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President: Mr. QUIHILLALT (Argentina)

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* GC(V)/171.

The composition of delegations attending the session is given in
document GC(V)/INF/42/Rev.3.

GENERAL DEBATE AND REPORT OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS FOR 1960-61
(GC(V)/154, 168)(continued from the 50th meeting)

1. Mr. EMELYANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) made the following statement*:

- (1) "The present session of the General Conference of the Agency is taking place against the background of a deteriorating international situation. Countries are now witnessing the increasing aggressiveness of reactionary forces, which are speeding up the race for arms to an unprecedented rate, and leading to tension in the international situation.
- (2) "The Soviet people, like all other peoples, needs peace.
- (3) "The new draft program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union proclaims that 'to abolish war, to consolidate lasting peace on earth is the historic mission of Communism'. That aim, dear to all peace-loving men, is given concrete expression daily in the policy of the Soviet Government. This policy - a policy of peace and fellowship with all States - aims at developing relations with them on the basis of peaceful co-existence. For the Soviet Union, as for all the socialist countries, there are no problems in their relations with other States which they want to settle by force of arms.
- (4) "The Soviet Government has done and is doing much to relieve tension and clear the way for normal relations and co-existence between all States. A dependable, lasting peace, a peace without arms and without war, has always been the dream of humanity. The most reliable way of ensuring a lasting peace on earth is by universal and total disarmament. The Soviet Union has proposed negotiations for full and final abolition of all material means of conducting war, for the disbandment of armies, for the abolition of nuclear and rocket weapons and all other types of armaments, as well as for the abolition of war ministries and general staffs and for stopping military training and military appropriations. At the same time the Soviet Government has repeatedly said that it was willing to accept any proposals on control if our program of general and complete disarmament was accepted. The Soviet Union was not content with merely putting forward a program of general and total disarmament, it is also endeavoring to implement this program. Inside and outside the United Nations, the Soviet Government is trying to translate disarmament from planning to reality, and had it not been for the negative attitude of the Western Powers, general and complete disarmament would already have become a reality.
- (5) "While indefatigably pursuing the interests of peace and security for all peoples, the Soviet Government cannot ignore the fact that in reply to its proposal to conclude a peace treaty with Germany and on this basis normalize the situation in Berlin, aggressive circles in the West have answered by intensifying their military preparations.

* This statement is reproduced verbatim at the speaker's request under Rule 92(b) of the Rules of Procedure of the Conference.

- (6) "It cannot be indifferent to the fact that in West Berlin the spirit of revenge and aggression has again come to the fore.
- (7) "The West German army, equipped with modern weapons, is already the nucleus of the armed forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) aggressive bloc. A remilitarized West Germany is being converted into the spearhead for unleashing a new world war.
- (8) "Faced with the threat of a new war, the Soviet Government decided to take the necessary measures to strengthen its defences and those of the whole mighty socialist camp. The Soviet Union has also been forced to carry out experimental, nuclear weapons explosions. The measures which the Soviet Union has undertaken to strengthen its defense potential also serve the security of all peace-loving States and nations, the general cause of safeguarding and consolidating peace. Those who are preparing war must clearly realize that aggression on their side will meet with a crushing retaliation.
- (9) "At this Conference some delegates have said that nuclear tests have a harmful effect on living organisms. But, gentlemen, the truth must be faced: the question at issue is not the harmful effects of atomic radiation on living organisms, which no one would deny. But we are talking about saving humanity from the dangers of a thermonuclear war and saving the lives of millions of people by not allowing atomic weapons to be used; this can be done only by introducing universal and complete disarmament. It is not surprising that back in 1958 scientists attending the international Pugwash Conference here in Austria had stated: 'Obviously biological damage caused by a war in which nuclear weapons were used would be incomparably greater than that caused by tests. Thus the main problem now facing humanity is to create conditions that would remove the possibility of war.' That is now the principal goal and the main problem. Universal and complete disarmament will not only preserve health and remove the danger of the consequences of atomic radiation, but will save life itself and will liberate humanity from the deadly menace of a nuclear war.
- (10) "In our opinion, with the Western Powers continuing their senseless armaments race, the conclusion of a separate agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear tests is only likely to breed dangerous illusions in the public mind that something is being done to avert a nuclear war. It is clear to everybody that such an agreement in itself would not for a moment arrest the process of stockpiling nuclear weapons of mass destruction, not to speak of the fact that the existing stocks would remain untouched. With a nuclear arms race no one can prevent other countries which do not yet possess nuclear weapons from mobilizing their scientific and technological resources for their manufacture. The Soviet Government is firmly convinced that in the present state of affairs, agreement on the problem of the discontinuance of nuclear tests is only possible on the basis of universal and complete disarmament. This is the only correct and realistic solution. If, in fact, States were to carry out universal and complete disarmament under effective international control and if all types of weapons, including nuclear ones, were abolished and armies disbanded, the spur to perfect nuclear weapons and consequently to test them would disappear.

