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President: Mr. Eelco N. VAN KLEFFENS
(Netherlands).

AGENDA ITEM 67

International co-operation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy

REPORTS OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/2805) AND THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/2820)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The General Assembly has before it the report of the First Committee [A/2805], two amendments to the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union [A/L.179], and a report of the Fifth Committee [A/2820] on the financial implications of the draft resolution in the First Committee's report.

2. I take it that the report of the Fifth Committee, which is submitted for information, does not call for any decision and that the General Assembly can merely take note of it.

3. I call upon the Rapporteur of the First Committee to be good enough to present his report.

Mr. Thorsing (Sweden), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of the Committee and then spoke as follows:

4. Mr. THORSING (Sweden), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour, for the second time during this session, to place before the representatives on behalf of the First Committee a draft resolution which has been adopted unanimously and, moreover, has been characterized as of momentous importance. As will be seen from the report [A/2805], now before the Assembly, the Committee recommends several practical steps to bring to fruition the great and generous initiative taken a year ago by President Eisenhower for international co-operation in the field of atomic energy. The plan sketched out envisages

both a permanent administrative basis for the proper and effective realization of this co-operation and the convocation, as soon as possible and not later than August 1955, of a technical conference to promote the peaceful use of atomic energy, and to study in what other related fields useful international co-operation could be established.

5. The original draft presented by seven nations controlling great resources of nuclear energy, of which a few are far advanced in its use, was revised on a number of points so as to incorporate some suggestions made by delegations which had not taken part in the preliminary deliberations. These revisions aimed notably at underlining the urgency of the problem and ensuring full consideration of the views of all interested Members in the setting up of an agency. I shall not here repeat what other revisions were inserted, as they are all enumerated in the report which has been circulated. Suffice it to say, that thereby and by the declarations and assurances given by the sponsors, such doubts as had been felt in some quarters were on the whole set at rest, so that the revised joint draft resolution was carried unanimously.

6. A timely and imaginative initiative has thus borne fruit in a plan which denotes a great step towards the opening up of new fields for international co-operation, which may well prove to be an event of historic importance in the struggle of mankind against "hunger, poverty and disease", to quote the words of the resolution. The sponsors have shown their desire to see included in this co-operation, not only the highly industrialized but also the small and the young countries, as well as those great countries which, even if not so far advanced in technical fields, are of venerable and ancient civilizations. As an earnest of this desire, two of the sponsors have declared their intention to place considerable stocks of fissionable material at the disposal of other members of the proposed international organization.

7. One is entitled to hope that this will mark the beginning of the eventual harnessing of the tremendous nuclear forces which are in the atom and in the universe exclusively for economic advancement and other peaceful aims. The draft resolution thus recommended for adoption by the Assembly may be interpreted as an inspiring sign of faith in mastery of mind over matter.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the First Committee.

8. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Before we come to the explanations of vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee, I would ask whether the representative of the Soviet Union or any other representative has any statement to make concerning the amendments submitted by the Soviet Union [A/L.179]. May I, in this connexion, remind members that these amendments were discussed

exhaustively in the First Committee? I think, therefore, that it is reasonable to ask speakers to limit their statements to a maximum of ten minutes, it being understood that such statements will also be regarded as explanations of votes on the amendments. I think that in this way we shall be acting in accordance with the rules of procedure and making it possible for delegations to put forward their arguments in favour of and against these two amendments.

9. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation's amendments were submitted to the First Committee, where they were fully discussed. I do not, therefore, intend to make any prefatory remarks in introducing them here.

10. My delegation merely asks the opportunity to explain its vote on the draft resolution proposed by the First Committee.

11. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We shall therefore now proceed with the explanations of vote on the draft resolution recommended to us by the First Committee in its report [A/2805].

12. Mrs. SEKANINOVA-CAKARTOVA (Czechoslovakia): The peaceful use of atomic energy is undoubtedly one of the most important questions considered at the ninth session of the General Assembly. The putting into operation of an atomic power station in the Soviet Union—the first industrial atomic power station in the world—has opened a new era in the history of mankind and has shown that atomic energy can be used for other purposes than those of war and destruction, and that this great discovery can serve peaceful purposes, the progress of civilization and the welfare of humanity.

13. Czechoslovakia is developing the peaceful use of atomic energy in a number of different fields in the interest of raising the material and cultural standards of its people, and has made important achievements both in research and in the practical use of atomic energy. The extensive possibilities of the production of power from atomic materials will undoubtedly have a special importance for the industrially underdeveloped countries, where the lack of power resources is one of the basic obstacles to economic development.

14. The draft resolution adopted unanimously in the First Committee is a significant step in the development of international co-operation in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy. Czechoslovakia has always supported international co-operation in this field and continues to do so today. That is why the Czechoslovak delegation welcomed a draft resolution expressing the desire to promote the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only, and we voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in the report of the First Committee in spite of the fact that, in our opinion, it has certain serious shortcomings.

