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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 54th meeting)

1. Mr. WODAK (Austria) congratulated the President on his election.
2. The Austrian delegation considered that it was time that States Members of the Agency thought about its future. Some criticisms had been made of the work which had been done so far, but on the whole it could be said that the verdict had been positive.
3. Since the establishment of the Agency it had become apparent that it was difficult to fulfill all the aims laid down in the Statute. It had been intended that one of the Agency's main tasks should be to act as a clearing-house for fissionable material, but earlier theories regarding the world's natural fuel resources had proved to be too pessimistic, and the still very high investment cost for nuclear power plants and nuclear installations had hampered not only national atomic programs but also the Agency's activities. Moreover, various political developments, such as the admission of many new countries, had also left their mark. Furthermore, the idea of the internationally controlled use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes had lost some of its original strength, which he deeply regretted. Happily, the Agency had been able to adapt itself to the changed conditions, and to make good use of the unexpected delay in the development of industrial uses of nuclear energy. It had been able to help Member States, especially the developing countries, to prepare themselves for coming tasks, by spreading knowledge of the peaceful applications of nuclear energy.
4. During the past year the Agency had given a large number of scientists and technicians the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the technical, economic and legal aspects of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The Agency's activities in the field of training were extremely valuable, and studies regarding future prospects and costs of the industrial use of nuclear energy were of special importance. He would also like a unified method of cost evaluation to be worked out so that smaller countries who were thinking of producing power from nuclear resources should be fully aware of the financial burdens involved.
5. The regulations concerning the transport of radioactive materials^{1/}, as well as the draft Convention on Minimum International Standards regarding Civil

^{1/} STI/PUB/40 and STI/PUB/32.

Liability for Nuclear Damage, were of the highest importance to national legislation in that field, and represented a basis for international collaboration.

6. His delegation was very much in favor of the Agency's giving more consideration to the practical uses of atomic energy in research and industry, and it also welcomed the Agency's collaboration in the NORA project^{2/}. It was convinced that the Agency would in future be able to fulfill all the tasks laid down in the Statute.

7. Nevertheless Member States would have to collaborate in an atmosphere of mutual confidence, and the idea of international control would have to be accepted. Austria had therefore not hesitated to put at the Agency's disposal the services of an Austrian scientist for the post of Director of the Division of Inspection. Moreover Austria would seriously consider transferring to the Agency control of the safeguards provided under the bilateral agreement with the United States, if the latter agreed.

8. The Austrian Government welcomed the admission of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) to membership of the Agency, and was happy to see the interest shown in the Agency by the newly independent countries. The Agency should not disappoint them; smaller countries could also contribute to the development of nuclear energy if they were given an opportunity to do so.

9. Two trends of opinion existed among Members as to the respective roles which the more developed countries and the developing countries should play in the Agency. The Austrian Government felt that only the fullest and frankest co-operation between all States Members of the Agency would allow that organization to fulfill its functions. In that connection, he thought that new Member States should be given an opportunity for active collaboration, especially on the Board.

10. With regard to the question of the appointment of a new Director General, the Austrian Government believed that no political considerations should influence the choice of higher officials; as the outgoing Director General had stated, the composition of the Secretariat should be such as to promote the collaboration of all Member States.

^{2/} INFCIRC/29.

11. On behalf of the Austrian Government he thanked the outgoing Director General for the work which he had done at the head of the Secretariat, and hoped that the Conference would seriously consider the recommendations he had made, especially the suggestion that the Board should work out a long-term program for the Agency based on sound financial principles and the conclusion he had reached regarding the reorganization of the Secretariat^{3/}. Mr. Cole had succeeded in co-ordinating the work of the different international organizations in the field of nuclear energy and had established particularly fruitful collaboration with the European Nuclear Energy Agency.

12. He also wished to express his appreciation to Dr. Jolles, the former Deputy Director General in charge of the Department of Administration, Liaison and Secretariat, and was gratified at the extremely good relations established between the Secretariat of the Agency and the Austrian Government, which would give all possible assistance to the new Director General.