- (11) "Gentlemen, as you are aware, on the eve of the sixteenth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and shortly before the Agency's own General Conference started work, the Governments of the Soviet Union and of the United States reached agreement on principles for disarmament talks^{1/}, which is a definite step forward.
- (12) "I have already spoken about how important universal and complete disarmament would be for the Agency's work. It would create endless possibilities for obtaining nuclear fuel and would open the doors of nuclear laboratories at present closed and would enable scientists to devote all their gifts and energy to the peaceful uses of atomic energy.
- (13) "Gentlemen, our Agency cannot be indifferent to the problems of disarmament and must actively work towards the realization of that great dream of humanity. I propose that the Conference adopt a draft resolution on the subject, the text of which will be circulated by my delegation for consideration by the Conference.^{2/}
- (14) "Represented at the present Conference are the heads of atomic energy commissions and nuclear scientists from all over the world. This representative assembly probably realizes more clearly than any other the implications which a nuclear war would have at the present time. The scientists who devote their efforts to the harnessing of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes are naturally alarmed at the present world international situation. Among other things, it will complicate the work of the Agency, which is pledged to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world.
- (15) "Our present generation is witnessing the beginning of a new era in the history of civilization - the atomic age. The unravelling of the secret of the atomic nucleus and the harnessing of the energy of the atom for the benefit of mankind constitute one of the supreme triumphs of the human intellect. Thanks to the indefatigable efforts of scientists, engineers and many thousands of ordinary workers, mankind is now beginning to enjoy the practical benefits of nuclear energy in the form of electricity from nuclear power plants, engines for nuclear propulsion, radioisotopes and radiations for use in industry, agriculture and medicine.
- (16) "All these achievements are only the first chapter in the story of man's efforts to harness the inexhaustible resources inherent in the nucleus of the atom. The time is not far off when it will be possible to turn to practical account the energy from a number of nuclear processes and then we shall be in a position not only to meet the power requirements and satisfy other vital needs of nations everywhere but also to implement plans for transforming our own world and conquering the universe so bold as to be no more than dreams at the present time.

^{1/} United Nations document A/4879.

^{2/} Subsequently issued as document GC(V)/175.

- (17) "It was our desire to lose no time in placing atomic energy at the service of mankind that impelled us in the Soviet Union to support the idea of the International Atomic Energy Agency, in spite of our realization of the fact that the idea had only been mooted as a propaganda move in order to distract world attention from the arms-race policy of the United States. The Soviet Union was the first State to ratify the Agency's Statute.
- (18) "The ratification of the Agency's Statute met with opposition in the United States Senate on the part of the Republican right-wing senators. The 'Christian Science Monitor' wrote that, while there had been almost unanimous approval in the Senate of the idea of setting up the Agency in 1953, there was nevertheless at the time a number of senators who considered the Agency to be a matter of secondary importance.
- (19) "Certain pressure groups in the United States were insistent that before the Statute was ratified, there should be bargaining to obtain a number of favorable conditions.
- (20) "One of these conditions was seen in the efforts made to obtain guarantees that the Chinese People's Republic would not be admitted to the Agency and that a more stringent system of control would be exercised with respect to countries receiving aid, giving the Agency the right to apply even stricter sanctions than are provided for now in the Statute.
- (21) "Speaking before a Senate Foreign Relations Committee devoted to a discussion of the Agency's Statute on 10 May 1957, the former United States Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, made a special point of the fact that in accepting the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the United States would be assuming only a few responsibilities, and these not heavy ones. He added, however, that the ratification of the Statute would enable the United States to go on asserting its position of leadership.
- (22) "At the time, the United States Senate made the ratification of the Agency's Statute in fact contingent on the post of Director General being allocated to a United States citizen and only ratified the Statute once it had become clear that this would be the case.
- (23) "We would not have brought up all these details if it were not for the fact that the present General Conference is called upon to approve the appointment of a new Director General and that it is therefore important to recall the way in which the first Director General was appointed.
- (24) "Various prominent personalities in the United States have sometimes levelled the criticism that the speeches made by Soviet representatives at the Agency are subordinated to political considerations.
- (25) "Well, Gentlemen, it is perfectly true that the Soviet representatives do at times have to touch on political questions, but why? The answer is very simple: it is because the United States subordinates its activities in this organization to political considerations.

- (26) "What is the explanation, for example, of the fact that five socialist countries cannot join the Agency? This is not ruled out by the Statute, as is made clear in Article IV of the Statute.
- (27) "Every year the question of China is brought up at the General Conference of the Agency. Obviously certain United States personalities would be only too happy if the Soviet representatives silently resigned themselves to a situation where the place of the Chinese People's Republic in the Agency is taken by the Chiang Kai-shek clique. It is not we who are responsible for originating these problems but the United States State Department, which is intent on creating a cold war atmosphere even where this could be avoided. No, Gentlemen, we cannot reconcile ourselves to this situation even, I am sorry to say, if this means giving our activities what can be considered as political overtones.
- (28) "We did not oppose the granting of consultative status to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions nor to the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions.
- (29) "One might have expected that the United States would have been tolerant and co-operative when the question arose of granting similar status to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). Nothing of the kind, however, took place. The United States decided to turn this issue too into an opportunity for intensifying the cold war atmosphere in the Agency. At last year's session of the General Conference, the United States representative made a slanderous speech against the WFTU. The United Kingdom representative made a similar statement. The voting machinery was set in motion with the result, as you know, that the World Federation of Trade Unions was denied the consultative status which is enjoyed by the two pro-American trade union movements I mentioned earlier^{2/}. This is another matter, Gentlemen, to which we cannot reconcile ourselves.
- (30) "If we examine the work of the Agency over the past year, we shall find many instances confirming the point that the United States representatives are doing everything to subordinate the Agency's activities to their political interests, which often have nothing at all to do with the peaceful uses of atomic energy. In many cases, obvious attempts have been made to give the Agency's work a military slant and to make the Agency the handmaid of the military side of the nuclear industry.
- (31) "There are quite a number of examples to substantiate this. Earlier in the year, the Agency Secretariat submitted for urgent consideration a 'request' for the examination of the harbor of Copenhagen with a view to the admission of nuclear shipping. The question arises as to why a request of this sort should be considered as a matter of urgency. It is a well-known fact that the only nuclear-propelled merchant ship at present in operation is the Soviet ice-breaker 'Lenin'. There are no plans, however, for this vessel to put in at Copenhagen, but in any case, we can be sure that it was not for the admission of the 'Lenin'

