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Statement by Dr. I.H. Usmani, Chairman Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission and Chairman of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

PREVENTION OF PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

So far only four countries - U.S.A., USSR, UK and France - have actually made nuclear weapons of which the United States and the Soviet Union have a stockpile which if used in an all out war, can destroy all forms of life on the earth as we know it today. The principles of making the bombs are known to nuclear scientists all over the world but the technology is confined to a selected group of scientists who work on classified projects in the four countries named above. Nothing has brought these four countries to agree to stop and control the production of nuclear weapons. If this number is increased to as many as hundred and odd members of the United Nations, the chances of such an agreement will recede further. Thus it is in the interest of the existence of the human race to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons. The question is how this can be prevented in a world where possession of nuclear weapons is a hall mark of power and prestige and a decisive influence on world affairs. With such standards of judgement, the temptation to acquire nuclear weapons is obvious and France is a case in point. Only a high degree of morality and development of a sense of values based on international brotherhood can dissuade nations from acquiring such weapons. This will take a long time to materialize but let us recognize that adherence to moral values and an honest code of conduct among nations are the ideals to aim at. What should be done in the meantime as a practical measure?

1. I have given a great deal of thought to the practical measures and discussed with friends in IAEA meetings. This has helped me to crystallize the steps that should be taken. I feel that we should categorize the countries of the world into the following three categories:

- (i) Those who have the nuclear weapons and are familiar with their technology - USA, USSR, UK and France.
- (ii) Those who have nuclear reactors and have the necessary infra-structure of industries (such as European countries and Japan) which gives them the capability to manufacture the nuclear weapons in due course.
- (iii) Those who are likely to get nuclear reactors to meet their power needs in the near future and may attempt at some later date to divert the fissionable materials like plutonium to military purposes.

2. In my opinion, countries in the first category should stop testing their nuclear weapons in the first instance. From this point of view the Moscow Test Ban Treaty is a great step towards sanity. This should be followed by a moratorium on nuclear weapons production by these powers. Finally the stockpile of weapons should be liquidated.

3. Countries in the second category should voluntarily place their reactors under the safeguards system of the I.A.E.A. which would prevent diversion of fissionable materials for military purposes. They should also sign an international agreement pledging not to make nuclear weapons.

4. Countries in the third category should obtain their reactors and <sup>only</sup> fuel on condition that they agree to the safeguards of IAEA. The advanced countries in the 1st and 2nd categories should sign a declaration that they would not supply reactors, equipment or fissionable material to any country unless supplies are routed through the IAEA or the safeguards are applied by IAEA even if the supply is made on a bilateral basis.

5. Unfortunately, expediency and self-interest of some big powers cut across international interests and confusion and chaos result. United States can play a leading role in bringing about a sensible standard of behaviour as she is the largest source of fissionable materials in the Western world and can afford to take a firm line with countries to which she supplies such materials and reactors.

6. Perhaps in our day to day mundane existence, it is not realized that "to be or not to be" is the question before mankind. The answer rests in the hands of those who hold the strings of beads of atoms by which hangs the fate of humanity.