13. It was to be hoped that the construction work at the Agency's Headquarters, on which Austria had spent a considerable amount of money, would soon be finished. Austria would then be free of its financial obligations and able to put fellowships and other training facilities at the Agency's disposal.

14. Effective collaboration had already been established between the Austrian reactor center at Seibersdorf and the Agency's isotope laboratory. The former had contacted both the Agency and the European Nuclear Energy Agency in order to draw up a joint project for studies concerning low-dose radiation for food preservation.

15. Austria had confidence in the future prospects for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, but was very much concerned that the testing of atomic bombs had been resumed. It hoped that the difficult issues which faced the Conference, and would face the Board during the coming year, would be settled in a spirit of collaboration and that the long-term aims of the Agency would not be forgotten.

16. Mr. BHABHA (India) congratulated the President on his election.

17. In his delegation's opinion, the present session was of particular importance since, apart from the Annual Report of the Board of Governors to the General Conference (GC(V)/154) on the Agency's work and the Program and

^{3/} GC(V)/OR.48, paragraphs 86-87.

Budget for 1962^{4/}, it had to consider the question of the general revision of the Agency's Statute and to appoint a new Director General.

18. During the four years it had existed, the Agency had done very useful work despite serious handicaps. By 1 April 1961, there had been 600 fellows from 50 different countries who had either completed their training or were receiving it in 26 Member States. That activity, which was of great importance to the developing countries, was the result of a real co-operative effort between countries with atomic programs in varying stages of development. It could be seen from the review of technical assistance given by the Agency in 1959 and 1960^{5/} that even advanced countries in the field of atomic energy like the United States of America and France had been recipients of fellowships side by side with the developing countries, and also that a number of developing countries like Brazil, the United Arab Republic and others had offered fellowships which had been utilized. He hoped that in the years to come the fellowship program would expand even further, along with technical assistance activities. For that reason he welcomed the statement in the Program and Budget for 1962 to the effect that: "The expansion of certain of the Agency's scientific programs proposed for 1962 should not be regarded as minimizing the great importance which, in the opinion of the Board, should continue to be attributed as far as possible to rendering technical assistance to countries requiring it".^{6/}

19. His delegation noted with gratification that consistently through the years there had been expansion of the technical assistance activities of the Agency. The total budget for technical assistance had risen from \$1 100 000 in 1959^{7/} to \$3 562 320 in 1962^{8/}. Expert missions had been sent out by the Agency to 31 countries in South East Asia, the Far East, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Southern Europe. Though there were minor differences of opinion regarding details, all the countries visited had expressed satisfaction at the help given by those missions in drawing up plans for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. By the end of 1961, about 100 experts recruited by the Agency were likely to be serving in many different parts of the world. In that manner too, developing countries were making their contribution

4/ GC(V)/155.

5/ GC(V)/INF/37.

6/ GC(V)/155, paragraph 21.

7/ GC(II)/36, Annex I.

8/ GC(V)/155, Annex I, note b.

as well as the advanced countries. India, for example, was about to receive two experts from the Agency, and had also provided experts through the Agency to assist other Member States.

20. As regards research contracts, there had been a great deal of discussion both in the Board and in the Scientific Advisory Committee concerning the utility as well as the placing of those contracts. It was probably safe to say that the kind of contracts which were now being placed would not only assist in the dissemination of scientific knowledge throughout the world, but would also encourage laboratories in developing countries to expand their research activities. That was entirely in accordance with Article III.B.3 of the Statute.

21. Another important activity of the Agency was the exchange of scientific information through the holding of conferences, etc. As already pointed out at previous sessions, the Indian delegation considered that it would be desirable for the Agency to hold a number of such meetings in geographical areas where there were a large number of developing countries. Such countries generally could not afford to attend meetings held in distant parts of the world, and in any case the country in which a symposium was held generally derived more benefit from it than other participating countries because a far larger number of its specialists could participate or attend as observers than would be possible otherwise. He thought the remark in paragraph 301(e) of the Agency's Program and Budget for 1962 concerning the cost of meetings held outside Vienna did not go far enough. The Agency must make a point of holding its scientific conferences in all parts of the world, and especially in the less-developed areas.