^{3/} GC(IV)/OR.47, paragraph 61.

that preparations were necessary in the port of Copenhagen. A further question arises quite naturally out of this. Is this port not being got ready to admit other vessels of a non-peaceful character? This seems all the more likely in view of the reports which have appeared in the Western press that the United States is prepared to hand over to the NATO countries five nuclear submarines fitted out with Polaris missiles equipped with nuclear warheads.

- (32) "In May of this year, the Italian newspaper, 'Paese Sera', published an article referring to discussions in Paris among members of the British delegation at NATO headquarters of a United States proposal to make available to NATO five submarines equipped with Polaris missiles, four of them to be based at Holy Loch in Scotland.
- (33) "In order to be able to carry out possible military assignments, according to the newspaper, these submarines were scheduled to cruise about for long periods in the North Atlantic and the Baltic in order to be in a position to approach their objectives quickly.
- (34) "At the beginning of May, Norway and Denmark agreed to allow these four submarines to take shelter if necessary in Norwegian and Danish bases.
- (35) "What is behind all this?
- (36) "An answer is supplied by a British M.P., Mr. Emrys Hughes, in a pamphlet published in February 1961 and entitled 'Polaris and the armaments race'. In this pamphlet, Mr. Hughes writes that Mr. Macmillan had agreed to place the Scottish bases at the disposal of the United States in order to enable Polaris-equipped American submarines to sail in the Arctic with a full load of missiles and nuclear warheads, which would be powerful enough, to quote the boastful statements made by American admirals, to destroy all Russian cities and industrial areas situated in the northern latitudes between Moscow and Omsk.
- (37) "On 4 March 1961, the military correspondent of the British 'Daily Express' wrote that the crews of all the submarines sent to Holy Loch would be trained to carry out a special maneuver designed to enable the submarines to direct broadside salvos of hydrogen bombs at Russia while lying at anchor in their base in Scotland. He added that these missiles would be aimed at definite targets situated between Leningrad and Kiev by means of electronic devices.
- (38) "Attempts have been made before to arrange for American submarines to 'visit' the harbor of Copenhagen. The United States submarine 'Skate', for example, attempted to put in at this port as early as 1958 but was prevented from doing so as the result of an outburst of indignation among the Danish public.

- (39) "This is the reason - in order to provide nuclear submarines with access to the port of Copenhagen - why a 'request' for the dispatch of Agency experts to examine Copenhagen harbor has come up for discussion at the Agency. Will the examination of questions of this sort by the Agency promote co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy? Of course not! In spite of the criticism made by the Soviet representatives on the Board the outcome of the discussion was left vague. Two points should be made. Firstly, this is not the only example of our organization engaging in unworthy activities of this kind. Secondly, enormous importance attaches to the trend, the lines along which the activities of the Agency develop: is it to be employed for peaceful purposes or are we to have a peaceful organization used to solve military questions of interest to a major nuclear Power?"
- (40) "Another example can be quoted, also in connection with the Agency's work over the past year. As is well known, three of the four nuclear Powers - the United States of America, Great Britain and France - dispose of the waste accumulating in their military plutonium plants by discharging it into the sea. World opinion - particularly people living in coastal areas - is thoroughly alarmed by this discharge of radioactivity into the seas and oceans, which is a danger to everyone who relies on the sea as a source of food.
- (41) "In May of this year, the 'New York Herald Tribune' published an article by James Warner eloquently entitled: 'Is it dangerous to eat fish?'. The question raised by the author is whether the oysters, lobsters and other types of fresh-water or marine organisms which we eat at the present time or will be eating over the next five years must not be considered as being dangerously radioactive.
- (42) "The author writes that alarm has been caused by the steel drums and concrete containers filled with radioactive wastes which have been discharged into the Pacific near San Francisco and Los Angeles. He adds that the containers have been dumped in trawling areas.
- (43) "This method of getting rid of radioactive waste is causing apprehension. In France, the plan to dump radioactive wastes into the Mediterranean off the Côte d'Azur was met with outbursts of indignation.
- (44) "And the Atomic Agency, instead of condemning this method of discharge and tackling the job of working out the best way of storing radioactive wastes, declared its intention of carrying out research on the disposal of radioactive wastes into the sea. To do this, it is proposed to enlist the services of an authoritative oceanographical institute in Monaco.
- (45) "Again the Soviet Union took energetic steps to prevent the Agency from giving pseudo-legal sanction to the disgraceful method of dumping radioactive waste into the sea which has been adopted by military plants in the United States, Great Britain and France and which threatens to contaminate the seas and oceans.

