



Ninth Session
FIRST COMMITTEE

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 16 November 1954, at 3 p.m.

Chairman:

Mr. URRUTIA

(Colombia)

International co-operation in developing the peaceful uses
of atomic energy: report of the United States of America
[Agenda item 67] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Montano de Vargas (Paraguay), Mr. Palamarchuk (Ukrainian SSR),
Mr. Franco Franco (Dominican Republic), Mr. E. de la Guardia (Panama),
Mr. Kiselyov (Byelorussian SSR).

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record,
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It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN DEVELOPING THE PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY;
REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA [Agenda item 67] (continued)

Mr. MONTERO de VARGAS (Paraguay) (interpretation from Spanish):

The delegation of Paraguay warmly supported the inclusion in the agenda of this ninth session of the General Assembly of the item entitled "International Co-operation in Developing the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy" because we were convinced that discussion of this subject would be of great benefit to people all over the world. We felt that it would allay the fear of the danger of atomic warfare. For that reason we are participating in the debate of the Committee.

Our position is based on our faith in the Charter of the United Nations, and we believe that everyone should participate in our discussions in order to explain their attitude towards the draft resolution before us.

We are fortunate in making our intervention at a happy moment in the deliberations of the Committee. A country of great moral and material wealth, the United States of America, together with Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, South Africa and the United Kingdom, has submitted for consideration and study a draft resolution of extraordinary importance. According to this draft resolution, all countries in the world will benefit from the application of atomic energy to medical, agricultural and industrial activities, including the production of power.

On 8 December 1953 the entire civilized world had the privilege of hearing President Eisenhower's statement concerning the world's problems as a result of the development of atomic energy. He outlined a basic programme for the peaceful uses of atomic energy under the control of an international body. At that time the whole world experienced a feeling of relief, and now my delegation considers Mr. Lodge's statement of 15 November (A/C.1/PV.707) a most historic one since it expressed the generosity of the United States in offering to share the benefits of the progress which it has achieved in the field of atomic energy.

(Mr. Montero de Vargas,
Paraguay)

The draft resolution before us indicates the desire of its sponsors -- Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States -- to share with the world, directly or indirectly, the benefits arising from the discovery of atomic energy in the interests of the progress and welfare of mankind. We have listened carefully to the statements of the delegations which have sponsored the draft resolution, as well as to those of other representatives, all of whom have expressed the hope that a new stage has been reached in alleviating the pain and sorrow resulting from disease and in raising the standards of living all over the world. My delegation is convinced that this hope can be realized and that, by participating in such an achievement, we shall be proud of being a Member of the United Nations.

Paraguay possesses neither the technical personnel nor the mineral wealth necessary for the production of atomic energy and, therefore, we are not in a position to make an actual contribution to the project such as can be made by other countries, but we await with great interest the results of this proposed international co-operation in the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. We are happy to know that the doors will be open so that our men of science may receive training and be able, in due course, to impart their knowledge. Through international co-operation we shall also have the assurance of greater economic development such as will redound directly to the benefit of the Paraguayan people. We are, of course, aware that many other countries are under-developed from an industrial point of view, and I am sure that I voice their sentiments in expressing our thanks to the Government and people of the United States for their generous offer.

We have studied with the greatest possible attention this seven-Power draft resolution before the Committee, and I feel sure that I am not wrong in saying that it offers all nations, great and small, the opportunity of better understanding and of abolishing the fear of a third world war. In saying this, we are convinced that that would be the greatest possible contribution which could be made to the world, for all men know that only desolation and annihilation can result from a conflict in which atomic energy

is used for destructive purposes. For these reasons my delegation will vote in favour of the joint draft resolution which, we hope, will be adopted by this Committee and, in due course, by the General Assembly.

Before concluding my brief statement, I should like to refer to the announcement made yesterday by Mr. Lodge, representative of the United States of America, that his country was donating, as a contribution to the proposed agency for the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, 220 kilogrammes of fissionable material, which amount has been calculated as sufficient for the manufacture of twenty atomic bombs. Today the representative of the United Kingdom said that his Government would donate twenty kilogrammes of the same material. These generous gestures on the part of the United States and the United Kingdom call for even deeper gratitude from those of us who wish to strengthen world peace by means of international co-operation.

Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): All of us are concerned with the solution of the atomic problem upon which the gaze of mankind is focused. Having observed how the vast force of nuclear energy has been directed into the building of ever more destructive types of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the peoples of all countries are clamouring with increasing insistence for the elaboration by the Governments concerned in the United Nations of a solution of the atomic problem which would enable mankind to be relieved from the threat of a destructive atomic war.

It is with a profound feeling of satisfaction that the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes to state that the Ukrainian people extends unanimous support to the continuous efforts of the Soviet Government designed to bring about a strengthening of international peace, especially in present conditions, the removal of the threat of an atomic war and the use of atomic energy for peaceful construction and general progress only.

The question of international co-operation in the peaceful use of atomic energy, which is now under consideration in the First Committee, has brought about a long exchange of views. Not only the delegations of countries which have the facilities for producing nuclear energy and which, in that connexion, have registered outstanding successes, but also the delegations of other countries, whose scientists have not yet harnessed the secrets that would enable them to produce atomic energy, have expressed their approval of the desire to bring about international co-operation in using atomic energy peacefully. We have also heard with satisfaction of the successes of scientists in various countries who have worked in the practical application of atomic energy to technology, medicine and biology.

I should like to say that prominent Ukrainian scientists -- whose activity is concentrated in the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and in appropriate institutes and universities, in close co-operation with the scientists of other fraternal republics of the Soviet Union -- have already made a substantial contribution in elaborating various ways and means for using atomic energy peacefully, and this cannot fail to have some impact on the further improvement on the well-being of our people.

(Mr. Palamarchuk, Ukrainian SSR)

There is no doubt in our opinion that the prospects for the extensive use of atomic energy to improve the well-being of mankind are favourable indeed. This would make it possible to remove the feeling of dread which results from the existing danger of atomic war inasmuch as the vast power of nuclear energy is still being used for the manufacture and stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

World public opinion is watching carefully the examination in the United Nations of the question of the peaceful use of atomic energy, and it expects this Organization to produce a positive solution which will ensure that this magnificent scientific discovery shall be used for peaceful purposes only.

The head of the Soviet Union delegation, Mr. Vyshinsky, and some other representatives offered critical observations on some aspects of the question under consideration, and their observations were full of profound meaning and significance. In our view they should be carefully studied, as we hope they will be, and taken into account in order that the necessary agreement may be achieved. That would certainly contribute to the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes in the interests of the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

I would crave the indulgence of the Committee in advance lest I fail in my effort to avoid repetition, but the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR feels very strongly that in the solution of the atomic problem there is an inescapable and necessary interconnexion between the peaceful use of nuclear energy and the prohibition of its use for warlike purposes.

When the first session of the General Assembly established in 1946 a Commission to deal with problems that had arisen as the result of the discovery of atomic energy, the report of the First Committee then submitted to the General Assembly made the point that the representative of the United States had expressed the view that that Commission must examine comprehensively all problems that had arisen in connexion with the discovery of atomic energy and of any other forces which might be used for mass destruction. The task of the Commission, the representative of the United States went on to say at that time, should consist of studying and recommending measures that would make it

(Mr. Palamarchuk, Ukrainian SSR)

possible to embark upon and foster the utilization of this power for peaceful and humanitarian purposes in conditions that would secure mankind against the danger of its being used for destructive purposes. Subsequently, the report says that in the course of the discussion the importance of the notion that the peoples of the world should receive a solemn and concrete assurance that atomic energy will be used only for peaceful development of world economy and for increasing the well-being of mankind was stressed.

Paragraph 5 of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 24 January 1946, after the discussion to which I have just referred, provided that the Atomic Energy Commission should make specific proposals:

- "(a) for extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends;
- (b) for control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes;
- (c) for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction;"

We are unable to agree with comments that have been made here with regard to this resolution -- comments to the effect that the principles set forth therein cannot serve the cause of the peaceful use of atomic energy. The principles set forth in that resolution have retained their full significance down to the present time.

At no time during the subsequent examination of the atomic problem in this Organization was the question of the peaceful use of atomic energy separated from that of the manufacture and use of atomic weapons. Finally, in the recently adopted resolution which was co-sponsored by Canada, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union and the United States, it is stated in so many words that the comprehensive, agreed provisions that are to be entered in the draft international convention must call for the total prohibition of the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons and all other types of weapons of mass destruction, together with the conversion of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons for peaceful ends.