15. In the first place, there is a question of the position and the relation of the future international agency for atomic energy to the United Nations. The discussions in the First Committee stressed the close connexion between the peaceful uses of atomic energy and the possibilities of the misuse of this energy for war, and this has also been an important factor in all the phases of the consideration of this issue in the United Nations in past years. It is a well-known fact that, in the processes of production of electric power from atomic materials, the amounts of fissionable atomic materials

used do not diminish but, on the contrary, increase, and the fissionable material produced would be adaptable, not only to peaceful uses, but also to the manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons. The question of the peaceful uses of atomic energy is thus inseparably related to the problem of peace and security. There can be no doubt that the future international agency will have tasks to fulfil which directly affect international security, and that is one reason why this agency should be placed in a proper relationship to the United Nations and, in particular, to the General Assembly, and, in the cases provided for by the Charter, to the Security Council.

16. Section A of the draft resolution contained in the First Committee's report, which deals with the establishment of an international atomic energy agency, does not make even a general provision for this relationship and suggests, in paragraph 2, that, "once the agency is established, it negotiate an appropriate form of agreement with the United Nations". The draft resolution thus basically places the agency in an analogous position to that of the specialized agencies, whose tasks lie principally in the economic and social fields, which do not affect questions of international security, and which, therefore, have no responsibility to the Security Council.

17. The discussion in the First Committee has shown that this is the interpretation given to this section of the draft resolution by a number of delegations and has demonstrated how important it is that the question of the relationship between the agency and the United Nations, without being elaborated in detail at this stage, should be put as clearly as possible. We therefore consider the wording of paragraph 2 of section A of the draft resolution to be inadequate, and we fully support the amendment [A/L.179] put forward by the delegation of the Soviet Union to the effect that the General Assembly would recommend "that the agency should be established as an agency responsible to the General Assembly and, in the cases provided for by the Charter of the United Nations, to the Security Council". This formulation would remove a serious shortcoming in the draft resolution which, in its present form, omits the aspect of ensuring international security in the peaceful utilization of atomic energy and the responsibility accruing to the Security Council in this connexion.

18. Another shortcoming, to our mind, is to be found in section B of the draft resolution, which deals with the international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. I refer to paragraph 3, which speaks of the States which are to be invited to participate in the conference. The present formulation of paragraph 3 excludes a number of States which could make an effective contribution to the work of the conference. In the course of the First Committee's discussion, it was emphasized repeatedly that the peaceful use of atomic energy was of tremendous significance for all nations, and a number of delegations stressed that peaceful co-operation in this field should not be restricted to one group of States only, but should rest on the broadest possible basis.

19. The Czechoslovak delegation is opposed to a concept that would exclude certain States from international co-operation in the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and therefore considers also as right and fully justified the second amendment

[A/L.179] put forward by the delegation of the Soviet Union, which recommends that not only all States Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies should be invited to the international conference, but also all other States which express their desire to attend. Thus the resolution of the General Assembly on this important matter can really contribute to the implementation of the principle, enunciated in its preamble, that all nations should co-operate in promoting the dissemination of knowledge of nuclear technology for peaceful ends.

20. The adoption of a resolution on the question of the peaceful uses of atomic energy by the General Assembly is undoubtedly a significant event. The unanimous vote of the First Committee gave additional emphasis to the importance of the draft resolution which it submitted. It is in the interest of the cause and the ends which it is to serve that this resolution should be as perfect as possible.

21. For these reasons, the Czechoslovak delegation wholeheartedly supports the amendments proposed by the Soviet Union delegation—amendments which would mean a considerable improvement in the draft resolution on this fundamental issue—and appeals to all delegations to adopt them.

22. General ROMULO (Philippines): In this Assembly, the atom is energizing the United Nations. Let there be nothing but praise for such transcendent events as the announcements by the United States that it will donate 220 pounds of fissionable material to fuel reactors around the world and by the United Kingdom that it will similarly allot 44 pounds.

23. In my statement of 10 November in the First Committee, I proposed that the United States and the Soviet Union should take a lead in offering, say, 220 pounds of fissionable materials each to help launch the United Nations on its own co-operative atomic reactor project. I recalled then that 220 pounds was the maximum size which the first scientific report of the old United Nations Atomic Energy Commission estimated as possibly needed for a single atomic bomb.

24. It was my hope that a 220-pound gift from each of the two greatest Powers might have the welcome burst of an atomic bombshell for peace, setting off comparable contributions in materials and money from all other nations and peoples of goodwill. It is still more than ever my hope, and I am sure that the world hails the generous and specific commitments of this mighty material from the United States and the United Kingdom, as well as the great quantities of uranium, thorium and monazite offered as a start by India, our good and great neighbour from Asia.

25. I suggested 220 pounds as a magic figure. Let it be that. While the field of atomic weapons remains bounded by secrecy, it is, of course, a common, unofficial estimate that the first atomic bomb hurled in warfare—the one on Hiroshima—comprised only about twenty pounds of uranium-235. Atomic bombs have since then apparently evolved into many sizes. But let me underline the fact that this 220 pounds thus means that the United States is ready to cast the equivalent of some ten Hiroshima-type bombs into the arena of peace through the atom. The United Kingdom is in effect prepared to provide two more such bomb equivalents for peace. This General Assembly, under your leadership, Mr. President, may go down in history

as the Assembly of the atomic peace bomb, and I congratulate you, Sir.