22. The Agency's achievements, important though they might be, did not amount to a great deal when compared with the hopes entertained in 1956-57 by many countries that were greatly in need of nuclear power sources. It was necessary to ask why those hopes had not been fully realized. Very often the opinion was expressed, either clearly or in veiled terms, that underdeveloped countries would be better advised to concentrate on the application of radioisotopes in agriculture, medicine and industry rather than to attempt grandiose schemes of nuclear power generation. He was unable to agree with that view, which he considered superficial. The research on and development of power production from nuclear sources was expensive, and a great deal of research and development still remained to be done to bring to a commercial stage the many different types of power reactor which were being studied.

That was where the advanced nations had a role to play, but unfortunately they were more concerned with the military applications of atomic energy. According to published figures, the expenditure on the development of military uses of atomic energy throughout the world was running at the rate of about 100:1 compared with expenditure on peaceful purposes. Even if one tenth of the effort which was being devoted to military applications was devoted to research on and the development of nuclear power, the capital cost of such power could undoubtedly be reduced so as to make nuclear power competitive, not only in areas of high conventional fuel costs, but also elsewhere.

23. Such a state of affairs was all the more regrettable because the cost of energy from nuclear fuel was already lower than the cost of energy from coal or oil in many parts of the world. In areas of India where there was coal, the cost of energy from coal was twice as much as that of energy from nuclear fuel. Where there was no coal and transport costs had to be included, the cost was six to eight times greater. That difference in the cost of energy was reflected in the cost of electric power. The fuel cost of a kWh of electricity generated from nuclear fuel amounted to between 1 and 2 mills, whereas on the west coast of India or in the south, the fuel cost of a kWh of electricity, at the current prices of coal or oil, was between 4.5 and 5.5 mills, or more than double that of electricity from nuclear power. Countries which had no fuel resources of any sort, either conventional or nuclear, and therefore had to import everything, would make substantial savings every year if they imported nuclear fuel instead of conventional fuel. If a 300 MW power station located on the west coast of India were to be run on imported coal or oil at current prices, the fuel bill would come to between \$8 and \$10 million a year, whereas for a natural uranium-based power station, on the assumption that the entire fabricated fuel elements were imported, and not merely the crude uranium concentrate, the import bill would be between \$1.2 and \$3.6 million a year. The saving of some \$6 million a year thus made would very soon offset the present higher capital costs of the nuclear versus conventional power station.

24. That example showed what a vast area would open up for nuclear power generation and what a great contribution it could make to power-hungry areas if the capital costs of nuclear power stations were substantially reduced. That in turn showed how necessary it was for the advanced countries, which were at present engaged in developing the military applications of atomic

energy, to focus their scientific and technical research efforts on the generation of nuclear electricity. Many of the underdeveloped countries were some 20 to 50 years behind in modern technology as compared with the industrialized nations. If they wanted to avoid being in the same position in 30 to 40 years' time in the nuclear field, they would have to make great efforts to train scientists and technicians and to provide them with facilities for their work. It was not suggested, however, that they should devote a disproportionately large part of their efforts to research. They must make sure that they had the personnel to service and operate nuclear power stations but it was for the technologically advanced countries to put in the effort necessary for producing economic nuclear power.

25. The word "underdeveloped" covered a vast spectrum of differing conditions and could be interpreted in a variety of ways, but normally it meant countries in which the standard of living and the per capita income were low. When, however, that low standard of living existed in countries with vast natural resources and large populations, the potentialities for scientific research and industrial development were quite different from those in small underdeveloped countries. India was an example of such a country: it had many universities and laboratories, a very large student population and a large number of scientists. It had steel works and a heavy chemical industry and its engineering industry was far from negligible. It built cars, locomotives and aeroplanes. By the end of the third Five-Year Plan, in March 1966, it would be able to produce practically anything that could be produced in any other country.