- (46) "Under pressure from the Soviet Union, this question was examined by the Scientific Advisory Committee, which is made up of leading scientists from several countries. The Committee did not recommend that the Agency project be carried through, and proposed another research program. And yet repeated attempts are made by the Agency Secretariat to find some backdoor way to giving legal sanction to the disposal of radioactive waste into the sea. This is further evidence of the tendency to divert the Agency's activities away from the provisions of the Statute and to pervert it into an organization which to a certain extent aids and abets the military efforts of the nuclear Powers.
- (47) "Can we reconcile ourselves to this? No, we cannot. These are not the purposes, Gentlemen, for which we set up the International Atomic Energy Agency.
- (48) "Of the scientific research work which the Agency carries out through contracts with various scientific organizations in Member States, most is of little scientific interest, or concerns mainly the advanced countries; the majority of contracts are connected with the preparation of a safe-guards system. Many of the contracts are of minor importance, although a few are undoubtedly useful. Some are of such limited interest that it is surely unnecessary to conduct them under the aegis of an international organization.
- (49) "I remember the first session of the General Conference, four years ago, at which so many optimistic statements were made. Much was said of the prospects for the peaceful uses of atomic energy offered by this newly established organization.
- (50) "Three countries - the United States of America, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom - offered the Agency fissionable materials. At the present time the Agency possesses 5140 kilograms of uranium-235. One is entitled to ask why this uranium is not being distributed. Four years have gone by, during which many countries have concluded bilateral agreements, and only the Agency has not used the resources placed at its disposal.
- (51) "The quantity of uranium available to our organization is more than sufficient for 20 atomic vessels similar to the ice-breaker 'Lenin'. Why is this uranium not being distributed? Why has no one asked the Agency for uranium? During the past year only one such request, from the Finnish Government, has reached the Agency.
- (52) "From this platform the Director General has appealed to Member States to offer the Agency low-cost fissionable materials^{4/}. But is the problem really that the price of uranium is too high? Is this why the Agency has received no requests for uranium? No, the cost of fetters is not high, but even if they were free, no one would willingly agree to accept them. In fact, it is the unjustifiably strict safeguards and the complicated inspection system that have deterred Member States from requesting the Agency's assistance. How else can one explain the fact that at the fourth regular session of the General Conference so large a group of countries voted against the safeguards system? One of the chief arguments against the system was that it was not universal in character, as it would be unilaterally applied by certain countries to others. And now we

^{4/} GC(V)/OR.48, paragraph 91.

come to a very interesting point: it would seem that the problem of the Agency's development is directly bound up with the problem of general and complete disarmament. If agreement could be reached on general and complete disarmament, including a strict system of international controls, the separate problem of Agency safeguards would cease to exist.

- (53) "At the present time it seems unnecessary to dwell in detail on the subject of safeguards. However, I think we should for a moment consider the question of inspection. It should be stated quite bluntly that the inspection system has been unceremoniously thrust onto the Agency's Member States. In order to prevent discussion in detail, the document on inspectors^{5/} has not been submitted for approval by the General Conference, although in accordance with the provisions of the Statute, and the procedure followed for the safeguards document, this should definitely have been done. The result is that the document on Agency inspectors, adopted in the Board of Governors by the votes of 18 Western Powers and their allies, will serve as a guide for 76 Member States. Is this fair? In my opinion, it is not.
- (54) "However, let us return to the question of fissionable materials. Not only does the Agency not use the materials at its disposal, it does not even assist in producing such materials in countries where there are suitable deposits. In particular, this can be seen in the case of the mission sent to Mexico.
- (55) "Permit me to remind you that the Statute entrusts the Agency with the task of co-operating in the peaceful utilization of atomic energy. At the present time the only source of atomic energy is uranium. And here we have an Agency mission, sent to Mexico, which recommends the Mexican Government to abandon all work on the exploitation of its uranium deposits and on the construction of a uranium ore processing plant.
- (56) "One wonders why this odd recommendation was made by the representatives of an organization whose duty it is to co-operate in the peaceful utilization of atomic energy. Perhaps Mexico was planning to make an atomic bomb with this uranium? Of course not. Mexico is planning to begin work on an atomic power program, and in particular on the construction of a power reactor. Why then did representatives of the Agency make this recommendation which, incidentally, was not accepted by the Mexican Government?
- (57) "Once again one cannot help wondering whether the actions of this mission were dictated by certain circles which would like to keep all uranium in their own hands, to control the entire uranium production and to fix whatever prices suit them.
- (58) "The examples I have quoted are an eloquent testimony to the fact that control of the Agency by a limited group of countries must cease. The structure of its executive - including the Director General, the Board of Governors and the Secretariat - must be brought into line with the

interests of the present membership, and reorganized accordingly. It is clear that not everyone has yet understood the justification and need for such a reorganization. We shall tirelessly expound and fight for the realization of this idea. What we can do here and now is to appoint to the post of Director General a representative of the neutral group of Afro-Asian countries, whose present needs demand the Agency's special attention - a candidate of those countries which desire to make wide use of the achievements of modern atomic science and technology to raise their economic standards.