26. We have had explicit commitments for working international co-operation on the peaceful uses of the atom in this Assembly, and it is important that the world should know them. Let me summarize them in this plenary meeting of the General Assembly, so that the nations making the commitments may know that we who are the beneficiaries are conscious of their contribution to peace and are grateful to them.

27. The United States has offered to other nations, pending creation of the proposed international atomic agency, libraries and training opportunities, as well as the radio-isotopes it is already sharing, in addition to its gift of fissionable materials. The United Kingdom, the greatest exporter of radio-isotopes today, has offered training on isotopes and reactors, as well as information and aid for projects elsewhere, in addition to its earmarking of fissionable materials. Canada has promised to broaden its exchanges with foreign institutes, to welcome more trainees and experts, and to become a potential source of information and of raw and fissionable materials for the new agency.

28. France has already been training foreign students, and will increase exports of radio-isotopes and uranium. Denmark has already facilitated studies of foreign scientists, and Norway and the Netherlands with their joint reactors have trained foreign students and exported radio-isotopes. Israel can train specialists in heavy-water production. India has stimulated visits by foreign students, and has promised contributions of advanced materials to the agency beyond its initial raw material provision. These are heartening signs of international co-operation, and the world should hail them with gratitude and respect.

29. It will understandably take time to staff any new atomic agency, as well as to equip it with whatever facilities may be agreed upon, and all this co-operation will be going on even in the interval. At the same time, ahead of us looms the first United Nations scientific conference on the atom for peace, with the United States and others promising to declassify data to promote the peaceful uses of the atom.

30. The Soviet Union appears ready to take part in the scientific conference. And let me urge here that the Soviet Union do more than listen. Let the Soviet Union, likewise, help lift up our hearts and minds. Let the Soviet Union give, as so many other nations of atomic leadership are giving. Can we not hear of Soviet fissionable materials—220 pounds of them at least—made available for peaceful advance in atomic reactors abroad? Can we not find Soviet laboratories and institutions thrown open for training in atomic research and technology? Can we not bring Soviet radio-isotopes into the international movement for the betterment of mankind? In this Assembly the late Mr. Vyshinsky said to Mr. Lodge: "Courses of study and isotopes for healing the sick? That is splendid work. You should be congratulated for it, and we do so congratulate you". We would like to congratulate the Soviet Union—if we could.

31. Can we not receive Soviet libraries of atomic information to add to those from the United States and other countries? Can we not bring back into the international arena for constructive contributions such scientists as Dr. Peter Kapitza, whom Mr. Munro, the representative of New Zealand, recalled as so notable

a collaborator of Ernest Rutherford, but who found himself denied an exit permit to return from Russia to his Cavendish laboratory in Great Britain so many, many years ago?

32. I urge the Soviet Union to contribute to the peaceful uses of the atom for the benefit of nations everywhere, not just words, not just amendments, not just proposals, but actual materials, specific publications, the brainpower of its distinguished scientists, and it has many.

33. I have thought very carefully about such Soviet concerns as the worry that even production of atomic energy for peaceful purposes may be utilized for increasing production of materials for atomic weapons. The Soviet Union contends that earmarking some atomic materials for peaceful uses may not necessarily involve any reduction at all in the danger of atomic weapons. This is true—in quantity. But breeder reactors would breed their materials even if there were no diversions for international co-operation. There is another aspect to this problem, and that is quality.

34. The giving of atomic materials for international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy can mean the forming of a habit—working together for good. Working together can reduce tensions. Reducing tensions, as the Soviet Union reiterates, can avert future wars. Let us move to reduce tensions. A beginning was made in the First Committee with the unanimous approval of the draft resolution now before the Assembly. Let us all now co-operate on the atom.

35. Let me not be a voice crying out only to the Soviet Union. Let it be said to the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Canada and all their good collaborators that their proposals are excellent as first steps away from dead centre. Let us go on to urge again that we try to move further. Let us in this Assembly endorse the creation of a new atomic agency for peace, and let us move to tie it directly into the United Nations.

36. Let us equip this agency with one of these libraries. Let us give it all possible practicable functions in the interchange of information for peaceful uses, including receipt of reports, publication of data, clearing of needs and supplies of radio-isotopes, training and despatching of experts. Let us empower the scientific conference to make technological recommendations as its qualified members see fit.

37. Let us do more: Let us build at least a pilot United Nations reactor with these materials offered by the generosity of the leading Powers. So may the United Nations itself, the peoples' organization, join in this manufacture of radio-isotopes and the exploring of the road to a good atomic future.

38. The scholarly representative of Lebanon, Mr. Charles Malik, has spoken wisely of how the atomic promise may bring new life to the deserts, and the able representative of Israel, Mr. Eban, has expressed the hope of new power for irrigation by desalting brackish water and sea-water. [*First Committee, 718th meeting*]:¹

“If now man creates a force that will successfully beat back the desert, I can assure the Committee that in time most of our now seemingly insoluble problems will yield to the gentleness of reason, and

the present hardness of heart will melt away, and bonds of friendship and concord will form among all the peoples of the Near East and between them and those who, in their wisdom and benevolence, know the promise of this great force which God has put in their hands.”

