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OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

Held at the Neue Hofburg, Vienna,
on Friday, 2 October 1959 at 10.40 a.m.

President:

Mr. FURUUCHI (Japan)

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* GC(III)/88/Rev.2.

N.B. The list of delegations attending the third regular session of the
General Conference was issued as document GC(III)/INF/25/Rev.2.

GENERAL DEBATE AND REPORT OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS FOR THE YEAR 1958-59
(GC(III)/73, 89 and Add.1, 92)

1. Mr. PETRZELKA (Czechoslovakia), summing up the reasons prompting his delegation to submit its draft resolution (GC(III)/89 and Add.1), said that mankind had so far failed to make full use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and that great efforts and considerable resources were being devoted to the development of new nuclear weapons. The atmosphere, the surface of the earth and its waters were being contaminated by the radioactive products of nuclear explosions, bringing new and potentially unknown dangers for present and future generations.
2. His delegation believed it was the duty of the General Conference to change that state of affairs. The most urgent task today was to make effective a total prohibition of nuclear weapons and the destruction of existing stock-piles. The first step in that direction would be the signing of an agreement on the total and permanent suspension of test explosions of nuclear weapons, a matter which had been under discussion in Geneva for a year past between representatives of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.
3. The Czechoslovak Government welcomed the new Soviet proposals for general disarmament, at present under consideration by the United Nations General Assembly; in its view, acceptance of those proposals might well become a decisive landmark in the history of international relations and might finally restore lasting peace to the world.
4. The Czechoslovak draft resolution was essentially a means of implementing Article III.B.1 of the Statute.
5. The first personal exchange of views between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, and the President of the United States of America, Mr. Eisenhower, had already improved the international atmosphere. The world had hailed with satisfaction the Washington communiqué to the effect that agreement on the question of general disarmament had been reached between the heads of government of the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

6. It was gratifying to see that the United Nations General Assembly was dealing with the question of disarmament. That was an additional reason why the Agency should contribute to a constructive solution of the problem. Indeed it was its duty to do so under the provisions of Article III.B.1 of the Statute, and particularly under Article VIII of the Agreement governing the Relationship between the Agency and the United Nations. Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the operative part of the draft resolution accordingly expressed the hope that the General Assembly of the United Nations would undertake effective measures to ban nuclear weapons and with those measures would enable atomic energy to become a source of benefit and prosperity to mankind. His delegation was convinced, and trusted that all other delegations were convinced too, that it was the duty of the General Conference to express such a hope. Some delegations, however, had expressed doubts as to the propriety of paragraphs 2 and 3 of the draft resolution. While his delegation did not share those doubts, in its anxiety to do everything to further the work of the Conference it wished formally to withdraw the two paragraphs in question.

7. After announcing some drafting changes to paragraph 1 of the operative part of the draft resolution, he said that his delegation welcomed the amendment submitted by the delegation of Morocco (GC(III)/92) and would vote for its adoption.

8. Mr. HAYMERLE (Austria) said that while his country wanted to do everything to further nuclear disarmament and in particular to stop test explosions, it was of the opinion that the Czechoslovak draft resolution went beyond the Agency's terms of reference. The United Nations General Assembly, which was the body competent to deal with that problem, would be discussing nuclear disarmament. Whatever the Conference did would in any case be a duplication and might perhaps even prove harmful.

9. He asked the Czechoslovak delegation to reconsider the matter and not to press for a vote on the resolution.

The meeting was suspended at 11.20 a.m. and resumed at 11.45 a.m.

10. Mr. PETRZELKA (Czechoslovakia) said he was unable to accept the reasons advanced by the Austrian delegation for asking him to withdraw his draft resolution. From the beginning, the Agency had been under an obligation

to further the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes alone. His delegation's draft resolution in no way duplicated the activities of the United Nations General Assembly and there was no need to fear that the Agency would be taking a false step in adopting it.

11. Mr. NOVIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said he was surprised by the Austrian delegate's statement. Since the beginning of 1958 the President of the Austrian Federal Republic had more than once appealed for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the cessation of nuclear weapon tests. He had also helped to make it possible to hold in Austria a large conference of atomic scientists, at which the dangers of atomic weapons and of testing them had been carefully reviewed. Apparently, therefore, the President of Austria was actively in favour of banning atomic weapons and the testing thereof. The statement just made by the Austrian delegate did not therefore seem to be in full accordance with the official policy of the Austrian Government.