- (59) "A quite different candidature has been proposed, or to be more precise, has been imposed by the Western countries. Once again, this nomination serves the interests of the Western Powers. The person in question has little understanding of the needs of the neutral group of Afro-Asian countries.
- (60) "Even his appointment has taken place in mysterious circumstances. You must be aware, Gentlemen, that the candidate for the post of Director General was elected in his absence, and despite the fact that, since the time of his election by the members of the Western bloc only, he has still not appeared at a meeting of the Board of Governors. Many members of the Board have never seen him nor spoken with him - for some reason or other he declines to put in an appearance in Vienna.
- (61) "You must agree, Gentlemen, that these are unusual and odd circumstances.
- (62) "The Soviet Union has always supported international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. This is the natural outcome of its policy of peaceful coexistence between Governments with different political systems.
- (63) "Over the last five years, the Soviet Union has concluded a series of bilateral agreements for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy with countries belonging to all three groups of countries existing in the world today.
- (64) "The Soviet Union is carrying out a broad program of scientific and technical co-operation with the socialist countries. Under co-operation agreements with Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Chinese People's Republic, assistance has been given to these countries in setting up scientific centers for nuclear physics and the peaceful uses of atomic energy.
- (65) "The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp are collaborating in the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research at Dubna, where research on high-energy particles is jointly carried out. To further the development of co-operation between these countries, an atomic commission for the co-ordination of activities in the peaceful uses of atomic energy was set up in 1960, by the Council for Mutual Economic Aid (COMECON). During the past year, this commission has

investigated numerous problems of general interest. In accordance with the principles of the socialist division of labor, it has developed a program of work and methods for specialization and co-operation in the production of nuclear engineering instruments and equipment for use in the national economy, radioactive and stable isotopes, and safety measures for workers handling radioactive substances.

- (66) "The Soviet Union has also concluded bilateral agreements with Indonesia, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Yugoslavia and Ghana. A co-operation agreement for the peaceful uses of atomic energy has been drawn up with India.
- (67) "Over a comparatively short period of scientific and technical co-operation, joint efforts in nine countries have led to the construction of nine research reactors, seven accelerators and ten laboratories, equipped with the very best physics instruments and apparatus. To operate reactors and carry out research work, the Soviet Union has supplied these countries with close on 16 000 kilograms of U²³⁵-enriched uranium and uranium compounds.
- (68) "The physics research centers that were set up have now become first-class scientific organizations, actively working on the latest problems of science and technology, playing their part in international science and satisfying the economic requirements of their countries.
- (69) "In accordance with our agreements, preparatory work on the construction of reactors and various other scientific research facilities is now going on in connection with physics centers in Indonesia, Iraq, Ghana and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.
- (70) "It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union is co-operating in scientific and technical matters with the United States, under the terms of the joint memorandum. Co-operation agreements have been concluded with France and the United Kingdom, including exchange visits between scientists, the exchange of scientific and technical information and the discussion of questions of mutual interest.
- (71) "From the very inception of the Agency, the Soviet Union has supported, and is continuing to support, the essential work of developing co-operation between all countries, regardless of their social structure, within the framework of the Agency. We are in favor of co-operation!
- (72) "The Soviet Union is firmly convinced that the Agency can and must play an important part in the peaceful development of atomic energy, particularly in the less-developed countries which have recently thrown off the colonial yoke.
- (73) "In the view of the Soviet delegation, the central feature of the Agency's work in the coming year should be such activities as the training of experts for the developing countries in various aspects of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the use of radioactive isotopes in medicine and agriculture, the study of problems connected with radioactive waste disposal, the dissemination of information and the organization of scientific meetings.

"I. The training of experts in the peaceful uses of atomic energy

- (74) "As always, the Soviet delegation considers this work to be one of the Agency's basic tasks, since the further development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy in the less-developed countries depends on the presence of a sufficient number of fully qualified national experts.
- (75) "I am authorized to state in this connection that, in addition to previous offers of fellowships, the Soviet Union will provide the Agency with 40 000 rubles to be spent on fellowships. This offer will allow the Agency to send twenty fellowship holders for training in the Soviet Union for periods of four to six months. Instruction will be given in the higher educational establishments and scientific research institutes of the Soviet Union in the following subjects: nuclear physics, radiochemistry, methods of conducting scientific research work with reactors and accelerators, and the use of radioisotopes in medicine, agriculture, biology and industrial processes.

"II. The use of radioisotopes in medicine for diagnosis and therapy

- (76) "The efforts of medical science are directed towards discovering effective ways of combating disease and new methods of treatment, and also towards finding means of making an early diagnosis so that the underlying causes of the disease can be eliminated in time. The basic uses of radioisotopes and radiations in medical practice, as well as in scientific research, have already been determined. The use of isotopes and radiations for diagnosing and curing diseases is offering ever-increasing possibilities, and is widely practised in many countries.
- (77) "The Agency must find a place for itself in this deeply humanitarian struggle for the health of mankind, for the creation of better living conditions and for increasing man's longevity. The Agency's work is to draw general conclusions from the experience accumulated in this sphere, and make them available to all States. The Agency should take measures to introduce into the public health work of the less-developed countries the use of isotopes and radiations for purposes of diagnosis and therapy, and also for scientific research on new and effective methods of combating the most dangerous and widespread diseases in these countries.
- (78) "For these purposes the Agency must assist Member States:
1. To obtain preparations of cobalt-60, cesium-137 and other long-life isotopes and radiation sources;
 2. To construct laboratories for the preparation of short-life isotopes for medical purposes;
 3. To construct radiology departments in hospitals and clinics for radiation therapy of patients;
 4. To work out uniform methods for the use of radioisotopes and nuclear radiations in diagnosis and radiotherapy and for the determination of radiation doses;
 5. To train experts in radiotherapy and radio-diagnosis.

