

SECOND MEETING OF PPNN CORE GROUP
19-22nd NOVEMBER 1987

1. The Core Group of the Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation held its second meeting at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, from 19 to 22 November 1987. The participants in the meeting are listed in Annex 1, together with the three experts invited to brief the Core Group on specific topics, and three invited observers. The following is a summary report on the proceedings of the meeting. This is intended as an 'aide memoire' for participants and a means to give members unable to attend a general idea of what transpired at the meeting. The report has not been formally adopted or agreed to by the participants. It records conclusions reached and does not pretend to attribute any particular opinions to individual participants. It is meant for distribution only to participants in Core Group meetings, members unable to attend and funding organisations.

2. Agenda for the Second Meeting

The Core Group adopted the agenda (PPNN/CG2/5/Rev.1) attached as Annex 2. As reflected in this report, in the course of the discussions some items were sub-divided and others combined.

3. Composition of the Core Group

The Chairman welcomed Dr. Benson Agu (Nigeria) and Dr. Lewis Dunn (USA) as new members of the Core Group. He reported that Ambassador Imai from Japan was still awaiting his latest posting before responding to his invitation to join.

4. PPNN Budget and Funding

The Group noted the budget situation summarised in PPNN/CG2/1, which predicts a shortfall of about \$75,000. It was reported that with some additional effort it should be possible to find funding to cover this amount from organisations such as possibly the W. Alton Jones Foundation, the (Canadian) Donner Foundation or the United States Institute for Peace. The latter might be asked to fund a specific budget element, such as newsbrief support. It was also reported that the Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament appeared ready to provide support, but the Group agreed that this should not involve any organic association with the Programme, as the Centre seemed to expect. Rather, the idea might be investigated of a one-off involvement in the Programme, such as funding and hosting a session of the Core Group in Ottawa; there were also various other possibilities of ad hoc co-operation.

5. Reports from Core Group Members

Reports were received on the progress of studies and research work in Europe. An account was presented of KWU involvement in Argentinian attempts to restart work on the Iranian Busheir reactors and of the loopholes in the existing export regulations and guidelines that this had exposed. A discussion ensued on the opportunities and the dangers, presented by the creation of joint enterprises of emerging and existing suppliers, and the possibilities that such enterprises could be used to guide the actions of the former.

The Group discussed the Indo/Pakistan nuclear relationship and the imminent meeting of the US/USSR heads of state to sign an INF Treaty. Some initiatives were suggested in relation to both situations. A bi-lateral Indo-Pakistan nuclear test ban as a non-proliferation measure was examined, as were possible Chinese moves to alleviate the situation. The insertion of a clause in the Reagan-Gorbachev communique relating the INF agreement to NPT Article VI was positively addressed, but no clear means emerged for providing an appropriate context for this. It was emphasised, however, that meetings of the heads of state of the Superpowers and the resultant communiqués presented a unique opportunity for co-ordinating US-USSR non-proliferation policy in general and for joint action over the South Asian situation in particular. For the latter was the most likely area for the use of nuclear weapons over the next 10 years, and if current possibilities were not actively pursued the opportunity to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to the area might be lost.

The opportunities presented by UNSSOD3, which takes place in May/June 1988, were also reviewed, plus the agreement at the 1985 NPT Review Conference to examine financial arrangements for the transfer of nuclear technology to developing countries. A high level IAEA study had been completed on this and was generally felt to be very useful but this does not contain any recommendations on setting up a financial assistance fund. It was noted that the Board of Governors was still considering the report. Ben Agu undertook to get copies for distribution to Core Group members.

The possibility of having more states accede to the NPT following Spain's accession was assessed. There was a discussion on the need to concentrate diplomatic efforts on the states which represented the highest risk of proliferation, rather than just adding to NPT membership. The idea was raised that Spain might provide the President for the 1990 conference, particularly so as to promote further Latin American accessions.

In general, it was agreed that, as appropriate, members of the Core Group should alert the governments and organisations with which they are associated to opportunities for underlining and publicising progress in the implementation of the NPT.