(Mr. Palamarchuk, Ukrainian SSR)

These references to important decisions of the General Assembly of the United Nations make it clear that the peaceful use of atomic energy has consistently been examined by this Organization in direct connexion with the necessity for an unconditional prohibition of the use and manufacture of the nuclear weapon -- a weapon which, by its very nature, is one of aggression, of the mass extermination of human beings and of barbarous destruction.

(Mr. Palamarchuk,
Ukrainian SSR)

Ever since 1946, the Soviet Union has consistently and untiringly sought to bring about a United Nations prohibition of the atomic weapon, with the institution of appropriate control over that prohibition, since a decision of that nature would stimulate the extensive use of atomic energy in industry, agriculture, medicine and biology. Were such a decision to be adopted, nothing could any longer curb the effective and unlimited application of the vast force of the atom for the benefit of human progress.

This is an important proposition -- one of principle -- which determines the outlines of all atomic policy, if I may use that expression.

It would be incorrect to represent this position, on the other hand, as involving an underestimation of the significance of the efforts designed to to bring about peaceful uses of atomic energy.

On 9 November, Mr. Belaunde, the representative of Peru, setting forth the substance of the idea of the President of the United States, expressed that idea as follows:

"Let us take atomic energy from the soldiers and give it to the civilians, to the workers." (A/C.1/PV.710, page 47)

One could not differ with that point in 1953, inasmuch as the Soviet Union, ever since 1946, had pressed the point that atomic energy should become the heritage of mankind for the well-being of human beings, rather than being a source of dread and fear for them. This means that not an insignificant part, but the whole mass of atomic materials, should be taken away from the military. In those circumstances, the soldiers themselves -- that is, people who previously had been workers or peasants -- would also sigh with relief, as would their mothers and fathers, to see that done.

Regardless of the attitude of various delegations to the present proposals of the United States -- which, as has already been pointed out, differ substantially from the President's proposals of 8 December 1953 -- these proposals have implicit in them the danger that, far from removing the possibility of using the bulk of atomic energy for the production of atomic and hydrogen bombs, they would sanction such production. They would not reduce the armaments race but would intensify it. To this state of affairs, we cannot agree.

(Mr. Palamarchuk,
Ukrainian SSR)

In so far as States will channel quantities of fissionable materials to increasing their stockpiles of destructive atomic and hydrogen weapons, will it not turn out eventually that the world will find itself, then as before, face to face with an armaments race and the threat of atomic warfare?

If one bears in mind that the policy of the cold war, the policy of proceeding from "positions of strength", is still placed at the very cornerstone of international relations, then one must conclude that in present conditions the necessity for bringing about the prohibition of the atomic weapon is even more urgent and insistent.

This being so, our paramount duty is to warn millions of human beings against the illusion which might arise in their minds as a result of the notion that, as soon as States had agreed to earmark a portion of atomic materials for industrial, agricultural, medical, biological and other such uses, then, ipso facto, the threat of atomic war would recede in some way. Unfortunately, this just does not happen to be so.

In December 1953, the President of the United States told this Organization from the rostrum of the General Assembly that the United States wants agreement between countries rather than war. In his speech of 8 November 1954, the representative of the United States consigned the creation of an international organ for atomic energy to the category of experiments in international co-operation, and he expressed himself in the sense that an experiment of that nature, as he hoped, would facilitate further progress in reaching agreement on disarmament.

Without seeking to introduce any element of bias into this discussion, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR nevertheless feels that the substantial appropriations enacted in the United States for the production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, together with the fact that over the next few years a tremendous increase in the production of fissionable materials for atomic and hydrogen bombs is planned in the United States and other Western countries, are factors which are by no means capable of fostering international co-operation. These factors, along with a number of other factors, render problematical the large-scale economic utilization of atomic energy. Far from bringing closer the supplying of electric power to industrially less developed countries, they would push that time further away.

(Mr. Palamarchuk,
Ukrainian SSR)

In this connexion, one may well refer to the opinion of one prominent American physicist, who declared that "since the main emphasis in the use of atomic energy is placed on the production of atomic weapons, the development of power for peaceful purposes will be made more difficult".

It goes without saying that international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy is a matter of vital importance. This sort of co-operation is demanded of us by all the common people throughout the world.