12. It was singular that during the preceding few days similar opinions had been expressed by the United States delegation. He had also been approached by other Western delegations who had asked him to try and persuade the Czechoslovak delegation to withdraw its draft resolution. It was therefore difficult to judge whether the Austrian delegate's speech represented his delegation's honest opinion or whether it had been made under pressure - in particular, pressure from the United States delegation.

13. How did the Western delegations justify their attitude? They said that the question was to be considered by the General Assembly of the United Nations and that, since the Agency was really a technical and not a political organization, the question was none of its concern. The Soviet Union delegation did not agree. Many considerations could be adduced in support of its point of view, but in the first place, he wished to quote a number of extracts from President Eisenhower's speech of 8 December 1953 before the General Assembly of the United Nations, when he had proposed the establishment of an international atomic energy agency^{1/}.

^{1/} United Nations document A/PV.470.

14. On that occasion, President Eisenhower had attempted to describe the dangers and the potentialities of atomic energy as he saw them from the American standpoint. He had pointed out that since the United States had set off the biggest atomic explosion on 16 July 1945, it had made a further 42 test explosions. The atomic bomb, he had continued, was more than twenty-five times as powerful as the weapons existing when the atomic age commenced, whilst the hydrogen bomb was equivalent to millions of tons of trinitrotoluene.

15. The United States, President Eisenhower had continued, had a stockpile of atomic bombs which was increasing every day and which exceeded by many times the total equivalent of all the bombs and shells used in the whole of the Second World War, one air group, either land- or sea-based, could drop on any chosen target a load of bombs exceeding in power all the bombs dropped on Britain during the whole of the Second World War. So great had been the development of atomic weapons that for the United States forces they had almost come to be conventional weapons, the ground, sea and air forces and the marine corps could all use them.

16. But, the President had gone on, the United States no longer had a monopoly of atomic strength. Although the United States had a great quantitative advantage, present-day atomic realities included two facts of even greater significance. In the first place, the knowledge which was at present the property of a few nations would eventually be shared by other nations, possibly by all. In the second place, even a vast superiority in the number of bombs, and the consequent ability to inflict devastating retaliation, could not prevent frightful material destruction and loss of life as a result of surprise aggression.

17. The free world, to use President Eisenhower's words, at least dimly aware of the dangers, had naturally embarked on a large programme of warning and defence systems and, if an attack were launched against the United States, it would be able to reply in kind. But that, he had said, was not the essence of the problem, which was rather how atomic energy could be applied in the service of humanity. Atomic energy must be put into the hands of those who would know how to strip it from its military casing and adapt it for the arts of peace.

18. Thus President Eisenhower, in his speech proposing the establishment of an international agency for the peaceful uses of atomic energy, had taken as

his basic theme the dangers for the whole world of an atomic war, adding that it was not enough to prohibit atomic weapons. They must be taken out of the hands of the soldiers and handed over - to us, to the Agency - for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. It was difficult to understand the grounds for differences of opinion as to whether the General Conference was properly authorized to discuss the matter.

19. President Eisenhower had also said that the United States knew that if the trend of atomic military build-up were reversed, the greatest of destructive forces could be developed into a great boon to all mankind. The United States knew, too, that peaceful power from atomic energy was not a dream of the future: its capabilities had already been proved. Who could doubt that if the entire body of the world's scientists and engineers had adequate amounts of fissionable material with which to test and develop their ideas, those capabilities would rapidly be transformed into universal, efficient and economic usage?

20. Speaking as a representative of the Soviet Union, he could not but subscribe to the words of President Eisenhower. All who were genuinely interested in the cause of peace and the peaceful development of atomic energy must surely also subscribe to them. And those words meant that the success of the General Conference and its work to promote the Agency's activities depended on the prohibition of atomic weapons and the cessation of atomic tests.

21. In conclusion he cited a further extract from President Eisenhower's address in which the latter had said that he would be prepared to submit to the Congress of the United States, and with every expectation of approval, any plan that would, first, encourage world-wide investigation into the most effective peace-time uses of fissionable material; second, begin to diminish the potential destructive power of the world's atomic stockpiles; third, allow all peoples of all nations to see that in the present enlightened age the Great Powers, both of the East and the West, were interested in human aspirations first rather than in building up the armaments of war; and, fourth, would open up a new channel for peaceful discussion and initiate at least a new approach to the many difficult problems that must be solved in private and public conversations if the world was to shake off the inertia imposed by fear and make positive progress towards peace.