6. Initial Discussion of General Considerations Paper

An initial discussion took place on the objectives and plan of action for the Programme, based on document PPNN/CG2/3. Some disquiet was expressed about the balance of that paper, as it was felt this should have focused more clearly on the objective of promoting the success of the fourth (1990) Review Conference and the extension conference in 1995. A number of proposals were made for focusing the Programme's outreach activities upon the governments and diplomats involved in the 1990 conference. It was pointed out, however, that for the Programme to be taken seriously by governments it had to have a public image and a clearly defined profile. This would suggest that public outreach activities had to be pursued in parallel to activities directed privately at governments and diplomats. A wide-ranging discussion then took place on means of enhancing the credibility of the Programme in the eyes of governments and diplomats. It was suggested that these might include:

i. Production of a pamphlet on the issues likely to arise in 1990, by one or more members of the Group, but not necessarily 'approved' by it;

ii. Arranging the programme of Core Group meetings so that each would have at least one "attention-grabbing" topic (e.g. nuclear terrorism) to attract press interest;

iii. Production of a group report for publication prior to the 1990 conference, with sections of it discussed at each Core Group meeting;

iv. Holding Core Group meetings in proliferation "hot spots", e.g. South Africa, or arranging for visits to such states by representatives of the Group;

v. Lecture and other visits by members of the Group, perhaps linked to publications;

vi. Invitations to one or two key governments to send representatives to Core Group meetings;

vii. Holding at least one of the conferences for governmental officials only, without representatives of the media;

viii. Hiring a public relations consultant to advise on "image building" and press contacts.

7. Briefings by Invited Speakers

The Core Group devoted five sessions to presentations by invited outside experts and/or some of its own members, on specific issues of topical interest. The presentations - some of which are reflected in papers which the Group considered lent

substantive discussions in which the observers and the various presenters participated and out of which a number of ideas crystallised.

Leonard Spector discussed nuclear relations between India and Pakistan. He drew attention to two new developments: the Pakistani proposal for a bilateral nuclear test ban and the reports that Pakistan might be willing to put the Kahuta enrichment plant under safeguards. The idea was raised that the two major Powers should decide singly, and if possible agree, what manner of settlement in the region would be acceptable to them and get the protagonists to negotiate on that basis.

John Redick spoke on nuclear restraint in Latin America, with special reference to Argentina and Brazil. The Group felt that the measures taken by these two states to increase confidence between them might serve as a constructive example in other cases of bilateral nuclear rivalry; it would follow the situation closely and keep an open eye for any opportunity to apply a similar approach elsewhere. The hope was expressed that other Latin American states still outside the non-proliferation system would soon join Tlatelolco and/or the NPT; with respect to the latter Treaty there was hope that Spain's recent accession might be put to good use.

In the absence of Richard Butler (who was to have talked about Rarotonga) Tariq Rauf - who was present as an observer-agreed to speak (and presented a paper) on the non-proliferation regime and nuclear submarines for Canada. A number of Core Group members felt that, while Canada's move would be counter to the spirit, if perhaps not to the letter, of the NPT and the safeguards agreement with the IAEA, and that the exemption from safeguards should be limited to the material in the propulsion reactors and should not include any other stages of the fuel cycle, this development was not likely to have a great impact on the outcome of the 1990 Review Conference.

David Fischer discussed South Africa's position in light of its recent announcement that it "... is prepared to commence negotiations ... on the possibility of signing the non-proliferation treaty..". He had the impression that dominant elements in the South African administration favored accession. The Group agreed that it would be highly desirable from many angles that South Africa join the NPT, even if the fact that it would then possess sizeable amounts of HEU produced outside safeguards might make it difficult to ensure that all fissionable material in the country was duly accounted for. It was pointed out, however, that South Africa's internal policies would impose severe constraints on the concessions that could be made to meet the conditions it seemed to be setting for its accession. The Group agreed to follow also this issue closely and to focus on it at its meeting in November, 1988.

Bill Potter explained to the Group the nature of the data base on new nuclear suppliers which he was setting up at UCLA. Its value in generating unexpected correlations and new ideas was examined. In substantive terms, an interesting result of his research programme was the conclusion that the emerging suppliers were exercising great prudence in their export policies. It was clear from his presentation that it would cost PPNN \$ 40-50,000 a year to maintain a similar database of its own.

8. Further Discussion of General Considerations

It was accepted that in general terms the Programme should follow a two-pronged approach by:

i. using individual members of the Core Group as conduits to governments, international organisations, etc. for ideas generated at its meetings; and

ii. seeking to alert government officials, the media, and to the greatest possible extent other constituencies among the informed public to the issues and options relevant to the 1990 NPT Review Conference and the non-proliferation regime.

Further general considerations and the effect to be given to them in future work were discussed under the next agenda item.

9. PPNN Core Group Meeting Programme

The Core Group agreed that the programme of meetings should reflect a systematic progression towards the 1990 conference and be so designed as to give optimum support to both directions in the work of PPNN. In this light it gave particular consideration to means of identifying the main issues likely to arise at that conference, ways of familiarizing the various constituencies with those issues and means of making the outreach activities as effective as possible. As one way of serving the last-mentioned purpose it was agreed that means should be sought to publish and give wide distribution to the papers given at Core Group meetings (starting with some of the present ones) and at the end of the entire series having the Group, respectively the two directors, prepare a paper covering all the issues and options discussed by the Group. It was suggested that one way to do so was to prepare a paper after each session and consider this at the next one.