26. That was the basis for India's considerable effort in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Of the \$270 million due to be spent on the development of new scientific research and technical facilities during the third Five-Year Plan - nearly double what had been spent during the second Five-Year Plan - about a quarter or roughly \$75 million would be used for new nuclear research facilities. That did not of course include the recurring expenditure on atomic research at the present level - which was in fact higher - nor the sums earmarked for industrial development, including the mining and metallurgy of uranium and the construction of nuclear power stations.

27. The previous year his delegation had announced that the Government of India was intending to build a large nuclear power station of 300 MW^{2/}. That

2/ GC(IV)/OR.31, paragraph 48.

project had now begun to take shape. A site had been selected on the west coast some 60 miles north of Bombay, and seven estimates had been received from four countries in response to a world-wide invitation for tenders for its construction. Moreover, in view of the need for power to support the industrial development of the country and in order to avoid the expense of transporting coal over large distances, the Indian Atomic Energy Commission had been authorized to look for a site for a second large nuclear power station in the region of Delhi and the States surrounding it. The Indian Atomic Energy Commission had appointed a high-level committee to draw up a list of six suitable sites throughout the country, taking into account the power requirements and potential of the various regions. During the coming five to ten years, atomic energy would be called upon for an increasing share of the country's power production.

28. The Government of India had informed the Director General of the Agency that it had decided to make available facilities for training in at least one of the atomic power stations to be built during the period of the third Five-Year Plan; that would provide scientists from other countries, and especially the underdeveloped countries, with an opportunity of familiarizing themselves with the operation of such plants.

29. He was happy to announce that, in spite of the economic difficulties which faced his country as a result of the efforts being made to raise the standard of living, his Government would contribute the equivalent of \$25 000 to the General Fund in 1962.

30. In conclusion, he would like to say a few words on the organizational set-up of the Agency, which could not be said to represent adequately the interests of all Member States. Scientists and administrators from a particular area could be expected to know the needs of the area better than persons from outside, and as one of the most important functions of the Agency was to assist in developing atomic energy in areas which were underdeveloped industrially, more of the Agency staff should be drawn from those areas than was the case at present. It was regrettable that that principle had been completely ignored in the staffing of the top levels of the Agency's Secretariat. In the Indian delegation's opinion, the entire set-up should be reviewed.

31. The first Director General - to whom he would like to express his appreciation of the work he had done during his term of office - had come from the United States. It would therefore seem appropriate for the next one to

be drawn from a geographical area in which the economic and social conditions were different from those of the United States. Western Europe did not fulfill that condition. His delegation would have no objection to a candidate from Western Europe at a later period, after the post had been filled by a person from another area which satisfied the condition he had just mentioned. On that matter of principle, his delegation had strong views, which it would explain in greater detail at the appropriate time. For the post of Director General, a candidate must be found who was acceptable to the various groups in the Agency, and especially to the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the two countries most advanced in the nuclear field.

32. Similarly, the constitution of the Board was not in line with current requirements. The world had changed a good deal since the Agency had first been conceived. Many new independent nations had come into existence and had been admitted to the United Nations, and the pattern of membership of that body had undergone radical changes over the last few years. The Agency, as a member of the United Nations family, must move with the times and its structure must reflect the changes which had taken place. That meant above all that the Board should give increased representation to the new countries which had recently joined the United Nations family.

33. To sum up, he considered that the advanced countries should concentrate their efforts on developing the peaceful rather than the military uses of atomic energy and that the Agency should do its utmost to promote such development. The Board should represent more accurately the present situation in the world and the organizational set-up of the Agency, and especially of its Secretariat, should better reflect the different interests on whose co-operation the success and the very existence of the Agency depended. Lastly, the Agency should conduct its operations, in particular the holding of symposia, conferences and scientific meetings, on a more widely distributed geographical basis than at the present time. The Agency had performed much useful work but it must do more. India would do whatever it could to assist it to achieve the noble aims it had set itself.

34. The PRESIDENT announced that, although the list of speakers in the general debate had been closed, he had decided to accord the right of reply under Rule 58 of the Rules of Procedure to the delegates of the Soviet Union, Denmark and Norway.