It is not difficult for anyone to recall the generally known facts which bespeak the sincere desire of the Soviet Union to bring about international co-operation, to bring about a prohibition of the atomic weapon, and to bring about peaceful uses of atomic energy. All of these points are consistent with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the growing demands of the peoples.

It was in pursuance of those ends that the Government of the USSR gave its agreement to Soviet-American negotiations concerning the peaceful uses of atomic energy -- and, as is well known, the possibilities for agreement under this head are far from exhausted.

At the present session of the General Assembly, on 30 September, proposals were submitted for the conclusion of an international convention for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of the atomic and hydrogen weapons. These proposals constitute the foundation for a radical solution of the atomic problem.

In his speech of 12 November, Mr. Vyshinsky, the head of the Soviet Union delegation, set forth certain major principles on which the proposed scheme of international co-operation is to be based. These principles are entirely endorsed and supported by the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR.

Supporting in principle the necessity for international co-operation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes, in conclusion, to offer a number of observations concerning the future activities of the proposed international atomic energy agency.

A major prerequisite for effective international co-operation in the atomic energy field -- as indeed, in all other fields -- is to ensure that the agreement will not place any country or group of countries in a privileged position. This circumstance must necessarily be taken into account in the future, when the constitutional foundations of the new international agency are worked out. This circumstance must also be borne in mind when that organ proceeds to the performance of its functions.

Nevertheless, we constantly hear talk in the United States about United States world leadership in the field of atomic energy. The Secretary of State used those words. Senator Wiley said that the United States must retain and increase its head start in the field of atomic energy. Such views should not be encouraged if the normal development of international co-operation in the field of atomic energy is to be ensured.

The international atomic energy agency which is to be created as the result of a hoped-for future agreement among States will be able to function effectively and successfully only if its powers and prerogatives are broad enough to enable it to perform the tasks assigned to it, without, at the same time, allowing it to use those powers and prerogatives to the detriment of the security of any States. It goes without saying that, since the international atomic energy agency is to be established under the aegis of the United Nations, that agency's competence and tasks, as well as its practical activities, must be in conformity with universally recognized principles of the United Nations Charter.

Statements made by the United States representative, Mr. Lodge, to this Committee on 8, 12 and 15 November led us to conclude that he was not ruling out the necessity of a link between the proposed agency, on the one hand, and the General Assembly and Security Council, on the other. Those statements, which were not particularly explicit, are not reflected in any way in the joint draft resolution presented by seven Powers. It is the opinion of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR that, when questions concerning peace and security arise, the international atomic energy agency must act through the Security Council and be answerable to the Council, as the United Nations Charter clearly stipulates. A provision to that effect must be incorporated in any decision to be adopted by the General Assembly.

I would conclude by saying that the secret of the atom has been discovered and revealed as the result of a tremendous amount of labour and research by scientists. Experiments have been carried out on the potential power of atomic energy -- and this has been done not only on academic campuses. In the Soviet Union, atomic energy has already become a source of electric light. No matter,

(Mr. Palamarchuk, Ukrainian SSR)

however, how great may be the benefits of atomic energy for mankind, the principal demand of the anxious peoples of the world is for genuine peace and security. The United Nations must strive to translate the great objectives of peace into reality. We are confident that the negotiations on the creation of an international agency for the peaceful uses of atomic energy will be crowned with success and that a foundation will thereby be laid for fruitful activity, for the comprehensive utilization of atomic energy in the interests of peace and the welfare of all mankind.

Mr. Urrutia took the Chair.

Mr. FRANCO FRANCO (Dominican Republic) (interpretation from Spanish):

I shall be brief.

We have already had occasion to state in this Committee that, although the Dominican Republic is among the small nations of the world, that fact does not mean that we allow ourselves to remain indifferent to the problems affecting the high destinies of men and peoples. Far from it: we regard it as our sacred duty to consider those problems -- a duty based on the principle of the solidarity and interdependence of all nations, which can be established and maintained only in an atmosphere of justice and security for all.

Thus, anything and everything that has a bearing on international peace and security and on the welfare of humanity concerns my country, its most fervent hopes and desires.