22. As could be seen, President Eisenhower, when speaking in favour of setting up an international atomic energy agency, had coupled together the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the widespread use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Clearly, what President Eisenhower had had in mind was to ban the use of atomic energy for military purposes and to use it for far-reaching programmes directed to peaceful ends.

23. Six years had passed, and the production of atomic bombs had continued. Speaking on 18 September 1959, also before the General Assembly of the United Nations, Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, had pointed out that if all the means of destruction which had been available to mankind in the past were massed together, their destructive capacity would amount to an insignificant part of what was now available to two or three Great Powers, thanks to their possession of nuclear weapons. As the leader of the Indonesian delegation had pointed out, the stocks of atomic and hydrogen bombs which had been built up over the past six years were sufficient to destroy all life on earth many times over.^{2/} The Soviet Union did not share the pessimistic view of those who considered the outbreak of nuclear war would necessarily result in the destruction of all life on earth, but there was no doubt at all that it would result in the deaths of hundreds of millions of human beings, not to speak of the damage it would cause to future generations.

24. As the landing of a Soviet rocket on the moon had shown, the power of rockets and the technique for controlling them had reached such perfection that it was now possible to deliver an atomic or hydrogen bomb of any capacity with almost complete accuracy to any part of the world. If it was borne in mind that in future wars there would be no distinction whatever between front and rear, between the armed forces and the civil population, it could easily be seen that the problem of prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons affected the vital interests, in the strictest sense of the word, of all who lived upon the earth.

25. During the general debate a number of delegations had drawn attention to the close relation between the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests and the

^{2/} GC(III)/OR.25, paragraph 4.

Agency's future activities and had pointed out that the expansion of the Agency's technical assistance programme in particular depended directly on the cessation of such tests and the relaxation of international tension. The absence of any agreement to prohibit nuclear weapons or nuclear weapon tests was the main obstacle to the transfer of material, scientific, technical and other resources from armaments to peaceful utilization.

26. All that he had said showed that the Czechoslovak draft resolution which invited the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States to intensify their efforts for an early conclusion of an agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapon tests as an important step towards the complete prohibition of such weapons was entirely in accordance with the spirit of the Statute and was designed to create more favourable conditions for the peaceful utilization of atomic energy.

27. The recent talks at Camp David between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union and the President of the United States had marked a substantial step forward towards the relaxation of international tension. The General Conference would make its own small contribution by adopting the draft resolution which was before it. During the past few days a number of delegates had expressed to him their concern lest the number of States possessing nuclear weapons should increase. They had rightly pointed out that the more nuclear Powers there were with atomic and hydrogen bombs, the harder it would be to reach agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapon tests and the less prospects there would therefore be of expanding the work of the Agency. The Soviet Union delegation considered that it had long since become imperative to put a stop to the use of atomic energy for military purposes and accordingly hoped with all its heart that the General Conference would adopt the Czechoslovak draft resolution which urged the three Powers that at present possessed nuclear weapons to stop testing them.

28. Mr. CEDERWALL (Sweden) made the following statement ^{3/}:

"The delegation of Sweden finds itself in much the same position as the delegation of Austria, and I should like on its behalf

^{3/} This statement is reproduced verbatim at the speaker's request under Rule 92(b) of the Rules of Procedure.

wholeheartedly to endorse what the distinguished delegate of Austria just said.

"We warmly appreciate and fully share the sentiments expressed in the resolution proposed by the delegation of Czechoslovakia. The people and Government of Sweden would certainly welcome any steps or agreements which could lead to a relaxation of world tension, an improvement in the political climate and a limitation or reduction of armaments. This has been repeatedly stated in what we regard as proper places for such discussions. The delegate of Austria has referred to the initiative taken by the representative of Sweden together with those of certain other countries in the United Nations, an action parallel to the Czechoslovak proposal. There can, therefore, be no doubt or possible misunderstanding about our position with regard to the substance of the proposal.

"On the other hand, the purpose, as we see it, of the International Atomic Energy Agency is to carry out non-political tasks as defined in its Statute. A few days ago I had the opportunity of restating in the general debate the view of my Government that the best way to ensure the success of this Agency is to keep its field of action restricted to matters of an essentially non-political nature^{4/}. Other interventions in the general debate and in the committee discussion on the programme and budget of the Agency have shown that this view is widely shared. Indeed all delegations seem to agree that this is essentially a technical Agency, concerned with one great task: how atomic energy can best be utilized for peaceful purposes.