35. Mr. EMELYANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) considered that the United Kingdom delegate's remarks regarding the Soviet Union's responsibility for the resumption of nuclear testing^{10/} were hypocritical.
36. In the statement it had made on the resumption of testing the Soviet Government made it clear that it had taken the decision unwillingly, because of the preparations the Western Powers were making for a new war on the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government could not remain inactive and neglect to strengthen the defence of the country, so as to preserve peace and ensure the security of all nations.
37. He recalled that in 1918 British armies had been sent against Soviet Russia, which had just overthrown the reactionary régime it hated. A British colonel, Tigg-Jones, had shot the commissars of Baku. Later, British soldiers had shot and killed his (Mr. Emelyanov's) brother, who was then under 14 years of age.
38. That had happened because Soviet Russia had been weak and disarmed. It could not now remain disarmed and passively watch the intensive preparations being made by the Western Powers to wage war on the socialist world.
39. The Soviet Union certainly had a great responsibility, but it was not the one referred to by the delegate of the United Kingdom. Its responsibility was to use every means it could to prevent war and preserve peace. The Soviet Union would accordingly do everything in its power to prevent the forces of aggression from starting a war.
40. Mr. KOCH (Denmark) wished to clarify various points concerning the safety evaluation of the port of Copenhagen. That evaluation was concerned exclusively with calls by atomic-powered merchant ships. In view of the international importance of the port of Copenhagen, Denmark had a legitimate interest in carrying out an evaluation of that kind. As everyone knew, the United States atomic-powered merchant ship "Savannah" was expected to make its maiden voyage to Europe in 1962. It was therefore perfectly normal for Denmark to approach the Agency in order to arrive, with its help, at an internationally agreed code which could be used by Governments in future when they themselves needed to evaluate the ports of their countries.

^{10/} GC(V)/OR.53, paragraph 84.

41. Since the discussion some years previously about the proposed visit of a United States atomic submarine, the question of visits by United States atomic-powered submarines had never been raised and no negotiations on whether United States submarines equipped with Polaris rockets should be permitted to use Danish bases or visit Copenhagen had ever taken place. In that connection, he referred to the Danish Government's negative attitude to having atomic weapons or ammunition equipped with atomic warheads on Danish soil or in Danish waters; that attitude had been repeatedly expressed by the Government.

42. Mr. RANDERS (Norway) confirmed that, in the case of Norway too, no agreement whatsoever existed permitting submarines equipped with Polaris rockets to shelter in Norwegian ports.

43. Sir Roger MAKINS (United Kingdom) regretted that the delegate of the Soviet Union had seen fit to make the remarks which the Conference had just heard, in reply to a statement by the United Kingdom delegation which had been confined to a matter of fact. The Soviet delegate's remarks suggested quite a considerable reply, but he would not make it, as he thought the Conference was not the place to engage in controversies on historical or political questions.

44. The PRESIDENT said that the Soviet delegation had submitted a draft resolution under item 11 of the agenda. The text was being circulated^{11/} and the Conference would be able to take it up later.

OPENING DATE OF THE SIXTH REGULAR SESSION

45. The PRESIDENT drew attention to the fact that under Rule 1 of the Rules of Procedure, the Conference was required to set the date for its next regular session. The General Committee had decided to recommend the Conference to set Tuesday, 18 September 1962, as the opening date for the sixth regular session.

46. The recommendation of the General Committee was accepted.

THE AGENCY'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED NATIONS FAMILY: (a) ANNUAL REPORTS TO UNITED NATIONS ORGANS (GC(V)/158, 159)

47. The PRESIDENT drew attention to the Board's recommendations concerning the Agency's annual reports to the General Assembly of the United Nations for 1960-61 (GC(V)/158) and to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) for 1961-62 (GC(V)/159). He invited the Conference

^{11/} As document GC(V)/175.

to consider, first, the draft resolution appearing in the former of those recommendations.

48. The draft resolution contained in document GC(V)/158 was adopted unanimously.

49. Mr. WERSHOF (Canada), referring to the draft resolution in the second recommendation (GC(V)/159), wondered whether it was necessary for the Conference to authorize the Board every year to submit the Agency's annual report direct to ECOSOC, since that was in any case the only possible procedure. In order to simplify matters the Conference might, for instance, give the Board an authorization for several years. He did not intend to submit a formal proposal on the subject during the current session, but reserved the right to raise it at a future meeting of the Board.