39. I recall the efforts the United Nations has made, not always with the greatest of wisdom, to aid the struggling peoples of the ancient Holy Land. I wonder whether the atom may not be harnessed in a pilot United Nations reactor somewhere on an Israel-Arab border to enable Arabs and Jews to work together in a United Nations co-operative and to give the world one more mighty lesson from the lands the prophets trod. I urge the Powers negotiating for the future atomic agency to consider this thought and the others I have ventured for the sake of the United Nations and so for the sake of all peoples yearning for peace.

40. We must commend the high calibre of the debate in this field during this session of the Assembly. May I urge that this record be made as widely available as possible. For, in this debate, we have learned how the quest for the peaceful use of the atom has gained from brains in nations that are not yet equipped with massive atomic installations. Thus, the representative of the Union of South Africa, Mr. du Plessis, told how South African scientists had developed a method of transporting radio-isotopes in aircraft wingtips, without danger and without the heavy costs otherwise required by lead shielding. The more that men work together, the better it will be for the cause of peace, the closer we will be to world concord and harmony, and the more remote will be the danger of war.

41. Because this is unquestionably a debate of unique merit, let me also propose that the United Nations publish in convenient book form the verbatim records of the First Committee—eliminating, of course, that which is repetitious and irrelevant—and including the record of the proceedings in this plenary meeting on this item, and let it be distributed throughout the world. It seems to me, this publication can be financed at cost outside of the regular United Nations budget, by nations that want their peoples to learn how the United Nations is trying and can try to make the atom a carrier of peace. This is part of the evangelizing that the United Nations should do for itself. Let the people know—so that their knowledge can bring us strength.

42. Mr. SKRZESZEWSKI (Poland) (*translated from French*): The Polish delegation will be guided by the following considerations when it votes on the draft resolution concerning the peaceful uses of atomic energy contained in the First Committee's report [A/2805] and on the Soviet Union's amendments to that draft resolution [A/L.179].

43. When the question of the peaceful uses of atomic energy was under discussion in the First Committee, a seven-Power draft resolution was introduced. After long debate in the Committee and direct conversations between the United States representative—on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution—and the Soviet Union representative, that draft resolution was partly revised. A certain number of Soviet Union proposals were incorporated in the draft resolution, which had the effect of improving its content and, to some extent, of filling the gaps which had been pointed out by several delegations, including the Polish delegation, during the general debate in the First Committee.

¹ Quotation taken from the provisional verbatim record; the printed record exists only in summary form.

44. The Polish delegation fully supports the two Soviet Union amendments to the draft resolution. We believe that these two amendments, if adopted by the General Assembly, would be sure to improve still more the draft resolution contained in the First Committee's report, which we are now discussing.

45. The Polish delegation in particular supports the Soviet amendment to section A, operative paragraph 2, of that draft resolution. Under this amendment the atomic energy agency would be responsible to the General Assembly and, in the cases provided for by the Charter of the United Nations, to the Security Council.

46. We emphasized the magnitude of the problems to be dealt with by the agency, and in particular the dual nature of atomic energy. We gave numerous examples to show that the production of atomic energy for peaceful purposes can at the same time create further opportunities for the utilization of its destructive properties. That is why the atomic energy agency should be responsible to the General Assembly and, in the cases provided for in the Charter, to the Security Council. Everyone acknowledges the need to bear in mind the dual nature of atomic energy and the relationship between the problem of its peaceful use and the problem of international security. The logical consequence is that the agency concerned with the peaceful uses of atomic energy must be subordinated to the existing bodies responsible for maintaining international security. We do not see any reason to seek safeguards other than those provided by the Charter, under which matters relating to international peace and security are referred, in accordance with specific Articles, to the Security Council.

47. The Soviet Union amendment expresses this idea in the clearest and most realistic way and draws the logical conclusion. It is essential that there should be a connexion between the international atomic energy agency and the General Assembly and also the Security Council; and this connexion should be based on the relevant Articles of the Charter.

48. The Polish delegation will also vote for the Soviet Union amendment to section B, paragraph 3, of the draft resolution. According to this amendment, all States without exception should be able to participate in the international technical conference on atomic energy.

49. The way in which the draft resolution deals with the question of the participation of States in the international technical conference to be held in 1955 is not correct. There is no possible justification for the exclusion of certain States from that conference, an exclusion all the less understandable inasmuch as the authors of the draft resolution, and in particular the United States representative, have repeatedly disavowed any intention to exclude any nations whatsoever from the peaceful use of atomic energy. How can that claim be reconciled with the provisions of section B of the draft resolution, pursuant to which States not members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies will not be able to participate in the international atomic energy conference?

50. The General Assembly, by adopting the Soviet Union amendments, can remedy this mistake—itsself the consequence of the incorrect treatment accorded to certain States in the draft resolution—and will enable the conference to achieve better results. The adoption

of the two Soviet Union amendments will create the proper conditions, the right setting, for really fruitful work by the United Nations in the field of international co-operation for the peaceful utilization of atomic energy.