It is true that the industrial development of the Dominican Republic has taken place only within the last few years. It is also true that my country cannot point with pride, as yet, to scientists or experts among its citizens who have specialized in this new science of nuclear energy, and that we cannot say that we already possess great deposits of fissionable material. Nevertheless, my delegation, like those delegations which have already stated that they support the memorable suggestion of the President of the United States and the seven-Power draft resolution, has followed with the greatest interest and attention the debate that has taken place in this Committee, a debate which will doubtless be regarded as one of the most important held in the United Nations

since the signing of the Charter. By this debate the United Nations has once again demonstrated that the free peoples of the earth are animated today, as they have always been, by an unshakeable desire to undertake, and to persevere in, efforts to safeguard peace and to bring about the welfare and salvation of the world, despite all the obstacles in the path of humanity which have arisen as a result of the political and ideological dreams of expansion with which we are all familiar.

Until 8 December 1953, any reference to atomic energy immediately evoked the horrible vision of war followed by destruction, misery, suffering, death and extermination in the dreadful whirlpool of atomic power unleashed by the genius of man.

All of us here, like the free peoples everywhere in the world, remember with gratitude the memorable occasion when, during the General Assembly's eighth session, the distinguished President of one of the largest nations, one of the greatest champions of peace, liberty and happiness, presented his now famous suggestion on the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Certainly, as we had occasion to state some weeks before that memorable occasion, humanity, its heart full of anguish and fear, was approaching an abyss where only the slightest glimmer of a hope of resurrection could be seen, where the very ruins of a future war were beginning to appear. In those circumstances, the task fell to a former soldier, speaking for a great and noble people at whose head he stood, to express in the name of the human race, of civilization and of peace, the idea that there must be something better on this earth than the promise of a dreadful explosion. That something better -- which, in fact, is something much better -- was a message of hope and peace addressed to the world, a reaffirmation of the obvious necessity of frank understanding and good will in the relations among the peoples.

(Mr. Franco Franco,
Dominican Republic)

In his magnificent statement before this Committee on 5 November, the representative of the United States told us, as President Eisenhower had told us, that his country was not only ready to find means by which fissionable material could be used for peaceful purposes, but that it would be proud to start, with the other countries affected, on the preparation of plans so that the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes could be made possible for all. From all points of view, it is obvious that the salvation and the welfare of the world can only be built upon the basis of good will and understanding in an atmosphere of sane harmony and co-operation.

The world now owes a great debt of gratitude to the American people because, as Mr. Koch said with his usual clarity and precision, the cause of international co-operation in atomic matters is much more a cause of peace than any other field of activity. So far as my own delegation is concerned, and acting upon the instructions of my Government, we wish to express our appreciation for the gesture made and we shall vote in favour of the seven-Power draft resolution, contained in document A/C.1/L.105, both in so far as the setting up of an international atomic agency is concerned as well as for that part concerning the international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

We do not need to add anything to explain our attitude, since everything has already been said by the many representatives who have spoken, and especially by the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and France. Therefore, it will suffice for me to mention the immense practical uses that will be made of atomic energy and the welfare and happiness that that atomic energy will bring about. The under-developed countries of the world already hope for much from this atomic energy. I should also like to refer to the immense importance of this question to international co-operation and to the economic and political situation of the world.

The statement made by President Eisenhower was placed on so noble and important a basis that it surprised my delegation, as it surprised a number of other delegations, that so many months have elapsed before that idea was welcomed, understood and adhered to by the unanimity of the United Nations. It was only in September of 1954 that the first ray of hope shone, and we express the sincere hope that the light will become great. We cannot understand any desire to

postpone the carrying out of this plan, and we cannot under any circumstances consider that these peaceful uses of atomic energy can do anything but contribute to the welfare of peoples.

As has been stated in the course of this debate, the statement made by the President of the United States and the seven-Power draft resolution are not directly related to the important question of disarmament, but, indirectly, they are so linked. President Eisenhower's statement and the draft resolution are based on international co-operation and when the objective is primarily to facilitate an improvement in the life of peoples, everything is linked to it. My delegation does not consider it appropriate that the close links that must be set between the proposed agency and the United Nations should in any way lead one to fear or should make it possible for the veto to paralyse the work of that agency. It is obvious that the application of the veto to the international atomic agency would be the beginning of a paralysis and a danger of inefficient activity on the part of the agency, that same paralysis that has had such dire effects in the Security Council, that was set up at the San Francisco Conference in order that it might safeguard and ensure peace for all the countries of the world.

