information Exchange, Education, Training and  
Research to help Strengthen the Non-Proliferation Régime  
and Support Preparations for the Next Review Conference  
of the Non-Proliferation Treaty1. Background

The NPT Review Conference of 1990 will be the last such conference before the parties to the Treaty meet in 1995 to take a decision on its further duration. Both events are crucial for the future of the Treaty.

The 1985 Review Conference, in contrast to that of 1980, managed to agree on a final declaration endorsing the Treaty. The consensus on which that agreement was based is widely ascribed to a coincidence of positive factors which may not be present in 1990 or 1995. To a considerable degree the success of the Conference has been ascribed particularly to the expertise of a relatively small number of delegates, of the President and his Bureau, and of the Secretariat, most of whom were specialists in matters of non-proliferation with a strong interest in the continued viability of the NPT. There is no guarantee that these or similar individuals will be available to attend on future

occasions nor that, if they do attend, they will be able to achieve the same results.

Experience shows that there is a profound need for a continuity of knowledge of the facts of nuclear (non) proliferation in all its aspects. Yet many of those attending the most recent conference were struck by the apparent lack of relevant information possessed by many of the participants. It is particularly important that those instrumental in the reviewing process should be thoroughly aware of current developments, their background and their causes, and have an insight into all the factors involved. Such factors include the nature of multilateral diplomacy in this area, the links between nuclear non-proliferation and other arms limitation issues and the political and practical problems of both constructing and implementing effective non-proliferation measures.

There exists at present no means of assuring a continuity of knowledge of all these factors. The NPT does not contain a mechanism for review or consultation between conferences and, except for a few governments with an abiding interest in the matter, most governments of the States party to the Treaty tend to allow the issue to lie dormant between review conferences. While a very limited body of specialists continue to follow developments to the best of their ability and use various informal and institutional means to exchange information, most academic institutions, individual researchers and non-governmental organisations with a potential interest in the subject tend to address it when it is likely to evoke immediate interest, i.e. just before a review conference. Few members of



the research community, moreover, are fully abreast of all aspects of the issue. The approach of many NGO's contains elements of advocacy, while the media, with their great potential for promoting interest in any topical question, tend to do so only in respect of matters showing immediate timeliness. Rather than providing a continuing source of objective information, they are themselves dependent on the input of solid data from well informed sources. Industry, which has an obvious interest in the topic, appears at no time to be more than marginally and indirectly involved. Perhaps most importantly, where research, debate or discussion on non-proliferation issues takes place - something which occurs almost exclusively in a few developed countries - this tends to involve persons from the country in question or at best a few States in the region; very few if any activities of this nature involve people from all parts of the world.

It would be desirable to remedy as many of these deficiencies as possible. To this end, the programme which follows has been designed to help provide those involved in the issue of non-proliferation (diplomats, national and international civil servants, the research community, industry and the media) with a source of authoritative information on the background and the evolution of the non-proliferation system and the NPT and on the manifold aspects of their implementation. In order to achieve this it is proposed to set up an informal system of collecting, exchanging and analysing such information on a multinational basis and bringing it to the attention of those concerned. The exercise would be so conceived as to elicit a

well-balanced view of the issues involved, without taking on the nature of an ongoing review process; it would also remain in principle a non-governmental effort.

## 2. Purposes of the Proposal

The ultimate goal of the programme is the strengthening of the international non-proliferation régime. Its immediate purpose is to help maintain and strengthen that régime by contributing in particular to the success of the Fourth Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to the extent possible the Conference which is to be held in 1995 to determine the further duration of that Treaty. The programme aims to meet this purpose by promoting, particularly among government officials, diplomats the research community and to the extent feasible among parliamentarians, non-governmental organisations and the media a continuing interest in the question of nuclear non-proliferation and the means to counteract it, among which the NPT is primary; furthering an early start on the preparations for the Review Conference of 1990; creating and maintaining a wider and deeper public awareness of the issues involved; and in particular imparting to a younger generation who are new to the subject a substantive and practical knowledge of these issues, of the backgrounds to the Treaty, and of the possible new measures that might enhance the régime. An important aspect of the programme is the involvement of persons from developing nations, with a view to promoting a more intense association of those nations with the non-proliferation issue in



general and the implementation, review and extension of the NPT in particular.

