

the way the Treaty was observed and needed it to feel secure. In addition, much of the criticism would be lessened by the huge strides which the Americans and Soviets were making toward disarmament. Finally, they thought that even without the CTBT the frequency and strength of nuclear tests would diminish considerably in the next few years.

### *Controlling Nuclear Exports*

**Pierre Lellouche**, advisor to the mayor of Paris, France on international issues, outlined the world situation after the Cold War and the Iraq crisis. He said that much satisfaction was taken from the end of the ideological confrontation and the nuclear discipline maintained by the great powers, but that the Gulf crisis had highlighted a number of dangerous impulses emanating from the South: population growth, increasing inequalities, marginalization, nationalism, fundamentalism and militarization. This was the context in which nuclear proliferation must be seen.

According to Mr. Lellouche, export controls were one aspect of non-proliferation, but they were not the most important. The control system developed in the 1970s produced positive results, but it rested on a fundamental contradiction. It helped to prevent the diversion of certain civilian technologies to military purposes but failed to stop the creation of secret military programmes. The export control system was established at a time when some industrialized countries, including France, were undertaking ambitious programmes for the construction of nuclear generating stations and when some countries in the South were also turning to nuclear energy. A lucrative export market therefore emerged and fierce competition developed between suppliers. However, after the explosion of a nuclear device in India and the announcement of contracts with terms that were dubious from the point of view of non-proliferation (for example between France and Pakistan), the American government succeeded in imposing the formation of a suppliers' cartel (LNC). It adopted a policy of requiring full guarantees as a condition of sale. According to Mr. Lellouche, these unilateral measures on the part of the American