Contrary to what was stated in the course of the debate on the serious question of disarmament, up to a certain point the veto is a privilege, but it is no obligation. The waiving of that notorious instrument because of the abuses that have been made of it should not be hampered or denied.

The delegation of the Soviet Union referred to the restrictions which it considered were contained in the draft resolution with regard to the declarations that had been made. We are of the opinion that if these restrictions really do exist, they can be explained without any difficulty by the period of silence or indecision by the Soviet Union after the declaration made by President Eisenhower and after the commendable actions of the United States, which were the logical consequences of the statement of President Eisenhower.

In submitting to the delegations of the United States and the United Kingdom our warm congratulations for the very important statements which they made in this Committee on behalf of their respective Governments yesterday and today, the delegation of the Dominican Republic wishes to state again that we fervently trust

(Mr. Franco Franco,
Dominican Republic)

and hope that these plans will be carried out to full fruition. We trust that these plans will be successful and will contribute to the progress and welfare of humanity, and that the idea stated by President Eisenhower and which we are now discussing will be successfully carried out.

Mr. E. de la GUARDIA (Panama) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Panama wishes to add its voice to those that have been raised in appreciation for this new hope for humanity and to express the hope that the world will agree on the problem of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The delegation of Panama also wishes to applaud the very happy suggestion made by President Eisenhower in the offer he made to the General Assembly, and also to applaud the attitude of Australia, Belgium, Canada, the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and the Union of South Africa for having crystallized that suggestion in the joint draft resolution now before us. To us, ^{to} as/Sir Winston Churchill, the statement made by the President of the United States in the General Assembly on 8 December 1953 is one of the most important events that has been inscribed in the history of man. The United Nations, when receiving this suggestion and including it as an item in the agenda of the ninth session, placed itself at the height of its most noble of all purposes and once again made sure for itself the right that it had to world respect. When, at Los Alamos in 1945, an experiment showed that man had discovered the secret of the atom to the point of being able to cause a chain reaction with all its devastating effects, humanity began to live under a sword of Damocles. He was condemned to live without horizons, looking only on destruction, annihilation and death. The splitting of the atom raised shadows and fears for humanity and destroyed the possible peace that might have been understood and enjoyed. A dreadful war lowered over humanity, with the fear of the destruction and annihilation of mankind and of civilization. Man, who hoped for salvation, only saw ahead of him the possible extermination of his entire life.

(Mr. E. de la Guardia,
Panama)

A new and miraculous era stood before man, but man, threatened now by his own inventiveness, when faced by such an invention as nuclear fission and fusion which made him the lord and master over matter, did not feel that sense of security that should be felt by one who controls nature. On the contrary, he seemed to be standing before an incredible and awesome threat that branded in his soul the letters of fear.

Someone had to come out and rescue civilization and use the new instruments of destruction for good purposes, use them for sane reasons and to safeguard humanity. No doubt that was why Messrs. Truman, Atlee and MacKenzie King said in 1945 what they did say when they pointed out that in the high official circles of at least three countries the idea has taken root of subjecting atomic energy to international control and to devoting atomic energy to peaceful purposes.

That was also no doubt the reason why approximately two months later in London the United Nations set up the Atomic Energy Commission so as to try to regulate the use of this new force and channel it to constructive purposes. Nevertheless, there was at that time a negative spirit in the world that did not seem to be in agreement with these wise ideas, which wanted to close the door to evil rather than open the door to good, and while the need for disarmament became more and more urgent, the Atomic Energy Commission was stagnant as far as its work was concerned.

When the third report of the Atomic Energy Commission to the Security Council confessed that the work of the Atomic Energy Commission had resulted in an absolute stalemate, the hopes that had been placed on that Commission fell, and the giant of nuclear fission once again became an apocalyptic figure hanging over humanity.

That is how things stood on 8 December 1953 when President Eisenhower came to the General Assembly. While at the same time expressing the idea of trying to find one way of applying this miraculous inventiveness of man so that it would be used not for man's destruction but for man's life, he advocated measures which restored our faith. Important negotiations which are well known to us all followed these proposals, which became a very

(Mr. E. de la Guardia, Panama)

generous plan. Thanks to these negotiations and proposals we are now conducting meetings that will be historical because of the importance of the subject we are discussing. We are not unaware of the fact that by channeling the force of the atom to peaceful purposes and human redemption, and in the preparation of ways of stockpiling isotopes, instead of bombs, we are going to eliminate the dangers that lie in all corners of the world and in the atom itself.