Specifically, the programme should serve the following four purposes:

- (i) To provide a means of sustaining multilateral contact on the NPT and reinforcing work to support it during the years when no conference activity is taking place;
- (ii) To assist younger members of the diplomatic service, international and national civil servants, members of the research community, nuclear industry management and other individuals who may be called upon to deal with the subject in an executive or advisory capacity to exchange both views on, and acquire insights into, matters pertaining to the NPT and to the issue of nuclear non-proliferation in general;
- (iii) To encourage, and provide material for, research into the issue; and
- (iv) To provide a ready source of authoritative fact on the background, evolution and implementation of the non-proliferation regime and the NPT.

### 3 Structure of the Programme

To meet these purposes, it is proposed to utilise four main techniques:

(i) A networking exercise based upon links between, and meetings of, a Core Group. This Group would meet for 2-3 days at 6-9 monthly intervals. Its tasks would be, inter alia, to:

- steer the project in a general sense by selecting topics for discussion in core group meetings and periodic conferences, commissioning papers to be presented to them and giving overall guidance to its evolution and work;
- pool, exchange and present in an appropriate form the combined knowledge of its members of the practical, political, diplomatic, economic, technical and institutional aspects of the question of non-proliferation, with specific reference to the NPT, and pass this on to those newly called upon to deal with this question;
- exchange information on developments in respect of nuclear proliferation and on measures taken against them;
- exchange ideas on possible further means of both promoting non-proliferation and strengthening the NPT;
- contribute information on non-proliferation issues to an informal periodic newsletter whose circulation would, at least initially, be restricted to members of

the group;

- seek to acquaint itself, through its members, with the results of relevant studies and research done, or underway in the non-proliferation area;
- seek, through its individual members, to influence the respective governmental, diplomatic, parliamentary, scientific, academic and/or institutional environments of those members in favour of non-proliferation and of the need to effectively implement and sustain the NPT;
- stimulate an outreach programme of activities and publications to enhance awareness of, and interest in, nuclear non-proliferation issues, particularly those related to the NPT;
- promote and, if necessary, seek to coordinate such further studies and research as might be useful, and exchange, pool and, if appropriate, disseminate the results obtained.

(ii) The creation and maintenance of a wider set of contacts to supplement those maintained through the Core Group. These could include people in the governmental, intergovernmental, academic and media communities and would have the objective of exchanging relevant information, including the results of current research.

(iii) The holding of two conferences, each with 30-35 participants, on topics relevant to non-proliferation. Activities during these conferences would include conducting a review of the current state of the non-proliferation regime, exposing diplomats and civil servants - especially those

associated with the subject - to issues and views likely to be encountered at forthcoming NPT Conferences, and providing a medium for them to familiarising themselves with these issues and their background. Conferences of this type are planned for 1988 and early 1990 with the former focusing upon questions of non-proliferation in general and the latter concentrating on the issues likely to dominate the Fourth Review Conference of the NPT; and

(iv) The dissemination of material generated through the networking operations and the conferences to both specialist and general audiences. [This might include the publication of leaflets intended for a wider public, academic educational material aimed at undergraduate level and more advanced research material presented at core group meetings and the periodic conferences.]

#### 4. Detailed Proposals for the organisation necessary to mount the programme

In keeping with its international nature, this programme will be jointly organised by Mr Ben Sanders and Dr John Simpson from two centres, one in the United States and one in Europe. The two organisers have worked together previously at the United Nations and elsewhere. In order to sustain coordination between the two centres, it is proposed that they will hold regular review and planning meetings, in addition to maintaining frequent contact by telephone and letter.

The overall supervision and co-ordination of the project

will be undertaken by Mr Sanders, currently Director, Information and Studies Branch, Department for Disarmament Affairs, United Nations, New York and the Secretary-General of the last NPT Review Conference. He will chair the Core Group meetings and will also have prime responsibility for the organisation of the networking exercises, including liaison and meetings between members of the Core Group.

Mr Sanders will shortly retire, and proposes to devote the equivalent of two days a week to the programme. He will set up an office in his private residence in New York, where he would have ready access to resources within the United Nations system and to governmental and non-governmental experts. To assist him with his work, he will require the services of a part-time secretary and the appropriate communications, word processing and photocopying equipment.

Dr Simpson, currently Senior Lecturer in Politics at the University of Southampton and Deputy Director of its Centre for International Policy Studies, will have prime responsibility for organising the two conferences, which will probably be held at a conference centre in the Channel Islands of the United Kingdom. He will also act as rapporteur for the Core Group and generally assist Mr Sanders in the networking operations.