50. The draft resolution contained in document GC(V)/159 was adopted unanimously.

COMPOSITION OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS (GC(V)/151 and Add.1, 169)

51. The PRESIDENT reminded the Conference that the question of the composition of the Board had been placed on the agenda pursuant to a resolution adopted by the Conference at its fourth regular session^{12/}. He called the attention of delegates to the Board's recommendation (GC(V)/151 and Add.1), and the amendment thereto submitted by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (GC(V)/169). He then called on the delegate of Iraq, who had played a leading part in the study of the question by the Board.

52. Mr. HASANI (Iraq) said that in addressing the Conference for the first time he wished to associate himself with the congratulations extended to the President on his election.

53. The question of the representation of the "Africa and the Middle East" area on the Board was not a new one, since it had already been raised at the Negotiating Group which had formulated the Statute at Washington in 1954 and 1955. The documents circulated to delegates showed the history of the question. At its fourth regular session the Conference had unanimously adopted a resolution requesting the Board to reconsider the question.

^{12/} GC(IV)/RES/85.

54. The recommendation before the Conference had been adopted almost unanimously by the Board, which had thereby shown its conviction that the "Africa and the Middle East" area had become one of the most important areas of the world, not only as a supplier of raw materials and as a user of the Agency's facilities, but also as a participant in the development of the peaceful uses of the atom. During the deliberations of the Board, the delegation of Iraq had pointed out that many other States in that area would probably ask for admission to the Agency in the near future; all the States that had become Members during the past twelve months belonged to it. In that connection, he wished to extend his warmest congratulations to the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), whose admission to the Agency had been approved at the beginning of the current session. It was from the "Africa and the Middle East" area that the greatest number of new Members was to be expected and it was only logical to give it appropriate representation on the Board.

55. The adoption of the Board's recommendation by the Conference would give two additional seats to the "Africa and the Middle East" area, while leaving the "Latin America" area its present representation. The delegation of Iraq was aware that the increase did not satisfy all the requirements and aspirations of the countries concerned and did not entirely remove the injustice done them. It had, however, submitted the initial proposal to the Board, jointly with Mexico, because it had wished to be sure, from the beginning, of a unanimous vote and quick results. Its stand on the draft resolution before the Conference did not in any way imply that it no longer desired amendment of the Statute in general and of Article VI in particular.

56. The delegation of Iraq hoped that the Conference would unanimously adopt the Board's recommendation and that amendment of the Statute under Article XVIII.C (ii) would soon follow.

57. Mr. PETRZELKA (Czechoslovak Socialist Republic) said that at the fourth regular session of the Conference his delegation had supported the draft resolution to provide better representation of the countries of the "Africa and the Middle East" area on the Board^{13/} and was glad that the Conference was already in a position to take practical steps to that end.

^{13/} GC(IV)/OR.45, paragraph 22.

58. Many Member States had, on various occasions, reaffirmed that the composition of the Board no longer corresponded to present world conditions. The balance of power had, in fact, changed considerably as compared with the position in 1955-56, for the world had gradually split up into three main groups of States: States of the socialist system, States aligned in capitalist political and military blocs, and non-aligned States.

59. It was now possible to improve the composition of the Board by increasing the number of members from 23 to 25 and allocating the two additional seats to the "Africa and the Middle East" area, where, as the imperialist colonial system disintegrated, new States were rapidly emerging and many were endeavoring to consolidate their independence and resist attempts to replace the old colonialism by a modern neo-colonialism. Those States would make increasing use of nuclear energy to solve their economic problems, and the Agency would probably soon include them among its Members.

60. The Czechoslovak delegation welcomed the proposal to amend Article VI.A.3 of the Statute, provided, of course, that the amendment was acceptable to the area concerned; it considered that amendment to be a first practical step towards bringing the Board's composition more closely into line with the existing world situation. It would revert to that point at a later stage.