The draft resolution before us at this moment -- and many have said this before me -- is not a disarmament project. The drawing of the teeth of humanity so that it does not tear itself to shreds has already been the object of measures which, because they were supported unanimously, can well be considered as most auspicious. But we must consider that one is the corollary of the other because I do not think that it is necessary for me to stress here that in encouraging a better life for all and suppressing from life the danger of war, things which are different but which are connected, as Mr. Moch stated in his magnificent speech of a few days ago, and because it also seems equally necessary to state here that to refuse to solve the first problem because the second has yet to be solved would be to renounce the conquest of peace by such efficient means as understanding and co-operation.

This is the way the seven Powers have understood this in the preparation of the draft resolution that is before us. Since it is positive it should be supported. There can be no doubt that that resolution can be improved further, but in such an important aspect of a problem of atomic energy, perhaps it might be better to take a short but determined step than to rush headlong into a brick wall that might destroy or at least tire us.

With the adoption of this proposal we will at least take a step forward along a road that perhaps is shrouded in secrecy, but which hides a number of very interesting and promising prospects. Why not take a step forward and say that those who are ready to take the forward step should do so, and keep in touch with the rest of us so that we can all gradually follow them and go into these greener pastures.

(Mr. E. de la Guardia, Panama)

To try to apply Ambassador Lodge's words that the gigantic destructive power of the atom is only exceeded by the capacity of the atom to act for the welfare of humanity is something that must awaken in us an echo of warmth and sympathy in the hearts of men of goodwill.

The delegation of Panama, which considers this draft resolution so often cited here as an instrument for the achievement of such a high objective, is very happy to state that for reasons of international solidarity and human feeling we will in due course vote in favour of that resolution which we trust will be adopted unanimously.

Mr. KISELYOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet Union Government has repeatedly stated its position of opposing the utilization of the great achievements of science in the field of atomic energy for the destruction of human beings and the devastation of cultural and industrial centres. For its part, the Soviet Union repeatedly submitted concrete proposals that were in line with the aspirations of the peoples that atomic energy should be used for peaceful purposes, for the interest of civilization and only for progress.

The Soviet Union Government has taken all measures to ensure that atomic energy in the USSR shall be used for the needs of industry and agriculture only. These are not mere words, they are deeds. Future historians will record that for the first time, on 27 June 1954, an industrial turbine was propelled not by the chemical energy of fuel, not by the mechanical energy of falling water, but by the harnessed energy of the atom nucleus harnessed by mankind. This was the first time that such an achievement took place, and it took place in the USSR.

Before our eyes, a new energy source was born, that of the atomic nucleus. This report, therefore, was welcomed with joy by all forward-looking mankind. The scientists and the physicists who discovered atomic energy and harnessed the nuclear processes have presented us, their contemporaries, with human mastery over one additional force of nature which is far greater than those which have been available thus far. This is a magnificent victory of human reason.

One kilogramme of uranium can yield 20 million kilowatt hours of electric power, as much as 2500 tons of the best quality coal. An insignificant expenditure of nuclear fuel can yield promising prospects of utilization in industry and agriculture, as well as in transportation by sea, railway and other means.

Nuclear chemistry is on the threshold of a broad development since the change in the nucleus leads to profound changes in all the properties of the atom. Nuclear physics will make it possible for medicine to destroy infectious diseases and malignant tumors and to create active radiotherapy. Such are the tremendous prospects for the application of nuclear physics for peaceful ends.

In the Soviet Union, the discovery of atomic energy is regarded as the beginning of a new era in the production of goods for peaceful ends. It opens tremendous prospects for the achievement of a high productivity of labour and of large-scale mechanization and automatization of production with the consequence of an abundance of goods for the people. We cannot fail to note that in certain circles of the United States voices have been heard against the use of atomic energy for peaceful ends. For example, in the American Petroleum Institute on 4 June 1954, it was stated:

"The possibility of using atomic energy in the aviation and automobile industries as well as in railway transportation presents a serious threat for corporations engaged in the extraction and sale of oil products."

This statement from the American Petroleum Institute makes it clear that the industrial uses of atomic energy are regarded as implying large-scale financial risks and economic disadvantages.