51. Mr. LEME (Brazil) (*translated from French*): In my statement during the general debate [486th meeting], I produced information showing that Brazil not only possesses raw materials, but has also made some progress in atomic energy research. That is why my country has been invited to take part, along with Canada, France, India, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in the advisory committee for the international conference. And, when the revised draft was under consideration in the First Committee [722nd meeting], I said: "We will give our full support to the United Nations and will contribute our material resources and the work of our men of science."²

52. Ever since the discovery of the radio-activity of uranium by Becquerel in 1896 and the discovery of radium by Pierre and Marie Curie in 1898, there has been more and more progress in the field of atomic energy. The first atomic pile was built at the University of Chicago in 1952; the first experiment with an atomic bomb took place on 16 July 1945; and 21 days later—on 6 August—the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The world was gripped by terror and realized the danger that threatened the whole of humanity. Yet more terrible atomic bombs were built, and lastly the hydrogen bomb.

53. But scientific research has also been directed towards the discovery of all the benefits that can result from the use of atomic energy to lighten the burden of hunger, poverty and disease. And now the draft recently adopted by the First Committee [A/2805] lays down the framework for "international co-operation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy".

54. Our efforts in Brazil in the field of atomic energy have never been directed towards any other end. The National Research Council, the National Department of Mineral Production and our universities are collaborating in this task.

55. The National Research Council works to obtain raw materials and, while developing an atomic programme, is busy at the same time with the training of specialized personnel. The National Department of Mineral Production gives it the necessary help in achieving its first objective. With regard to the training of technicians and the development of scientific research, the National Research Council has encouraged many students and instructors to study in Europe and in the United States.

56. The National Research Council's atomic programme is limited entirely to the peaceful, technological and industrial aspects of atomic energy. It includes plans for the construction of experimental reactors for research purposes and of others for power production.

57. In the coastal regions of Brazil, particularly in the States of Rio de Janeiro, Espirito Santo and Bahia; we have enormous deposits of monazite, of which those that are now being worked would alone satisfy our industrial needs for the next fifty years. Brazilian

² Translation of the provisional verbatim record; the printed record exists only in summary form.

monazite contains approximately 7 per cent of thorium oxide and 0.1 per cent of uranium oxide.

58. The intensive prospecting for radio-active minerals carried out in Brazil by the National Research Council and the National Department of Mineral Production has shown that monazite also occurs in the interior of Minas Geraes and in the north-east of the country. Other radio-active ores have been discovered in the north-east, as well as at Araxa and at Poços de Caldas, in the State of Minas Geraes. In Minas Geraes, in Espírito Santo and in the north-east there are ores containing 15 to 18 per cent uranium. Uranium and lithium have also been discovered at São João d'el Rei; the resources of lithium oxide may be estimated at 500,000 tons.

59. In its preliminary work which led to the discovery of uranium at Poços de Caldas, the National Research Council had the benefit of the collaboration of the United States Geological Survey. For this research it also obtained the co-operation of the Technological Research Institute of the University of São Paulo and of the Institute of Industrial Technology of the State of Minas Geraes. There are 460 square kilometres of high-quality workable deposits containing 0.5 per cent of uranium.

60. It is not possible as yet to produce data on the magnitude of existing deposits, though experts agree that it will be sufficient for the beginning of our atomic programme. But it should be noted that the geological structure of Brazil indicates that we have large quantities of uranium and thorium which have hitherto been prospected only over a very small area.

61. The metal zirconium, which is of considerable importance for the construction of nuclear reactors, occurs in various forms in the sands of the coastal regions and at Poços de Caldas. Besides zirconium, Brazil possesses large quantities of beryllium, a metal used as a moderator in atomic reactors.

62. We have also realized the importance of the processing of atomic ores. Our efforts to make possible the installation of industrial plants for the processing of uranium and thorium ores and of other ores capable of yielding atomic energy have been conducted under Act No. 1310 of 15 January 1951 (article 5, paragraph 3).

63. Brazil already possesses excellent industrial installations for the chemical processing of monazite in the State of São Paulo. There are smaller plants in the State of Espírito Santo. The processing of zirconium and uranium ores is in its initial stages at Poços de Caldas. Our researches have already enabled us to develop methods for the treatment of several types of ore and have given us the necessary data for planning the first factory for the extraction of uranium from these ores and the purification of uranium for use in nuclear reactors.

64. The deposits of uranium ore at São João d'el Rei are being worked with a view to the extraction of materials used by the Volta Redonda iron and steel industry. Other types of material are being studied in magnetic and electrostatic separation plants in order to obtain djalmaite, a valuable uranium-bearing mineral. We have also embarked on the industrial exploitation of beryllium ores, and the first factory for the production of beryllium oxide, at Rezende, in the State of Rio de Janeiro, has been almost completed.

65. Brazil is at present in a state of transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy. Between 1940 and 1952, the power requirements of Brazilian industry more than doubled. Despite all our efforts to keep pace with these developments, we have not yet all the power we need.

66. Our States are striving to build up greater hydroelectric resources, and the Federal Government helps them in that direction. Apart from private undertakings, such as the São Paulo Light and Power Company, I should like to mention the activities of the Federal Government, which has undertaken the construction of the great electric plant at São Francisco which will supply electric power to the north-east of the country; I should also like to mention the activities of the Government of São Paulo, which has installed a number of plants in the interior of that State. Our present and future needs lead us to look hopefully towards the production of electricity by means of atomic energy, of which Sir Pierson Dixon spoke here with such infectious enthusiasm.