61. His delegation also wished to raise a question that had given rise to lively discussions at the Board's meetings in January and April 1961. One of the so-called "floating seats", which had also been promised to the countries of Africa and the Middle East in 1956, had subsequently always been improperly allocated to countries in Western Europe, which was already over-represented on the Board. The Czechoslovak Government had never approved of that state of affairs and wished to stress that, in its opinion, adoption of the proposed amendment would in no way affect the promise of that seat to the countries of Africa and the Middle East. Any other arrangement would be illegal and against the interests of the States of the area.

62. Since the adoption of the amendment under discussion would make it possible to safeguard the interests of the area in question only after the required number of acceptances had been obtained, and the acceptances might be delayed, the Czechoslovak Government considered it essential that the floating seat he had referred to should, from the present session of the General Conference on, be at long last assigned, as was only right, to a State of the "Africa and the Middle East" area.

63. Furthermore, to remove any possible ambiguity, the Czechoslovak delegation proposed that paragraph (c) of the preamble to the draft resolution recommended by the Board be deleted. The adoption of that paragraph would be tantamount both to perpetuating the existing unjust system of representation on the Board and to confirming the illegal procedure followed hitherto, by which Western Europe was over-represented, because of its appropriation of the floating seat promised to the countries of Africa and the Middle East. The deletion of paragraph (c) made no difference to the effect of the amendment, which the Czechoslovak Government supported, but it avoided prejudging the representation of the other areas. Besides, paragraph (c) was in no way related to the resolution adopted at the fourth session of the Conference, which dealt solely with the representation of the countries of Africa and the Middle East.

64. Mr. EMELYANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) pointed out that at its fourth session the Conference had adopted a resolution recommending the Board to take steps to ensure equitable representation of the "Africa and the Middle East" area on the Board. In taking that decision the Conference had implicitly recognized that the Board's composition left much to be desired.

65. The composition of the Board had not been very satisfactory in 1956, when the Statute had been drawn up. It was still less satisfactory now, after the great changes that had taken place in the world. The present composition of the Board provided neither adequate representation of Member States, nor the necessary conditions for their collaboration.

66. The main reason for that was the predominance in the Agency's organs of the United States and its allies of the military and political blocs. On the Board, the United States and its allies always had 16 votes out of 23. In nearly all cases, the pro-American group on the Board used that crushing majority to defend their narrowly egotistical interests. With such a distribution of seats on the Board, the interests of States that did not belong to political or military blocs, in particular the countries of Africa and the Middle East, could not be protected as they should. Consideration of the representation of Africa and the Middle East inevitably led to discussion of the change (which was essential) in the composition of the Board as a whole. The present composition, which was based on the representation of arbitrarily determined geographical areas, and on the progress made by countries in the use

of atomic energy, was found to be grossly unfair in practice. North America, for instance, was represented 100%, whereas the 14 States of the "Africa and the Middle East" area had only two seats and were thus only represented 14%.

67. The resolution adopted by the Board gave two additional seats to the countries of the "Africa and the Middle East" area. That would increase the number of members of the Board to 25. The amendment eliminated the injustice from which that area had suffered; but even after its adoption the composition of the Board would remain unsatisfactory, since the Western Powers and their allies of the military and political blocs would still have an absolute majority. Furthermore, under the procedure in force, the actual allocation of two additional seats to the "Africa and the Middle East" area would be delayed for at least a year, i.e. until the next session of the Conference.

68. There was, however, an immediate means of satisfying, to some extent, the desire of the countries of the "Africa and the Middle East" area for increased representation on the Board. It would suffice to give them the so-called "floating seat" which the Western Powers had promised to Africa in 1956. The Western Powers had later broken that promise by supporting, in the Board, the election, first of Turkey, then of Spain, and then of Western Germany. At the current session, they were again trying to get the seat of which they had deprived Africa surreptitiously allocated to Greece, their ally in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

69. If the Western Powers really wished to increase the representation of the countries of the "Africa and the Middle East" area on the Board, they could at once, at the current session, support the allocation of the floating seat to a representative of Africa, namely Ghana, whose candidature had been put forward.