(Mr. Kiselyov, Byelorussian SSR)

We might also point to a book recently published in Philadelphia under the title Atomic Energy in which the authors try to argue that it is impossible to use atomic energy at all for peaceful purposes. The New York press reviews of that book expressed gratitude to its authors for

"having destroyed most of the widespread myths about the fission of the atom as the possible source of power for industrial purposes, and having done so by way of strict and systematic analysis".

The book reviewer went on so far as to regard as a contribution to science the absurd allegation of the authors that "the further consideration of the production of atomic energy for civilian purposes is nonsensical".

But we witnessed the fact that in 1954 the press of the western countries and the statements of political leaders in the United States, France and other countries had attached great attention to the question of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Unfortunately, however, these statements pass over in silence the necessity of prohibiting the atomic, hydrogen and other types of weapons of mass destruction. That is the kind of decision which would play a positive role in bringing about extensive and large-scale development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

In his speech here, the representative of the United States, Mr. Lodge, expounded in detail the point of view of the Government of the United States of America concerning the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The representatives of Great Britain, France, Canada, the Philippine Republic, Peru, the Netherlands and others expressed agreement with the main points of the American position. The Byelorussian delegation has studied these speeches carefully and it has also examined the notes, aide memoires and other documents on the question of the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, especially the correspondence between the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union. No unbiased reader of these documents can fail to realize that the Soviet Union consistently fights for the peaceful uses only of atomic energy. That position fully conforms to the interests of all peace-loving peoples. It is designed to relieve mankind from the looming horror of atomic warfare.

(Mr. Kiselyov, Byelorussian SSR)

The Soviet Union has always attached great significance to direct negotiations between the States with a view to reaching mutually accepted agreements on controversial questions in the interests of the strengthening of universal peace. The representatives of the United States of America, the Philippines and Peru asserted that the Soviet Union Government had declared that unless the Soviet Union proposals for the prohibition of the atomic, hydrogen and other types of weapons of mass destruction were adopted, the Soviet Union, as they put it, would refuse to continue the negotiations for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Now the head of the Soviet Union delegation, Mr. Vyshinsky, has already shown how utterly groundless such assertions are. Therefore I find it unnecessary to elaborate that point any further.

The representative of the Dominican Republic, who preceded me, said that the Soviet Union had maintained a prolonged silence and that it had failed to answer for a long time the American appeal for international co-operation for developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The head of the Soviet Union delegation, Mr. Vyshinsky, speaking yesterday, refuted these incorrect assertions. But one wonders why the representative of the Dominican Republic had to revert today to this point.

The notes of the Soviet Union Government make it clear that the Soviet Union position is reducible to this: that atomic materials should be used for peaceful purposes; not that an insignificant portion of them should be used for peaceful purposes but that the whole mass of atomic materials should be used for these purposes. This would already contribute to removing the threat of any future atomic war.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR supports the principles of international co-operation for the peaceful uses only of atomic energy as set forth in the statements of the head of the Soviet Union delegation, Mr. Andrei Vyshinsky. Our delegation has always advocated and still advocates the necessity of agreed decisions and agreed solutions on major international problems. The problem of the peaceful uses of atomic energy has a notable and prominent place among these problems. The settlement

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of this question, as the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR profoundly feels, is in line with the vital interests of all peace-loving peoples and of all mankind. My delegation is convinced that no obstacles should lie in the way of such a settlement.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I still have two speakers on my list, namely the delegations of India and the Soviet Union. However, neither of them is ready to speak today. We had decided earlier that we should no longer change the order of speakers, but in this case we are faced with an exceptional situation. There was a list of speakers for this afternoon, but many of them have decided not to speak. Therefore, the two delegations of India and the Soviet Union are not quite ready at this time.

In view of these exceptional circumstances, I would propose that we adjourn the meeting now and hear these two delegations tomorrow. But this will prove to us for the future that Mr. Kyrou's suggestion does not suffice. In future debates delegations will have to be ready to speak even if other delegations which precede them decide to waive their right to speak.

I want to clarify one point. Since we only have two speakers, as soon as the general debate is over we will proceed to the discussion of the proposals themselves. There are very few speakers on my list for the debate on the proposals themselves. Therefore, this debate will very probably finish tomorrow.

We shall now adjourn and the next meeting will take place tomorrow morning at 10.30.

The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.