67. To give you an idea of the scale of the Brazilian deposits of atomic ores, it will be sufficient for me to say that, merely on the basis of the known uranium and thorium deposits in our country, we can reckon that the nuclear energy they are capable of yielding is ten times the thermal energy represented by the entire coal reserves of the States of Paraná, Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul.

68. But the National Research Council, in adopting the necessary measures for the study and industrialization of atomic energy and of its applications, also aims at helping the development of scientific and technological research. Scholarships are granted for specialized studies such as nuclear physics, electronics, protection against radiation and radio-chemistry. Some of the most eminent scientists have visited us and can bear witness to the progress of our studies on atomic problems. They include Professor J. Robert Oppenheimer, Professor D. W. Kerst, Professor George von Hevesy and Sir Alexander Fleming, to name but a few. At this very moment the United States "Atoms for the Welfare of Mankind" exhibit is on display at the Fourth Centenary Exhibition of the city of São Paulo.

69. When I first spoke on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, I mentioned some of the activities of the Brazilian universities in the field of nuclear study and research. I was speaking from memory, and even now I do not have complete information on all these points.

70. As I have already mentioned, it is clear that the study of nuclear physics in Brazil had its birth in the courses given by Professor Gleb Wataghin, of the University of Turin, in the Faculty of Philosophy, Science and Literature of the University of São Paulo. It was in the physics department of that Faculty that the first research on cosmic rays was carried out under the direction of Professors Wataghin and Giuseppe Occhialini. These Professors founded a school which has turned out a number of brilliant young scientists who are working at the University of São Paulo, the University of Brazil and other universities.

71. The nuclear physics laboratory at the University of São Paulo has a 24 million electron-volt betatron. Professor Marcelo Damy de Souza Santos has been doing research work there for the last three years. Since 1951, the radiations of the betatron have been used

for studying a number of problems in animal and vegetable genetics, as well as in radio-biology. The University also has a 4 million electron-volt Van de Graaff accelerator, which was constructed in the physics department. The São Paulo laboratory is at present trying to obtain the necessary equipment for research on alpha-particles and on the physics of the neutron.

72. The radio-isotope laboratory of the Medical Faculty of the University of São Paulo was a donation of the Rockefeller Foundation. The first course in radio-isotope methodology in Latin America was given there, a course at which nine Latin American countries and twelve Brazilian institutions were represented. It was the first course of the kind given under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the United States Atomic Energy Commission considered that it was of the highest order. It was given by Professor Wormall of the University of London.

73. The radio-isotope laboratory is at the same time a centre of research, training, consultations and distribution of radio-active material. The Medical Faculty of the University of São Paulo was the first outside the United States of America to include the study of radio-biology in its courses.

74. I should also like to mention the course of nuclear physics given in Rio de Janeiro by Professor Cesar Lattes at the Faculty of Philosophy and the work of the Brazilian Physical Research Centre, for which the University of Chicago recently built a synchro-cyclotron.

75. These fragmentary data show the scope of our interests in the problem of atomic energy. Our researches and prospecting for fissionable materials have not been carried so far as they have in Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States. But research and prospecting are going on. Brazil cannot boast of a monopoly of these activities in Latin America. Yet an attempt is being made to set up the international atomic energy agency without the participation of any of the countries of our continent. It matters little. What we look to is the benefits that may accrue from co-operation among all countries to the end that atomic energy shall serve only the peaceful pursuits of mankind and ameliorate their living conditions.

76. In the Advisory Committee, we shall have an opportunity to play our part, with the experience we have gained, in establishing the main lines of the international conference on atomic energy. Our experts will be able to put our efforts and our labours at the disposal of the conference. My Government will give its full support to the agency which is to be set up, so that it may come to be as we see it in our imagination: the magic hand entrusted with the divine spark to light the road that leads into the future.

77. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Out of courtesy I preferred not to interrupt the last speaker, who far exceeded the time-limit of seven minutes allowed for an explanation of vote. I must make an urgent appeal, however, to representatives to be so good as to conform, in this matter as in all others, to a wise rule established by practice.

78. Mr. HANIFAN (Indonesia): My delegation did not make a statement during the debate in the First Committee, but not because we did not consider the subject to be of sufficient importance. Indeed, quite the contrary. But, as a young country with compara-

tively little experience in this field, we elected rather to listen and observe, thus adding to our knowledge from the information and advice which were offered in the Committee debate by the more highly industrialized countries. We do, however, consider it essential now to make these very brief remarks in explanation of our vote.

79. The discussions which have taken place during this session of the General Assembly, not only on the item with which we are presently engaged, but also on the related subject of disarmament, have aroused some faint hope on our part—and I think we are not alone in this—that the international atmosphere has recently grown somewhat less tense. Certainly, an undertaking of the magnitude envisioned by the sponsors of the draft resolution now being considered by this Assembly can only flourish in such an atmosphere although, conversely speaking, it could be said that it is the proposal itself which has perhaps somewhat helped to foster such a more congenial atmosphere. For our part, we have from the very outset shared the general enthusiasm and sense of anticipation engendered by President Eisenhower's statement before this Assembly on 8 December 1953 [*470th meeting*]. While I must add that in this case the initiative could only have come from one or several of the great Powers which, through the building of atomic piles and the development of atomic industry, can indeed be said to hold the fate of the entire world in their hands, we welcome the initiative which the United States has shown in concert with its other sponsors in helping to bring the plan for the peaceful development of atomic energy to its present stage.