70. The attention of delegates should also be drawn to other anomalies in the provisions relating to the composition of the Board. For example, since the admission of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), as a sovereign state, to membership of the Agency, Belgium's membership of the Board as a country producing source materials was no longer justified.

71. That also applied to Portugal, which had no further moral right to membership of the Board, when it was brutally repressing the national liberation movement in Angola and its actions had already been examined by the United Nations.

72. Mr. de LEMOS (Portugal), intervening on a point of order, said that under Article III of the Statute, which defined the Agency's functions, the Agency was required to study purely technical questions and was not authorized to pass political or moral judgment on Member States, particularly one which had always fulfilled its international obligations. In raising that point of order, his delegation merely wished to protect the character and usefulness of the Agency, whose strictly technical objective was to serve peace by promoting development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. His delegation hoped it would not have to raise that point again, but it reserved the right to do so if circumstances so required.

73. The PRESIDENT appealed to all delegates to show moderation and, if possible, to refrain from any comments not relevant to the matter under discussion.

74. Mr. EMELYANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) went on to say that even after the adoption of the amendment recommended by the Board, which his delegation supported, the Western Powers would still have 16 or 17 votes in the Board, which would guarantee them an absolute majority. The non-committed countries of Asia and Africa would have a maximum of five representatives. The injustice and impropriety of such a situation was aggravated by the fact that, of the 25 Members of the Board, only three would be representatives of socialist countries, although that state of affairs was in flagrant contradiction to the contribution those countries made to international collaboration in the field of atomic energy.

75. The adoption of amendments making limited changes in the composition of the Board did not mean that the question of a radical change need not be placed on the agenda. The composition of the Board should reflect the existing situation in the world, in which there were three groups of States approximately equal in population and economic potential. That fact could not be overlooked if an improvement in the operation of international organizations was really desired. That consideration was fully applicable to the Agency.

76. To grant equal representation on the Board to the three groups of countries - Western, socialist and non-committed - would be wise and equitable and would provide specific guarantees against diversion of the activities of

the Board, and of the Agency as a whole, to the advantage of any one group of States. It was obvious that the legitimate claims of the "Africa and the Middle East" area would thus be satisfied and the present situation, which was inadmissible, radically improved.

77. He recalled that the representatives of the non-committed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America at the recent Conference in Belgrade had declared their conviction that it was essential to change the structure of the United Nations organs so as to secure the unity of the United Nations and to enable it to operate effectively. That was also fully true of the Agency.

78. The Soviet delegation supported the draft resolution increasing the number of seats on the Board to 25, though it realized that the resolution did not provide an appropriate solution of the problem of equitable representation on the Board. Though it supported the resolution, his delegation considered that the amendment proposed by Czechoslovakia, deleting paragraph (c) of the preamble, should be adopted. The provisions in that paragraph could, indeed, serve to maintain the unfair distribution of seats on the Board and to perpetuate its composition, which no longer corresponded to the existing international situation.

79. Mr. SMYTH (United States of America) said that his country's views on the draft resolution (GC(V)/151) had already been expressed during the general debate^{14/}.

80. The United States Government had welcomed the admission of new Members to the Agency in recent years - all of them developing countries - and it hoped that trend would continue.

81. The United States was therefore glad that the Agency had decided to have recourse to the procedure for amending the Statute, with a view to more equitable representation of all areas on the Board. The amendment recommended by the Board would double the representation of the "Africa and the Middle East" area and also maintain the present representation of Latin America, without altering the existing pattern of representation of other areas. The resolution and draft amendment under discussion provided an effective means of remedying the injustice of the existing situation as quickly as possible.

^{14/} GC(V)/OR.50, paragraph 7(22).

82. He therefore supported the draft resolution recommended by the Board and was opposed to the deletion of any part of it, for he thought that would only delay its entry into force.

83. The United States associated itself with the request to all Members of the Agency to accept the proposed amendment as soon as possible in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures. His Government, for its part, fully intended to press for early ratification of the proposed change so that the inequity of the existing situation could be quickly corrected.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.