"It goes without saying that this task would be facilitated if international tension were relaxed and, consequently, greater resources became available for efforts in the non-military field. The same is true with regard to the tasks of other international organizations having their terms of reference in the technical and not in the political field.

^{4/} GC(III)/OR.32, paragraph 32.

They would doubtless all benefit from a stabilization of the international political situation. Yet none of them and, I submit, not the International Atomic Energy Agency either, should directly occupy itself with political issues.

"I do not wish to enter into any discussion with the distinguished delegate of Czechoslovakia about the juridical details of the matter. Since, however, he has referred to the agreement for co-operation between this Agency and the United Nations, I should like to point out that, as far as I understand, Article I.3 of that agreement is the one relevant to this issue. It reads in part: 'The Agency recognizes the responsibilities of the United Nations in accordance with the Charter, in the fields of international peace and security'. My understanding is that this text is intended to mean that the Agency's tasks are of a non-political nature.

"Mr. President, I want to emphasize - with reference to the statement just made by the distinguished delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics - that this position of a delegation representing a politically non-committed country has been taken entirely on its own behalf and without any kind of pressure from any quarter. I know that this is true also for the delegation of Austria.

"Our position can be thus summed up: On the one hand, we fully sympathize with our Czechoslovak colleagues with regard to the desires and hopes expressed in their draft resolution. On the other hand, we feel that it would be inappropriate for the Agency to take action on the substance of the matter, at any rate at this juncture, in view of the fact that our Governments deal with it elsewhere and that this Agency has a non-political purpose.

"From these considerations, Mr. President, I draw the same conclusions as the delegate of Austria. At the outset of our discussion, I would have liked to join him in his appeal to the delegation of Czechoslovakia to accept, in the spirit of co-operation and conciliation which has marked this General Conference, the expressions of sympathy for the sentiments behind its proposal and not to pursue the

matter further. It now appears that the Czechoslovak delegation wishes to press for a decision on its proposal.

"Therefore, Mr. President, I formally propose that the General Conference should adopt the following motion:

"The General Conference notes that the matters raised in document GC(III)/89 are under discussion in other more appropriate international forums and decides that it is not, in these circumstances, desirable to adopt any substantive resolution on these matters.'

"I further request under Rule 77 of the Rules of Procedure that this motion should be put to the vote before the draft resolution contained in document GC(III)/89.^{5/}"

29. Mr. HAYMERLE (Austria), replying to the Soviet Union delegate, said he could not agree that his previous statement regarding the suspension of nuclear tests was not in conformity with the policy of the Austrian Government, as repeatedly expressed by the President of Austria. Neither were there any grounds for accusing the Austrian Government of not being in favour of disarmament, since its policy was already well known; the draft resolution it had submitted to the United Nations the previous year was, in fact, almost identical with the present draft resolution. His previous remarks had merely been designed to avoid a long debate and a split vote on one of the most urgent problems of the day.

30. Mr. NADJAKOV (Bulgaria) held that, by reason of the importance and timeliness of the proposals it contained, the Czechoslovak draft resolution, as amended by Morocco, was worthy of the General Conference's full support.

31. The problem of the banning of nuclear weapons and the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful ends was at present one of the basic preoccupations of mankind. The Soviet Union Government, in its statement of 18 September 1959, had once more directed attention to the need for banning nuclear weapons as an essential step towards total general disarmament, and for finding a way of putting an end to nuclear weapon tests immediately.

^{5/} The motion and proposal were subsequently issued as document GC(III)/107.

32. In pursuance of its statutory obligations and its duty to further United Nations efforts to bring about disarmament, the Agency was bound to take part in the struggle to have nuclear weapons banned. Indeed, the faith and confidence which the peoples of the world reposed in the Agency would be shaken if it failed to take a positive stand against such a dire means of mass destruction.

33. As a first step, the Agency must call for an end to nuclear weapon tests and follow up that action by pressure to secure a total ban on nuclear weapons and their production throughout the world. The success of such measures, in freeing scientific and technical resources which could be used for the benefit of mankind, would open up vast perspectives for the Agency's future work.

34. Such were the constructive ideas underlying the Czechoslovak draft resolution. The object of the Moroccan amendment was to persuade France to renounce of its own free will the production of nuclear arms or, at any rate, the experimental explosion of atomic bombs.

