

May 14, 1989
**Report on PPNN Conference, Guernsey, 14-17 May,
1989**

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Summary:

Summarizes the events and issues of the fifth PPNN Core group meeting.

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REPORT ON PPNN CONFERENCE

GUERNSEY

14-17 MAY, 1989

Purposes

Prominent among the means by which the Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation seeks to achieve its purposes are conferences for government officials and diplomats. The project description foresees that two such conferences shall be held to help diplomats and other government officials, especially those newly come to the area, focus on nuclear non-proliferation issues, notably the 1990 NPT review conference and the 1995 conference on the extension of the NPT, mainly by:-

- a) highlighting the issues that will dominate those events;
- b) briefing participants on the history, background and rationale of the NPT;
- c) enabling them to discuss relevant issues with experts in the area; and
- d) helping them, as persons who will deal with the subject in 1990 and possibly beyond, to establish contact and exchange views with others in that position.

Participation

The first PPNN conference was held in Guernsey, Channel Islands from 14 to 17 May 1989. Fifty-one governments of states party to the NPT, selected mainly on the basis of the interest they had previously shown in the subject or their recent accession to the NPT, had been invited to nominate participants. Thirty-eight accepted. Of these, the Syrian participant chose not to seek a visa outside his own country (with which the UK does not maintain diplomatic relations) and a professional emergency prevented the participant from Sri Lanka from attending. The countries of origin of those attending are listed in Annex 1, which reflects the composition of the three working groups of the conference. The Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea had made its participation conditional on the presence of two officials so that there were in fact thirty-seven diplomats attending. Almost all fitted the profile of the person the conference primarily sought to reach: working level diplomats currently involved in nuclear non-proliferation questions, relatively new to the area and likely to be involved with it for a foreseeable period. For participants from developing countries PPNN had offered to pay travel expenses, limited to the cost of the round-trip between Geneva or Vienna and Guernsey. In fact, a number of the governments in question assigned persons from posts farther away and assumed the cost difference, which was often sizeable.

Conference Approach

The topics were grouped in three categories, disarmament, peaceful uses and regional issues, coinciding roughly with the major subject areas traditionally considered at NPT review conferences while also covering the elements that make up the subject of nuclear non-proliferation generally. The conference was opened, with a general overview of the subject, by Ambassador Mohamed Shaker, the President of the 1985 NPT review conference. This was followed by an introductory presentation on each of the three categories of subjects, and by discussion. Subsequently, participants formed three working groups, and over the next day and a half each was addressed in turn by three specialized briefing teams, one for each of the subject categories. The briefings were followed by intensive exchanges. The conference ended with a plenary session at which the chairmen of the briefing teams gave summaries of the discussions in their respective areas, and by statements on the 1990 and 1995 conferences, each once again culminating in discussion.

The organization of the conference is outlined in Annex 2, which also gives the composition of the briefing teams. Those consisted principally of Core Group members. Of those, Messrs. Grinevsky and Nye were unable to attend. The teams were reinforced by Professors Redick and Scheinman, Ambassador Terwisscha van Scheltinga and Dr. van Doren.¹

The procedure adopted enable all participants to discuss all main elements of the subject area. The sessions were heavily loaded with substance and at times demanding. While a few participants demonstrated solid experience in the field, others were uninformed on all but the most elementary points. Some participants found it hard to absorb what they saw as difficult technical material. Several were familiar with some topics but less interested in others. Few if any had an insight in all aspects of the subject. This unevenness in knowledge of the subject turned out to be more an asset than a liability: it prompted the more informed participants to contribute actively and spurred the others to acquaint themselves with material novel to them. Participants, especially those from small delegations, were pleased with the comprehensive approach and some noted how many issues there were of which they had not realised the relevance.

Comments

At the end of the conference a questionnaire (of which a copy is attached as Annex 3) was circulated to the members of the briefing teams. Responses varied but a valuable and considered summary is given in the letter Dr Redick wrote in a subsequent reply (Annex 4).

Participants' Reactions

A variety of views were given in private conversation and - on invitation by the chairman - in the closing session. The general reaction was very

¹ The Chairmen's summaries made use of notes kept by Messrs Philip Acton, Andrew Barlow and Simon Crowe and by Dr Darryl Howlett. The administration of the conference was run by Mrs Liz Schlamm assisted by Barbara Gilbert.

positive. There were suggestions that the conference should have been longer, to give more time for some topics, especially regional questions, or for explanations on some of the technical aspects, especially safeguards. Several suggested that the subject might be more easily understood if texts of statements were distributed beforehand together with other briefing materials. There seems to be consensus that this kind of conference should be repeated for personnel from other governments. Meanwhile we are writing to participants for further comments and suggestions.