"III. The use of radioisotopes in agriculture

- (79) "One of the most acute problems facing mankind is to provide all men with an adequate amount of essential foodstuffs. The main responsibility for solving this problem falls to agriculture.
- (80) "The experience of the Soviet Union and other countries shows that radioisotopes and ionizing radiation are capable of speeding up the solution of such problems as increasing the agricultural yield and combating agricultural and animal pests. These methods can also be widely used in reclamation work and irrigation.
- (81) "The Soviet delegation considers that the Agency must make a great effort to solve the problems of agricultural science and practice as rapidly as possible.
- (82) "Until now the Agency's work in this sphere has been limited to discussing the efforts which have been made in various countries and to exchanging information and consultations. Nowadays this is not enough. On the basis of the experience which has been acquired, the Agency must draw up recommendations and co-ordinated programs of work on certain of the most important agricultural problems, bearing in mind above all the interests of the less-developed countries.

"IV. Radioactive waste disposal

- (83) "Until this vital problem has been solved, it will be impossible to develop widely the peaceful uses of atomic energy and to make full use of the achievements of atomic science and technology to increase the welfare of the peoples of all countries. In this connection the Soviet delegation considers that the Agency should concentrate on working out the most rational methods for the disposal of low- and medium-activity wastes, i.e. the wastes caused by the use of radioisotopes in various branches of science and technology.
- (84) "The following problems may arise:
1. The solidification of high-activity wastes, obtained by the processing of low- and medium-activity wastes, through the development of methods for concentrating radioisotopes in crystals, which will not break over a long period, and medium-activity wastes in tight ceramic blocks, made from simple and inexpensive materials;
 2. A study of the conditions under which wastes may be stored in deep geological formations, which offer possibilities for the indefinite storage of large volumes of medium- and low-level wastes;
 3. The elaboration of cheap methods for processing large volumes of radioactive solutions, using local natural absorbants and coagulants. With this in view, efforts must be made to study more closely the absorption of radioisotopes both by natural and synthetic materials;
 4. The study of the migration of radioisotopes in earth and soil;
 5. The elaboration of methods for the radiochemical and physical determination of low and very low levels.

- (85) "In addition, the Agency must devote attention to producing flowsheets and recommendations for the processing and disposal of radioactive wastes, and must assist Member States which are embarking on programs for the peaceful uses of atomic energy in putting these flowsheets and recommendations into effect.
- (86) "The Agency must immediately begin work in these directions, and find ways and means for assisting countries which especially need its help.
- (87) "The noble aim which the Agency set itself at the time of its establishment - to assist international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy - retains its full meaning even today.
- (88) "In all its work on these lines, the Agency can count on the support of the Soviet Union in carrying out its tasks.
- (89) "Gentlemen, you are well aware of the achievements of the Soviet people in modern science and technology. Many of you have expressed your sincere admiration for them, seeing that the results of many scientific discoveries are made to serve the whole of mankind, and are used for peace and progress.
- (90) "Even more ambitious goals are set in the new draft program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. 'Theoretical research', it is stated 'will undergo very broad development, in the first place in such decisive fields of technical progress as the electrification of the whole country, the inter-related mechanization and automation of industry, the chemicalization of the most important branches of the economy, the productive use of atomic energy, and transport and communications.'
- (91) "A large part in carrying out these tasks will be played by the discovery of new sources of energy and methods for the direct conversion of thermal, nuclear, solar and chemical energy into electricity.
- (92) "To carry out these tasks we are building many large nuclear power stations, including the Beloyarsk and the Voronezh stations. Construction of the Beloyarsk nuclear power station (100 000 kW) with a uranium-graphite reactor, and the new Voronezh power station with reactors each of 210 000 kW, and the use of these and other nuclear power stations with reactors of various types and power levels, will allow us to accumulate wide experience, showing the way towards the creation of improved designs.
- (93) "Study of the processes of controlled thermonuclear fusion is proceeding on a broad front in the USSR. To carry out the basic physics research, a series of large installations of various types have been constructed and various installations are still in the building stage.
- (94) "To carry out our plans we desire peace, and we are ready to co-operate widely with all countries, regardless of their political structure. We are in favor of peace and co-operation. Thank you."