80. However, on the other side, we agree fully with all those who have stressed that the eventual development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes should not have to await an agreed solution of the disarmament question. The under-developed countries—and certainly my country—are extremely anxious to know whether atomic energy for peaceful purposes can be made available in the near future for the general overall improvement of living conditions.

81. Indeed, I think I speak for all of the so-called under-developed countries—if I may be so bold—as well as for Indonesia when I say that we are hopeful that the fruition of this plan we have been discussing may prove to be the beginning of an era which will bring about the universal distribution of the benefits of modern civilization, and that the infinite potential of this awesome product of the world of science can be put to uses which will uplift, rather than destroy, mankind.

82. Consequently, the Indonesian delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in its report [*A/2805*] since it represents at least a beginning towards international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. It is our sincere hope that this draft resolution, as in the First Committee, may receive the unanimous approval of the General Assembly when voted upon as a whole. We certainly hope that in the not-too-distant future all countries without exception will take part in the work of the agency. However, at the present time we feel that it is of the utmost importance that the plenary Assembly adopt unanimously an agreed plan that can serve as a working basis for the effective international pursuit of the means for turning the atomic resources of the world to peaceful uses.

83. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States of America): Let me repeat the comments made in the Committee concerning the amendments proposed by the representative of the Soviet Union. These amendments were rejected in the Committee by votes of 43 to 5, and 36 to 6 respectively.

84. The United States is strongly opposed to the first amendment which would make the agency responsible to the General Assembly and the Security Council. The adoption of this amendment would prejudice the negotiations for establishing the agency and probably doom them to failure because of the strong aversion in many countries to tying the agency to the Security Council in this manner.

85. We have already provided in the draft resolution that, once the agency is established, it will work out an appropriate form of relationship with the United Nations. In our view, it is not feasible now to determine just what that relationship will be. But it is clear that the relationship suggested in the Soviet Union amendment would shackle this agency with the abuses of the veto which have made it impossible for the Security Council to discharge fully its responsibilities.

86. Let me make one point crystal clear: our proposition by-passes neither the Council nor the Charter. If a situation should arise in connexion with the peaceful uses of atomic energy which endangers international peace and security, it would of course be a matter of concern both to the Security Council and to the General Assembly, and it would be dealt with accordingly. Let me stress this again. Any country can always bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any situation which threatens international peace and security.

87. Let me also repeat that the United States believes that safeguards can be found against the diversion of atomic materials from peaceful to warlike purposes. The development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy would in no way complicate the problem already before us of reaching agreement on an effective programme of disarmament with proper safeguards. If questions should arise from the work of the international atomic energy agency which relate to the functioning of an international control organ on disarmament, they can easily be dealt with by collaboration between the two bodies.

88. The United States is equally opposed to the second Soviet Union amendment which seeks to invite to the international conference States which are not members of the United Nations or of one of the specialized agencies. This is a technical conference, and it is to be convened under the auspices of the United Nations. That is why only members of the United Nations system are being invited. This conference will surely not be the place to deal with political issues concerning régimes which have not been deemed fit for membership in the United Nations or in the specialized agencies, and it must not be transformed into such a cockpit. In the interests of rapid and unhampered progress, therefore, I urge the adoption of the draft resolution without amendment.

89. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): The very cogent reasons just put forward by the United States representative make it unnecessary for me to state the considerations which led Peru to vote against the Soviet Union amendments.

90. But there is one point to which Peru wishes to direct the Assembly's attention. The Soviet amendments are not only unnecessary—they are contrary to the resolutions approved by the Assembly at its previous sessions.

91. If the Security Council is to act as a higher authority in relation to the international atomic energy agency and have power to review the actions of that body, a new element is introduced to which even the Soviet Union has so far given no thought.

92. As early as 1946, when the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes came up for consideration, it was proposed by a Latin-American representative, the Mexican engineer, Mr. Sandoval Vallarta, that the veto must on no account be allowed in the agency concerned with the use of atomic energy. And the Mexican amendment was included in the first report of the Atomic Energy Commission, which was approved by the Assembly [*resolution 191 (III)*].

93. It should also be borne in mind that the USSR delegation stated here that it had agreed that the veto, or rather the unanimity rule, should not apply to voting in the atomic energy agency.

94. Thus this USSR amendment, if it is interpreted as placing the atomic energy agency in a subordinate relationship to the Security Council, would not only not be in conformity with the Charter, but would actually be contrary to resolutions and recommendations of the General Assembly.