Finance

A final accounting of the costs of the conference will take some weeks to prepare, but the current indications are that the expenses of the combined PPNN Core Group meeting and conference did not exceed the dollar budget estimate. This result has been assisted by the recent 10% fall in the value of sterling relative to the dollar. Most PPNN funds have been held in dollars while the majority of expenditure on the Guernsey meetings was in sterling.

Conclusion

The Guernsey Conference met an obvious need. The approach adopted seems to be generally correct although the procedure can do with some improvements and the event should have been a little longer. For the next conference more written material should be prepared, texts of summaries of statements should be distributed at the time of delivery and there should be short and simple lectures (possibly illustrated) on terminology, the fuel cycle, safeguards and perhaps some aspects of arms control. What can be in little doubt, however, is that the conference more than met the objectives set for it in the programme document, and should be repeated using a similar format in the early months of 1990.

Annex 1

PPNN CONFERENCE: Guernsey 1989

12th May 1989

COMPOSITION OF THE WORKING GROUPS

WORKING GROUP A:

Belgium
Canada
Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea
Ethiopia
Mexico
New Zealand
Nigeria
Romania
Turkey
United Kingdom
Uruguay
Yugoslavia

WORKING GROUP B:

Australia
Colombia
Egypt
Federal Republic of Germany
Indonesia
Islamic Republic of Iran
Italy
Peru
Philippines
Sierra Leone
Spain
USSR

WORKING GROUP C:

Bangladesh
Ecuador
German Democratic Republic
Ghana
Ireland
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Republic of Korea
Netherlands
Sweden
United States

Core Group Teams and Coverage of TopicsGuernsey PPNN Conference, May 1989

A. WORKING GROUPS

You will recall from the document setting out the aims and programme for the conference that there are to be three sets of working groups which will be addressed in turn by three Core Group briefing teams. Listed below is a breakdown of the areas it is suggested that each briefing team might attempt to cover, and the assignment of specific presentations to individuals within it. It is, however, possible that there will be too many topics for the time available and some pruning of them may be necessary by group chairmen after the first two briefing sessions. It is strongly suggested that all individual presentations to the working groups should be limited to 5-10 minutes and should be supported by a 1 page summary written by themselves of both main issues and of questions for discussion. Presenters are indicated by []. Arrangements have been made to have summaries of presentations typed and reproduced in Guernsey. Previous PPNN core group papers will be available at Guernsey to assist in preparation of presentations. Material in () could be used as the basis of presentations and made available to those attending the conference. If these proposed arrangements pose problems for anyone, could they contact John Simpson in Southampton immediately.

1. Peaceful Uses

Team Chairman: David Fischer;

Team Members: Ben Agu; Warren Donnelly; Walter Rehak; Lawrence Scheinman;

Support Staff: Philip Acton and Simon Crowe .

Topics for Presentation and Discussion (about 45 minutes to be allocated to each);

- i. The current state of nuclear power development, areas of future growth and Article V : Current status of world's nuclear reactor programmes and future ordering prospects; demand for enrichment and reprocessing and status of plants; new enrichment and reprocessing technologies; emerging suppliers; peaceful nuclear explosives [Warren Donnelly]- - (Jan Murray presentation at Charlottesville - PPNN 20; IAEA study on nuclear power and developing states);
 - ii. Article III.ii and IV - Supply and Fuel Cycle Issues: The right to peaceful uses and supplier constraints over materials and technology; Committee on Assurances of Supply; the future use and storage of plutonium and International Plutonium Storage schemes; safeguards over decommissioned reactors and waste disposal; physical protection of nuclear facilities and attacks upon them; [Lawrence Scheinman] - - (Barlow and Dunn presentations at Guernsey 88 - PPNN 7 & 8; Dhanapala paper at Charlottesville 89 - PPNN 16);
- *****
- iii. Article III.i and the future of IAEA Safeguards - Tasks, Resources and Problems: The Nature of IAEA safeguards); INFCIRC66/153 and differences; problems associated with the expansion of tasks and restrictions on the IAEA safeguarding budget; attacks on the credibility of IAEA safeguards;

[Ben Agu]- - (Fischer paper in Briefing Documentation - PPNN 10 Rev.; Agu, Rehak and Wilmshurst papers at Guernsey 88 - PPNN 6,12 & 15);

- iv. Future issues: Non-Power benefits of nuclear energy; the implications of the proliferation of nuclear propulsion reactors to non-nuclear weapon states; the separation of military from civil fuel cycles in nuclear weapon states and its links to a fissile material cut-off strategy for nuclear disarmament; arrangements for verifying and safeguarding fissile materials in warheads destroyed as part of future nuclear weapon state arms reduction agreements; New nuclear suppliers; impact of verification approaches contained in INF, Chemical weapons and other new arms limitation agreements upon IAEA safeguards [Walter Rehak] - - (Dhanapala paper at Charlottesville 89 - PPNN 16; Simpson and Sanders PPNN Occasional Paper 2; Dunn presentation at Charlottesville 89 - PPNN 18).