Dr Simpson will remain an employee of the University of Southampton, but be assigned to the programme for the equivalent of two days per week as part of his contract of work. In compensation, the University will receive an equivalent proportion of his salary. Secretarial and other assistance, office provision, office equipment and communications and

photocopying facilities will be made available to him at cost by the Department of Politics.

To simplify the infrastructure of the project the University of Southampton has agreed to accept financial responsibility for the programme, in return for a nominal 5% overhead charge. Under this arrangement Mr Sanders will be a part-time employee of the University, responsible to the Head of the Department of Politics for his activities. He and Dr Simpson will provide an annual report and financial accounting of programme activities to the University and funding bodies.

Grant awarding bodies based in the United States may care to note that the University of Southampton has recently set up a 'not-for-profit' Foundation, the Southampton University Mountbatten Foundation Inc.. This Foundation was incorporated as a 'not-for-profit' Delaware corporation without capital stock on February 5, 1986. An application for recognition of its exempt status under Section 501(c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code has been filed with the Internal Revenue Service. Should the Internal Revenue Service determine that the Foundation is so exempt, contributions to the Foundation will be tax deductible to the extent permitted by applicable law.



## 5. The Composition of the "Core Group"

In order for the programme to function effectively, it will be necessary for the Core Group to comprise between ten and twenty eminent scholars, diplomats, industrialists and other experts in the general field of non-proliferation. The group should be representative of the views of industrial and developing nations from all parts of the world, and of different political outlooks. It might include the following individuals:

Dr Warren Donnelly	United States; Senior researcher, Congressional Research Service;
Amb. Jayantha Dhanapala	Sri Lanka; diplomat; disarmament (committee chairman, Third NPT Review Conference);
Mr David Fischer	Britain; former Head of IAEA External Affairs Division;
Dr Josef Goldblat	Sweden; Senior researcher, SIPRI;
Amb. R Imai	Japan; diplomat and nuclear expert (committee chairman, Third NPT Review Conference);
Amb. Jorge Morelli Pando	Peru; diplomat, (disarmament and nuclear energy);
Dr Harald Muller	Germany, Federal Republic; Senior researcher, (non-proliferation);
Prof. Joseph Nye	United States; Centre for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University;

Ms. Jan Murray	Australia; Secretary-General elect, Uranium Institute;
Mr Walter Rehak	German Democratic Republic; Committee Secretary, Second NPT Review Conference (nuclear safeguards);
Amb. Mohamed Shaker	Egypt; diplomat, (non- proliferation; President, Third NPT review conference);
Mr Ian Smart	Britain; Senior researcher (non- proliferation);
Amb. Roland Timerbaev	USSR; diplomat (non-proliferation).

Mr Sanders , the Chairman, and Dr Simpson, the Rapporteur, would be ex officio members of the " Core Group". In addition, the IAEA could be invited to send Dr Lawrence Scheinman to participate in its work.

The Core Group would hold up to seven meetings before the 1990 NPT review conference at reasonably secluded venues in the Eastern United States (4) and in the United Kingdom (3). Two of the latter meetings would be held in conjunction with the conferences. The final composition and precise remit of the group would be discussed at an initial planning meeting to be held in the British Channel Islands in May/June 1987.

## 6. Budget

Since the initial phase of this programme is scheduled to run for some 44 months from March 1987 through October 1990, costs are difficult to forecast with accuracy. However, a rough breakdown is provided below, making allowance for an approximate annual inflation rate of 5%:

PROGRAMME FOR PROMOTING  
NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION (PNPN)  
BUDGET 1987 to 1990