2. Mr. BILLIG (Poland) stated that, at previous sessions of the Conference, his delegation had invariably commented on the progress made by the Agency. During the past year, however, negative factors had predominated, and the Agency had not justified the hopes placed in it by the founder-States and by those which had subsequently joined.
3. While acknowledging the successful work done in connection with training and fellowships, he must nevertheless emphasize the recent fall-off in those activities, which he greatly regretted in view of the importance Poland attached to them. Not only must the previous level be maintained but - since many less-developed countries had joined the Agency and personnel training was of vital importance to them - steps must be taken towards systematically extending such activities, even at the price of sacrificing others. Fellowships offered by Poland had been taken up to a negligible extent only. The scientific conferences, seminars and symposia were definitely appreciated by his delegation, but he doubted whether all the seventeen panel meetings that had been held were in fact necessary. In the main, only such scientific meetings should be arranged as would rapidly help the less-developed countries to develop their own nuclear research.
4. Agency publications were also appreciated, in particular those dealing with the application of radioisotopes in medicine, with health protection, the directories of nuclear reactors, and so on.
5. His delegation also favored the development of research which the Agency furthered by encouraging contacts between scientists in different countries, including Poland. There was, however, a certain arbitrariness in the selection of the subject matter for research contracts.
6. He wished to draw attention to the tendency of the Western Powers to use their majority on the Board in order to force through a safeguards and control system, their main purpose being, through the Agency, to bring under their own control the development and utilization of nuclear energy throughout the world. It had been shown in practice that such safeguards compelled countries in need of assistance to refuse the Agency's services. The occasions when countries turned to the Agency with a request for supplies were limited to those involving equipment which was subject to nominal safeguards only

(small experimental reactors). Even that was done only because the United States had made it a condition of supplying such equipment that Agency safeguards should be accepted. The result of imposing safeguards was a situation in which the overwhelming majority of countries were compelled to have recourse to bilateral agreements.

7. Poland, like many other countries, was receiving extensive assistance from the Soviet Union on the basis of bilateral agreements, without conditions or obligations of any kind other than those coming within the scope of normal trade agreements; it received from the Soviet Union all it needed and was developing its own nuclear science and technology.

8. His delegation was against safeguards pro domo sua not because they were an obstacle to Poland but because many countries which would gladly have taken advantage of the Agency's assistance in order to acquire nuclear materials and equipment considered that the acceptance of unilateral safeguards of such a type would constitute an infringement of their sovereignty. An international organization such as the Agency, set up to further international co-operation in connection with nuclear energy, could continue to exist and develop only on the basis of mutual understanding and mutual assistance. There could be no question of one country - even the strongest nuclear Power - imposing its will on the others.

9. As another example of neglect to take into account the opinion of a considerable number of countries, he quoted the appointment of the second Director General. Effective arguments had been put forward by the socialist and less-developed countries in support of their proposal that a representative of one of the less-developed Afro-Asian countries should be elected to the post of Director General since a representative of the Western Powers had held the post for a period of four years, and that there should be discussions with a view to reaching agreement on a candidate who would be acceptable to all. Neither proposal had been considered and no attempt had even been made to discuss the matter. Instead, taking advantage of the fact that they had a majority of votes, the Western States had imposed their candidate, completely ignoring the point of view, the arguments and the interests of the socialist countries and of a considerable number of countries in Asia and Africa.

10. Another example of the persistent unwillingness of the Western countries to co-operate in the general interest was the still unsettled question of granting consultative status to the WFTU.

11. Under the Statute the Conference had, at its fifth regular session, to discuss the question of a general review of the provisions of the Statute. His delegation considered that the provisions of the Statute relating, for instance, to membership, safeguards, the manner of appointing the administrative bodies and their composition and to a certain extent also their competence, were based upon principles which were no longer applicable and had become obsolete.

12. The absence from the Agency of representatives of certain countries such as the Chinese People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic could not be considered right, nor the absence of co-operation between the Agency and the scientific institutes, scientists and technicians of the countries concerned. Again all countries in some parts of the world were represented on the Secretariat, while other parts of the world were either not represented at all or were represented to a negligible extent. That applied in particular to countries in Asia and Africa. The Agency could provide a great deal of assistance to such countries, especially in connection with laboratories and nuclear installations, and in training of personnel. Agency co-operation would enable such countries to establish a basis for developing nuclear power in the future.

13. If the work of the Agency were to be fruitful, a long-term plan was necessary and, above all, a plan to assist the less-developed countries. His delegation had raised that question at the fourth session of the Conference and had put forward a draft resolution^{6/} which, however, had not obtained the necessary degree of support. A long-term operational program for the Agency's activities, and in particular a plan for assistance to developing countries, must be elaborated without delay.

14. The representatives of certain countries had declared that since the Agency did not have the funds for extensive activities, there was no point in working out a program; but that surely could be done even with the modest resources available. Should the program be approved, his delegation was convinced that it would become an important means of raising the funds

^{6/} GC(IV)/COM.1/44.

necessary for its fulfillment. If even a small proportion of the resources at present being spent on atomic armaments were allocated for the development of atomic energy and its utilization for peaceful purposes, that would make it possible to carry out a broad program for the utilization of atomic energy throughout the world and to give real assistance to the developing countries.

15. Clearly, there was a close connection between disarmament on the one hand and on the other the development of atomic energy, the solution of the Agency's problems and the achievement of its aims.

16. The atmosphere prevailing in the Agency reflected the international situation, and the Agency's success depended on whether the Powers would persist in an armaments race or would turn to competing in their efforts to advance science and technology, promote economic progress and raise the living standards of their peoples.