2. Regional Issues

Team Chairman: Lewis Dunn

Team Members: Charles Van Doren; Jorge Morelli Pando; John Redick; Mohamed Shaker, Frans Terwisscha van Scheltinga

Support Staff: Darryl Howlett

Topics for Presentation and Discussion (about 30 minutes to be allocated to each);

- i. Nuclear Weapon Free Zones: Tlatelolco, Raratonga, Antarctica: status, nature and implications: [John Redick]; (John Kelso paper at Charlottesville)
- ii. South Africa: Nuclear capabilities; IAEA and NPT position; possible consequences of acceding to the NPT upon the 1990 Conference [Charles van Doren]; (Goldblat/Lomas paper in Briefing Documents);
- iii. Latin America: Nuclear Capabilities; the significance of Tlatelolco; problems with bringing it into full effect; future prospects for bilateral Argentinian/ Brazilian arrangements [Jorge Morelli Pando] (Morelli Pando: The Prospects for the Non-Proliferation Regime in the Middle East in Guernsey 88 - PPNN 11; Redick PPNN Occasional Paper 1);

- iv. South Asia: India and Pakistan and their nuclear and missile programmes; USSR policy over nuclear supplies to India; US position over Pakistan; France and China as nuclear suppliers [Charles Van Doren] (Spector: India, Pakistan and Nuclear proliferation at Charlottesville 87 - PPNN 4; Van Doren and Jones on China and non-proliferation: Charlottesville 88 - PPNN 17 & 19 and PPNN Occasional Paper 3);
- v. The Middle East: Israel and its nuclear and missile capabilities; Arab positions and impact of missile/chemical weapon controls; Nuclear Free Zone v NPT membership; US position and consequences for 1990 conference [Mohamed Shaker] (Smart: Nuclear Proliferation in the Middle East, Guernsey 88 - PPNN 14)

- vi. The Gulf area: Iran/Iraq nuclear facilities and consequences of cease fire; Supply of Missiles to the area [Franz Terwisscha van Scheltinga]

3. Disarmament and Arms Limitation

Team Chairman: Jayantha Dhanapala

Team Members: Jozef Goldblat, Oleg Grinevsky, Harald Mueller, Ian Smart

Support Staff: Andrew Barlow

Topics for Presentation and Discussion (about 45 minutes to be allocated to each);

- i. INF, Strategic Arms Control and General and Complete Disarmament: Significance of INF for NPT; prospects for START by 1990; Space and Defence negotiations; Deep Cuts and Testing Bans; What is implied by GCD (Oleg Grinevsky);
- ii. Proposals for controls over nuclear delivery systems: Missile Control regime activities and proposals; impact of the unrestrained proliferation of missiles; possible restraints over other types of delivery systems; the significance of missile controls for the NPT; (Ian Smart);

- iii. The Partial Test Ban Treaty amendment conference and a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty: the amendment proposal; timing of the prepcom and the conference and its effect on the 1990 conference; the significance of a CTBT for the NPT; problems of verification of a ban and the reliability and safety of existing nuclear devices; PTBT amendment v incremental approaches towards a nuclear testing ban (Jozef Goldblat);
- iv. Nuclear Weapon Free Zones, European Arms Control activities and their implications for the NPT; refusal of Western nuclear weapon states to sign Rarotonga protocols; Status of European Arms Limitation Proposals; implications of European proposals for the 1990 Conference and non-proliferation in general; (Harald Mueller);

B. PLENARY SESSIONS

- i. Sunday Evening: Mohamed Shaker: The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime: an Historical Overview.
- ii. Monday Morning: Short presentations followed by questions on:
 - a. Peaceful Uses: Ian Smart;
 - b. Regional Issues: David Fischer;
 - c. Disarmament: Lewis Dunn.
- iii. Wednesday Morning:

First Session: Short summary presentations on the main issues arising from the working groups by David Fischer, Lewis Dunn and Jayantha Dhanapala, assisted by the notes made of the discussions by the support staff, followed by panel

discussion/open forum.

Second Session: Short presentation on 1995 and its effect on 1990 by David Fischer/John Simpson, followed by panel discussion/open forum and summation of conference.

Guernsey Conference, May 1989Questions

- A. Does this conference system work:
1. Is the repetition of themes by three briefing teams for three groups too hard on the briefing teams?
 2. Does it affect the quality of the presentations?
 3. Does the attempt to deal with all subjects in all working groups result in too thin a spread and too great a rush?
 4. How do the participants seem to think about it?
 5. Was it adequately explained in advance?
- B. Is the unevenness in knowledge among participants a handicap? How can you compensate for it?
- C. Do the participants intervene enough or is there a tendency for the sessions to become dialogues between members of the briefing groups, with perhaps a few well informed participants taking part?
- D. Is it a disadvantage that the three groups of participants stay in the same conference room and the teams move?
- E. What should we change:
1. for tomorrow
 2. for the next conference