The idea was developed of structuring future Core Group meetings around three categories of topics:

a) the elements in the Non-Proliferation Treaty which-based on the precedent of the third Review Conference - might be expected to be the focus of debate in 1990;

b) "functional questions", i.e. topics of general relevance to the non-proliferation regime; and

c) "problem" countries or situations.

To the extent possible, papers would be prepared on each topic by members of the Core Group, or be solicited from outside contributors.

Under category a) the Core Group agreed to proceed as follows:

- i. Spring 1988: NPT Articles I-III. Two introductory papers: Articles I and II - Lewis Dunn; Article III - David Fischer and Walter Rehak;
- ii. Autumn 1988: NPT Article IV. Paper or papers to be organized by Jayantha Dhanapala;
- iii. Spring 1989: NPT Articles VI and VII. Paper or papers to be organized by Joseph Nye;
- iv. Autumn 1989: Procedural questions relevant to the 1990 Conference;
- v. Spring 1990: Discussion of draft of a 15-20 page document on issues and options facing the 1990 Review Conference, to be produced on the basis of the preceding papers and discussions.

Under category b) the Core Group agreed to proceed as follows:

- i. Spring 1988: Safeguards and Supplier Policies. Three papers: the Future of IAEA Safeguards - Jon Jennekens; European Supplier Policies - Andrew Barlow; US Supply Policies - Lewis Dunn;
- ii. Autumn 1988: Questions relating to the substance of Art. IV. Two papers: Prospects for nuclear power and fuel cycle plants outside OECD and CMEA (i.e. what can developing countries expect from nuclear power under Art. IV, especially in the next 10-15 years? What is the projection of the development of nuclear power? What impact will developments in industrialized countries - e.g. PU recycle-have on developing countries? How will the demand for uranium, enrichment and reprocessing affect the situation?) - Robert Skjoeldebrand; the IAEA report on funding nuclear power development in developing countries - Jayantha Dhanapala.

In further meetings the following topics might be covered: armed attacks on nuclear installations; nuclear terrorism; new suppliers; plutonium recycle and storage; nuclear-weapon free zones; transfer restrictions on missile technology; energy futures.

Under category c) the Core Group agreed to proceed as follows:

- i. Spring 1988: The Middle East: paper or papers - Ian Smart and Mohamed Shaker.
- ii. Autumn 1988: South Africa: paper by David Fischer.

The topics to be covered at the further meetings would be discussed later, in the light of developments.

The material generated for Core Group meetings would serve two purposes: to act as a basis for the document to be prepared in 1990, and to serve as input for the Newsbrief.

10. Actions to Enhance the Public Image of the Programme

It was recognized that, however high the standing of the Group's membership and the quality of its output might be, in order for its ideas to have an impact it would be necessary to make appropriate use of the media and of relevant international events to bring those ideas to public attention. It was proposed, inter alia, that the Group should seek observer status at SSOD3 and other international gatherings; that selected well-known journalists should be invited to attend the "extended sessions" of the Group; and that the use of specialist advice on press relations should be investigated. It was argued that, if this were financially feasible, Core Group meetings might be held in metropolitan centres easily accessible to the media, rather than in the relatively isolated venues used so far.

11. Dates and Venues of Core Group Meetings

It was agreed to hold the next Core Group meeting from 5 to 8 May 1988 in the Channel Islands, with 21-24 April as the fall-back dates. Some discussion took place on the venues for the fourth and fifth meetings, with the suggestion that the fourth one (Autumn 1988) might be held elsewhere in Europe and the fourth (Spring 1989) in a major city in the United States. The Group did not arrive at firm conclusions on this matter.

12. Conferences

There was much discussion on the exact role of the respective conferences. A consensus emerged that the first one should have a relatively broad scope, evaluating the current non-proliferation position. The second, it was suggested, should focus more narrowly on the NPT and the forthcoming Review Conference. Several specific topics were proposed for the first conference but it was recognized that the selection and treatment of the topics would have to take careful account of the nature of the audience and that one should avoid scaring the media away by holding overly technical and academic discussions. In this light it was proposed that the second conference could cover such immediate and newsworthy issues as the South African situation, nuclear terrorism, and nuclear-weapon free zones. No firm conclusion was reached on this matter.

