

government ran counter to the commitments made in article IV of the NPT to encourage peaceful cooperation.

Fifteen years later however, the system enjoys widespread support. Twenty-six countries subscribe to the LNC guidelines, though China does not. The control measures have certainly complicated matters for potential proliferators, whose numbers in 1991 are no greater than in the 1970s. If the Brazilians, Argentinians and South Africans place their nuclear industries under international monitoring, there will be only a few nuclear plants in the Third World that escape IAEA controls: a research reactor, a power reactor and a reprocessing plant in India; an enrichment plant in Pakistan; a reactor and a reprocessing plant in Israel; and probably plants which are under construction in Iraq, Iran and North Korea.

Nevertheless, the export control system has its limits, and it is doubtful that it will endure as the main instrument of non-proliferation. First, the market for nuclear power has been stagnating for many years. Nuclear-generated electricity in the industrialized world is now at 250,000 MW, or only one quarter as much as what was predicted twenty years ago. The "plutonium economy" has failed to materialize. Finally, proliferators are escaping the controls of international systems through clandestine methods .

It is therefore necessary to go beyond the established control procedures and consider proliferation not in theory, but in its geopolitical context. According to Mr. Lellouche, fourteen countries are possibly conducting clandestine nuclear programmes: South Africa, Argentina and Brazil,³ North Korea (the key to the East Asia region), South Korea, Taiwan, Syria, Egypt, Libya, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Israel and India.

Mr. Lellouche said that advantage should be taken of the psychological shock created by the war in the Gulf in order to strengthen non-proliferation measures. First,

³ These three countries have officially abandoned their military programmes and have said that they are ready to submit their nuclear plants to international inspection. In addition, South Africa has announced that it would sign NPT.