35. The draft resolution, inspired as it was by the principles guiding the United Nations in its efforts to promote peace and international understanding, could not therefore be regarded as being outside the Agency's terms of reference. Indeed, its adoption would enable the Agency to give more effective support to those efforts in so far as disarmament was concerned, and would be a substantial contribution towards decreasing international tension.

36. For all those reasons, the Bulgarian delegation wholeheartedly endorsed the draft resolution, as amended, and trusted that the General Conference would recognize its true worth by adopting it unanimously.

37. Mr. PASECHNIK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) recalled that his delegation had pointed out during the general debate how important it was for the extensive peaceful use of atomic energy that atomic weapon tests be suspended as a first step towards their full prohibition.^{6/} There was no

^{6/} GC(III)/OR.29, paragraph 41.

doubt that atomic weapons, as instruments of mass annihilation, would be prohibited. But the Ukrainian delegation was concerned that the prohibition be imposed as soon as possible, and in that context adoption of the Czechoslovak draft resolution was quite clearly essential. The proposal had found warm support from the delegation of one of the great atomic Powers, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and also from the Bulgarian delegation. It did not suggest that disarmament questions should be discussed. It only made an appeal to the heart and mind of every delegate.

38. The procedural objections raised by the opponents of the draft resolution at the present meeting were quite indefensible. It was abundantly clear that those who were unwilling to vote against the Czechoslovak draft resolution, because their act would affront the conscience of the world, were seeking procedural pretexts to kill it. That was the real meaning behind the Austrian delegation's exhortation and the sentiments of those who had inspired it. The voice of the peoples cried out for an appeal to be made to the Great Powers for the suspension of nuclear weapon tests. And since no one would dare vote against it, the opponents of the draft resolution had resorted to procedural motions designed to conceal their objections to its substance.

39. The Austrian delegate in his second statement had confirmed the fact that the President of Austria had spoken in favour of the suspension of nuclear weapon tests. That being so, the Ukrainian delegation failed to understand why he had made a procedural proposal clearly intended to prevent a vote being taken on a resolution appealing to the Great Powers to make every effort to bring about the suspension of such tests. The Austrian delegate was apparently afraid that by adopting the resolution the General Conference might be going beyond the Agency's statutory tasks. It was surely clear to everyone that such fears were groundless.

40. As the highest organ of the Agency, the General Conference would be quite within its rights in adopting the draft resolution, which was fully consistent with the Agency's aims and purposes. That fact was clear from the text of the draft resolution itself. Paragraph (a) of the preamble recalled Article II

of the Statute, under which the Agency was instructed to "accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world". Paragraph (b) recalled Article III.B.1 of the Statute, which stipulated that the Agency should conduct "its activities in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations to promote peace and international co-operation, and in conformity with policies of the United Nations furthering the establishment of safeguarded world-wide disarmament and in conformity with any international agreements entered into pursuant to such policies". Neither those two paragraphs nor paragraph (c) could give rise to any real objections, either as to their substance or as to their form.

41. Paragraphs (d) and (e) of the preamble referred to the promotion of peace and security, and the extensive development of the Agency's activities. Whoever was for the abolition of atomic armaments and in favour of international co-operation and the peaceful uses of atomic energy, not in words only but in deeds, could not, therefore, object to the preamble to the draft resolution.

42. As for the operative part, paragraph 1 followed logically from the preamble. It contained no provisions dealing with questions of general policy or controversial matters such as entailed discussion in the United Nations. It only expressed the desire of all those taking part in the debate to take steps to further the development of the Agency's fruitful work.

43. The Austrian representative maintained that the adoption of the Czechoslovak draft resolution would duplicate the work of the United Nations, which was at present considering the disarmament question. But it was quite clear that there was no question of taking decisions about the abolition of tests. All that was proposed was that the Agency - an international technical organization, which was bound to concern itself with the health and welfare of the peoples of the world - should invite the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States to come to a rapid decision on the question.

44. Clearly such a step would facilitate the development of the Agency's programme and promote its further success. For it was to be noted that both in the unanimous decision of the tenth session of the United Nations General Assembly to set up the International Atomic Energy Agency^{7/} and in

^{7/} General Assembly resolution 912.II (X).

President Eisenhower's declaration proposing establishment of the Agency, the idea of lessening the threat from nuclear weapons and that of the increasing use of atomic energy for the welfare of mankind were regarded as inseparable and complementary.