13. Newsbrief

There was agreement that, rather than just being a means of communication among members of the Core Group, the PPNN Newsbrief should serve as a means of information to a wider circle of specialists in the field. It should be fairly short, contain summaries of papers presented at Core Group meetings and of the discussions held there, and, while it should give extracts from reports of relevant events and developments, it should be left to the discretion of its editor to leave out the more "outrageous" press reports appearing on the subject. The target would be a

circulation of up to 1000 copies. IAEA, UNIDIR, the Carnegie Endowment and ADIU should be asked for circulation lists from which a selection could be made for the distribution of the PPNN NEWSBRIEF. Urgent consideration should be given as to how and where it would be reproduced and distributed.

14. Sources and Database

During the discussion of Bill Potter's presentation the suggestion was made that an exchange might take place between UCLA and PPNN, under which the latter would seek to supply items that might fit into the UCLA database and call on that database for information. There was no explicit discussion of sources for the PPNN NEWSBRIEF.

NOTE: on Saturday 21 November, a press conference took place in which representatives of the printed and visual media of the City of Charlottesville and the State of Virginia participated. Present on the part of the Core Group were Lewis Dunn, Jozef Goldblat, Ben Sanders, John Simpson and Ian Smart.

24 November 1987

PPNN Core Group Members Attending Virginia Meeting

Benson Agu is a nuclear physicist who has worked in the Department of Safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency. He is a consultant to the Nigerian Government on nuclear energy matters.

Jayantha Dhanapala is the Sri Lankan Ambassador to the International Organisations in Geneva. He has played a leading role in the Conference on Disarmament and was the chairman of one of the committees in the 1985 NPT Review Conference.

Lewis Dunn was Assistant Director, ACDA and US Representative to the 1985 NPT Review Conference. He is currently a Senior Consultant with Science Applications International Corporation.

David A. V. Fischer worked for the International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna from 1957 to 1982, latterly as its Assistant Director General for External Relations. He is an expert on the South African nuclear programme.

Jozef Goldblat is Senior Researcher, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). He has published several books on non-proliferation and heads the SIPRI research effort into arms control and disarmament.

Oleg Grinevsky was closely associated with the negotiation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. He is currently an Ambassador in the Foreign Service of the USSR.

Harald Muller is a Senior Research Fellow at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt. Dr. Muller heads a research programme into European non-proliferation policies, in association with the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels.

Joseph Nye served in the Carter administration in the United States and is now the Head of the Centre for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University.

Walter Rehak is responsible for nuclear material control, waste management and transport of radioactive material in the National Board for Atomic Safety and Radiation Protection of the German Democratic Republic. From 1977 through to 1984 Dr. Rehak worked in the IAEA's Department of Safeguards

Ben Sanders, the Coordinator of PPNN and Chairman of its Core Group, was Director of the Information and Studies Branch of the Department for Disarmament Affairs in the United Nations, New York, and Secretary General of the third NPT Review Conference held in 1985. He has worked in the Department of Safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Mohamed Ibrahim Shaker is Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to Austria and the International Agencies in Vienna. Dr. Shaker was the President of the 1985 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference and the April 1987 United Nations Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy.

John Simpson, the Co-Director of PPNN and reporter of the Core Group, is the Deputy Director of the Centre for International Policy Studies at the University of Southampton. Dr. Simpson has published extensively in the areas of British nuclear weapons policy and nuclear non-proliferation.

Ian Smart, was a member of the British Diplomatic Service, within which his concerns included the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. He chaired an International Consultative Group on Nuclear Energy between 1977 and 1989 and is a former Assistant Director of the International Institute of Strategic Studies and Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Observers

Prvoslav Davinic, special advisor to the Under-Secretary-General, Department for Disarmament Affairs, United Nations

Joseph Pilat, Center for National Security Studies, Los Alamos

Tariq Rauf, Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament

Michael Rosenthal, United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

Invited Speakers

William C. Potter, Center for International and Strategic Affairs, University of California, Los Angeles

John R. Redick, Department of Conferences and Institutes, University of Virginia

Leonard S. Spector, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

FPNN/CG2/5/Rev/

21 November 1987

Agenda for Second Core Group Meeting

At the outset of its second meeting the FPNN Core Group adopted the following agenda:

1. Opening remarks by Chairman.
2. Adoption of Timetable of Work and Agenda for 2nd Core Group Meeting.
3. Composition of the Core Group
4. FPNN Budget and Funding [FPNN/CG2/1]
5. Reports from Core Group members (see Notes on 1st Core Group Meeting para. 9).
6. First discussion of General Considerations Paper [FPNN/CG2/3]
7. Briefings by invited speakers
8. Proposals for action on substantive issues discussed during the meeting.
9. Further discussion of General Considerations Paper [FPNN/CG2/3] and outreach activities.
10. Newsbrief (Draft already circulated)
11. Sources and Database (FPNN/CG2/2)
12. FPNN Core Group Meetings and Conferences [FPNN/CG2/4]
13. Summary of agreed conclusions
14. Any other business