	1987	1988	1989	1990	TOTAL
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1. Salary cost for Sanders (40% f.t.e.)	21,000	23,200	27,500	24,200	98,900
2. Costs of initial equipment for, and running expenses of Sanders' office	8,000	3,000	3,200	3,000	17,200
3. Salary of Sanders' part-time secretary (40%)	8,000	10,000	10,500	9,200	37,700
4. Sanders/Simpson travel and subsistence	4,000	5,000	5,250	5,500	19,750
5. Travel and subsistence for Core Group meetings ( x 4 times - USA)	19,000	20,000	45,000		84,000
( x 3 times - UK)	11,000	12,000		13,000	36,000
6. Stipend of Core Group members (15)	15,000	15,000	15,000		45,000
7. Conferences					
- Hotel accommodation (37x3 days)		8,000		9,000	17,000
- Airfares (20)		13,000		14,000	27,000
8. Commissioning fees for papers presented to Conference & Core Group and preparing papers for publication		7,000	7,250	7,500	21,750
9. Preparation, production and dissemination of additional printed and other material for outreach activities		5,000	10,000	15,000	30,000
10. Cost of initial equipment for, and running expenses of, Simpson's office	2,000	2,500	2,750	2,750	10,000
11. Contribution to salary cost of Simpson (40%)	4,500	19,000	20,000	17,000	60,500
11. Salary of part-time secretary (40%)	1,500	5,250	5,400	4,200	16,350
Dollar Sub Total	94,000	150,950	151,850	124,350	521,150
University overheads at 5%	4,700	7,547	7,593	6,218	26,058
TOTAL DOLLAR BUDGET	98,700	158,497	159,443	130,568	547,208

This Budget is based on the following assumptions:

- Budgets for 1987 and 1990 are calculated on the basis of ten months activity only;
- Mr Sanders salary would be 40% of his final net UN pay;
- Mr Sanders salary covers ten months in 1987 and 10 months in 1990;
- Sanders/Simpson travel and subsistence costs exclude attendance at Core Group meetings and conferences;
- Travel and subsistence costs for Core Group meetings in the Eastern United States will be \$ 11,500 and \$7,500 at 1987 prices;
- Travel and subsistence costs for Core Group meetings in the UK Channel Islands will be \$8,300 and \$ 2,700 at 1987 prices;
- Members of the Core Group would be offered an annual stipend of \$1,000 in 1987 through 1989;
- Conference costs exclude the travel costs of Core Group members, who would hold two of their meetings in the UK Channel Islands in conjunction with these conferences;
- Conferences will involve 20 participants in addition to Core Group members, having average travel costs of \$650 at 1988 prices;
- Hotel and subsistence costs will be approximately \$215 in March 1988 for a three night stay in a first class hotel on Guernsey or Jersey.
- Dr Simpson's salary costs, office and secretarial expenses will cover the last three months of 1987 and will continue on until 1 November, 1990

ANNEX 1      Biodata on MR BEN SANDERS

Dutch National - Born 1927

Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Division of International Organisations) 1955-59

On secondment to IAEA Vienna, Safeguards and External Relations Divisions, 1959-61

United Nations Technical Assistance Board, Khartoum, 1961-63;  
Belgrade 1963-1965

IAEA Vienna (Development and administration of nuclear safeguards), 1966-77

Committee Secretary, First NPT Review Conference, 1975

United Nations Centre for Disarmament, New York, 1977-83

Deputy Secretary-General, Second NPT Review Conference, 1980

Head of Information and Studies Division, Disarmament Affairs Department, United Nations, New York, 1983-87

Secretary-General, Third NPT Review Conference, 1985

Publications include:

ANNEX 2      Biodata on Dr JOHN SIMPSON

United Kingdom National --Born 1943

Assistant Lecturer in Politics, University of Southampton, 1965-7

Lecturer in Politics, University of Southampton, 1967-82

Consultant to Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (Palme Commission): Nuclear Test Ban, 1981

Senior Lecturer in Politics, University of Southampton, 1982-

British Government Nominee on UN Secretary General's Study Group on "All Aspects of the Conventional Arms Race and Conventional Disarmament" 1982-5

Deputy Director, Centre for International Policy Studies, University of Southampton, 1983-

Member of UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office Ministerial Panel on Disarmament and Arms Control, 1983-

Coordinator, Ford Foundation funded research project on North/South Security Relations in the 1990s, 1984-7

Observer from Centre for International Policy Studies at NPT Review Conference, 1985

Organiser, Symposium on the NPT Extension Conference, 1995 held in Guernsey, Channel Islands, March 1986

Consultant to UK Ministry of Defence Arms Control Unit, 1986

Publications include: The Independent Nuclear State: The United States, Britain and the Military Atom Macmillan, 1983 and 1986; The International Nuclear Non-proliferation System: Challenges and Choices Macmillan, 1984 (ed. with A.McGrew); Floughshares into Swords? The International Nuclear Non-Proliferation Network and the Third NPT Review Conference Faraday Paper, London 1985.

10 December 1986