45. His delegation accordingly urged the unanimous adoption of the Czechoslovak draft resolution, as amended.

46. Mr. SEVCHENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said the scientists and physicists attending the General Conference realized more than anyone else what really inexhaustible possibilities the peaceful uses of atomic energy held out for mankind, possibilities of which the world's first nuclear-propelled icebreaker "Lenin", built in the Soviet Union, and the intensive research going on there in connexion with controlling thermonuclear reactions were only two examples. The control of thermonuclear processes would substantially free mankind from worries about energy resources.

47. To develop scientific research on a broad basis it was necessary to have international co-operation on a broad basis, too, so as to enable the vast potential power of the atom to be harnessed as soon as possible in the interests of the progress and well-being of all peoples of the world. Although such had been the aim at the time of its establishment, the Agency had in fact made an insufficient effort during the past two years to achieve the objectives set out in Article II of its Statute.

48. The main brake on the Agency's activity was the armaments race and the accumulation of lethal nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. Tests of atom and hydrogen bombs not only threatened international confidence and mutual understanding, which were so necessary in the present age of the rapid development of rocket techniques, but they prevented enormous resources from being used for the economic and cultural progress of present-day mankind. That opinion was borne out in the report by the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiations to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which drew attention to the danger to present and future generations of further nuclear tests.^{8/}

^{8/} United Nations document A/3838.

49. The Byelorussian SSR had always desired, and still desired, international agreement on the swift and unconditional prohibition of nuclear fission and fusion weapons and the destruction of all stocks of such weapons, for humanity could then make more profitable use of the enormous resources previously devoted to armaments, and release scientific and technical manpower for the service of material well-being and greater spiritual values. The Byelorussian delegation therefore fully supported the step taken by the Czechoslovak delegation in tabling a draft resolution calling on the atomic Powers to reach early agreement on the prohibition of tests of all forms of atomic weapons, since further weapon testing would encourage an arms race and lead to the production of even more destructive nuclear and thermonuclear weapons - in other words, increase the danger of a destructive nuclear and thermonuclear war.

50. The Agency should proclaim and disseminate the noble idea that atomic energy should be **used solely for peaceful purposes**. The vote of its General Conference, in which outstanding scientific and government personalities participated, would be listened to, and evoke a response throughout the world.

51. As already pointed out by leading scientists of many countries who had signed petitions and messages to the United Nations and to their respective Governments, every new explosion increased the quantity of long-lived radioactive products contaminating the atmosphere, soil and waters of the earth.

52. The Byelorussian people keenly desired to avert war, for they know too well what war meant. Hundreds of their towns and thousands of their villages and farms had been destroyed, many industrial and cultural facilities completely wiped out, agriculture ruined, and hundreds of thousands of innocent people, of all ages, had perished during the last war. And it must be realized that present-day nuclear and thermonuclear weapons were far more destructive than conventional armaments. According to the American physicist Davison, the energy released by the explosion of a single hydrogen bomb was more than that released by all the explosions produced by all the countries of the world in every war in the history of mankind. That was why the whole of humanity was closely following the talks between Mr. Khrushchev and President Eisenhower on disarmament questions, the banning of atomic and thermonuclear weapon tests and the ending of the armaments race.

53. Nothing would help the Agency towards greater success in its activities than a ban on the testing and production of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. Unfortunately, however, the Agency had so far made no protest against the use of atomic energy for military purposes. It could certainly not be called logical for the Agency to prepare, on the one hand, rules and instructions for using atomic energy for peaceful purposes, thus showing its practical concern for the lives and health of the small circle of experts and workers dealing with atomic energy and, on the other hand, to refrain from any action on behalf of the hundreds of millions of people who dreaded the testing of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

54. In that connexion, he objected to the false distinction drawn between the Agency's peaceful activities in regard to atomic energy and the question of nuclear disarmament. Article III.B.1 of the Statute established a direct link between the Agency's activities and the United Nations' work on disarmament.

55. The Byelorussian people hailed the decision of the Soviet Government not to resume atomic tests if the Western countries also agreed not to resume them, and it would continue the struggle for a complete cessation of nuclear weapon tests as an important step towards stopping the armaments race and removing a threat to the life and health of millions of people.

56. For those reasons his delegation supported the Czechoslovak draft resolution, together with the Moroccan amendment, and hoped that all Members of the Agency which were actively interested in peace would also approve them.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