17. In 1960, his delegation had submitted a draft resolution^{7/} proposing that an appeal be made to the Great Powers to reach agreement as soon as possible on the discontinuance of nuclear tests. Unfortunately, the draft resolution had failed to obtain a majority. Of course the adoption by the Agency of any resolution, however perfect, did not dispose of a problem, but its attitude was often reflected in the position which it adopted. It was common knowledge that the Western delegations had taken a negative stand on the problem and events had proved that that attitude was directed not only towards the resolution but to the problem of disarmament itself. Certain gentlemen, prominent in diplomatic chancelleries and General Staffs, had perhaps forgotten about the twenty-five million dead from the Soviet Union, the six million from Poland and the many other millions from other countries. But they had not been forgotten by the citizens of Stalingrad or by the inhabitants of a besieged Leningrad. Nor had they been forgotten by the Polish people who still could not pronounce the words "Warsaw", "Oswiecim" (Auschwitz) and "Maidanek" without a pang. In many European countries the sacrificial torch in honor of tortured fellow human beings would burn brightly for many years to come. Saber-rattling from beyond the Elbe could only have one meaning for Poles.

^{7/} GC(IV)/131.

18. In those circumstances the defensive power of the Soviet Union was immensely important to the Polish people, since it was the only force in the world capable of cooling the inflamed German militarists who had condemned the Polish people during the past war to biological extermination. Although at that time they had not possessed nuclear weapons, they had succeeded in destroying one sixth of the Polish population. It was easy to imagine what would happen if they were to be in possession of atomic armaments. Thus his Government had every reason wholeheartedly to support the Soviet Government's decision to take defensive measures, since they guaranteed world peace and in particular the interests of the Polish people.

19. First and foremost his people and those of other countries needed peace. They all understood that agreement and co-operation in the first place between the Soviet Union and the United States was a primary condition for the preservation of peace and the removal of the present dangerous tensions. Accordingly, his delegation welcomed the recently published joint declaration by the Soviet Foreign Minister and the United States Secretary of State about the resumption of disarmament talks. Peace could be preserved and maintained only with universal and complete disarmament accompanied by strict controls.

20. His delegation reiterated its firm belief that events would take precisely that turn, and that good sense and devotion to peace would prevail. It was also the only possible course for the Agency and would open up prospects for its progress in every sphere.

21. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon), confessing to the diffidence of a layman in speaking before such a distinguished company of atomic scientists, remarked that his country would take the greatest pleasure in extending hospitality to any international gathering and would be proud to welcome to its shores the diplomats and men of learning gathered together in the Conference and to make its modest contribution to the task they were called upon to discharge.

22. Atomically at least, Lebanon figured among the underdeveloped countries - and felt itself there in good company. It was a country that cherished no illusions of becoming an atomic Power in the military sense, its one ambition being to add its mite towards hastening the day when atomic energy would be used entirely for promoting peace, health and prosperity in the world as a whole. It was also one of the requesting countries.

23. It was strange to reflect that, but for the unparalleled work of Western scientists, the underdeveloped countries would not today be in a position to benefit through the Agency from the many peaceful applications of atomic energy in medicine, agriculture and industry. Those scientists might rightly be proud of the magnificent prospects opened up for the future of mankind.

24. Yet there was another side to the coin. Atomic energy could bring destruction in place of prosperity and, so far, the weapons it had forged for destruction were more powerful than the tools it had fashioned for good. The balance was still negative, and it was to be hoped that the Agency would succeed in righting it at a not too distant date. When nuclear science had overcome cancer, eliminated the remaining epidemics and conquered famine, some complacency might be possible.

25. There were times, however, when he wondered whether everything that should be done was being done, whether there was not some more lofty aim than the somewhat negative objectives laid down in Article II of the Statute. Instead of concentrating on matter and technique, why not go back to man, the true fons et origo? Atomic scientists were men and, in other circumstances, the Agency might conceivably have led those men - like the women in the "Lysistrata" - to go on strike until all atomic weapons had been destroyed; then the atom would be used for peaceful purposes only. That fantasy might - who knew? - one day become a reality, or, worse still, a necessity.

26. His main object, however, was more immediately practical. The speed with which nuclear science developed was phenomenal. But could not advances be to some extent anticipated, and taken into account in planning for economic and social development? For instance, why build large and costly hydro-electric dams if, in the near future, there was likely to be an atomic reactor capable of economically providing all the power that was needed? The examples were endless. The consequences of foresight could be tremendous, particularly for countries which had still to build up an economic infrastructure out of nothing.

27. Nuclear science would certainly continue to make great strides. Was not now the time to set up a group within the Agency which, working in close collaboration with Governments and with other international organizations, would advise on all large-scale projects and very possibly succeed in helping to release for other constructive purposes the enormous sums that might otherwise be spent on the more conventional sources of energy: coal, petroleum, hydroelectric stations and so on? A draft agreement between the Agency and the United Nations Special Fund^{8/} was a step in the right direction, but it would be concerned with the execution of projects, not their planning, and it was precisely in the planning stage that the Agency could make its most useful contribution.

28. No doubt the advances he had in mind would not be the work of a day, but chance might conceivably bring rapid answers to many of the problems of nuclear science that still remained unsolved. And if the first atomic reactor to light the towns, run the factories, increase the earth's yield and cure cancer could be built through the common efforts of scientists and technicians of all ideologies from every corner of the earth, united in the desire to promote peace and human well-being, the whole world would rejoice.

29. Nuclear science had created a new human brotherhood: the brotherhood of fear of the atom bomb. If the peaceful uses of the atom could but link men in the same way, the world would be changed. And the Agency could have no more lofty ideal than to seek to change the human despair of today into hope for the future.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

8/ GC(V)/167.