95. If the Soviet amendment refers only to cases where the peace is really threatened, it would be pointless, as it is obvious that if an international crime is committed and atomic or nuclear energy is used for war-like rather than peaceful purposes, world peace would be endangered and in such circumstances not only the Security Council, but the Assembly also would have to intervene. But it is precisely in such cases that, in the view of our delegation and of many others, particularly those of the Latin-American countries, the Security Council should not use the veto, because if it did so, an international crime might go unpunished. Fortunately, such a situation could not arise, since, if the Security Council were paralysed by the veto, the Assembly, where the veto does not exist, could adopt measures by a two-thirds majority to punish a crime involving aggression and a threat to the peace.

96. Peru enthusiastically supported the United States initiative. We believe, to put it briefly, that it marks a decisive moment in the history of mankind. All countries need to increase their production. In vast areas of the world, the standard of living is still very low. How can production be increased? Hitherto, we have known of only two methods: that of the old empires, like the empire of the Pharaohs—forced labour and military discipline applied harshly to economic life; or that of free energy, private enterprise and the capital of the privileged and industrialized countries flowing into the countries that are still under-developed. But we know that that capital is scarce and that the population in all countries is increasing.

97. Providence has placed in the hands of the great Powers what may prove to be a source of cheap energy; by its means, production can be increased through co-operation—co-operation which will be understanding, sympathetic, and scrupulously respectful of the sovereignty of all peoples. It will be possible to raise the standard of living without need for these peoples

to submit to the dictatorial or pharaonic measures that are part of the system under which other peoples live. In reality, the difference between some countries and others, between the East and the West, is just this: the West will always use all its economic energies with due respect for the rights of the individual, using methods of co-operation, of friendship, of respect for sovereignty—methods compatible with the sovereign equality of States; while the other side, if these methods of ours are not accepted, will continue, whether the technique be old or new, to apply the system of oppression and military discipline. We believe that an economy can be built up by free enterprise, by friendly co-operation and, above all, by the marvellous development of technical knowledge. Accordingly, Peru gave its enthusiastic and whole-hearted support to President Eisenhower's plan, which has now been embodied in more concrete form in the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee, originally proposed by the United States and the other Powers.

98. In its desire to prove that its support is not confined merely to a vote in the Assembly, the Government of Peru has authorized me to make the following statement, which I make with due solemnity on this occasion: the presence of uranium on Peruvian territory having been conclusively established, Peru is now undertaking a uranium prospecting and production programme, with the object of producing fissionable materials, and hopes, under this programme, to place the necessary quantities at the disposal of the international agency. That is the announcement which I made in Committee and which I have pleasure in solemnly making today before the Assembly.

99. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I am sure that the General Assembly will note with satisfaction the very important statement made by the representative of Peru.

100. Mr. HOPPENOT (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation which joined with six others in the First Committee in submitting a draft resolution that was unanimously adopted, is particularly gratified by the circumstances under which the debate on international co-operation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy has taken place. We appreciate the solid contribution made by this debate to what Mr. Mendès-France described here a few days ago [*498th meeting*], as a long-range undertaking which was firing the imagination and raising the hopes of men everywhere.

101. The hopes which we are pinning on the organization and speedy development of international atomic co-operation have a dual aspect. On the one hand, we are convinced that it is only by going beyond narrow national boundaries and by working together in the common task that men will hasten the day when atomic discoveries will be translated into a substantial and continuing improvement in standards of life. We also believe that, by offering a fertile field for collaboration between East and West, atomic co-operation may draw East and West closer together and thus facilitate the achievement of the general disarmament which is our common hope.

102. Our debate has broken new ground. In this matter, the United Nations has no history of acrimonious disputes to poison its discussions. Positions are still flexible and minds are still open. We hope that they will remain so, and that the unanimous vote that

we are about to cast will be the prelude to effective co-operation for which there should be many opportunities during the coming year both in diplomatic negotiations and in the United Nations scientific conference.

103. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): As there are no more speakers on the list, we shall now proceed to the vote.

104. In its report [*A/2805*], the First Committee recommends the adoption of a draft resolution comprising two sections, A and B.

105. The USSR has proposed amendments [*A/L.179*] to both sections. Under rule 92 of the rules of procedure, those amendments will have to be put to the vote first. I think, however—and I hope that the Members of the General Assembly will agree with me and will adopt the procedure—that it would be advisable to vote on the recommendations of the First Committee paragraph by paragraph. That method would enable us to vote on the USSR amendments at the same time as the paragraphs of the draft resolution to which they refer, that is section A, paragraph 2, and section B, paragraph 3.

106. If that procedure is accepted, I shall ask the General Assembly to vote first of all on the four paragraphs of the preamble of the First Committee's draft resolution.

107. As the preamble was approved unanimously by the First Committee, may I take it that the preamble is adopted unanimously by the General Assembly?

It was so decided.

108. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We will now take up section A of the draft resolution. The preamble and paragraph 1 of the operative part of section A were approved unanimously by the First Committee. May I take it that they are also adopted by the General Assembly?

It was so decided.

109. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We shall now pass to paragraph 2 of the operative part of section A. The Soviet Union delegation has proposed the first of its amendments [*A/L.179*] to this paragraph. I shall now put that amendment to the vote.

The amendment was rejected by 43 votes to 5, with 11 abstentions.

110. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I shall now ask the General Assembly to vote on paragraph 2 of the operative part of section A as it was submitted by the First Committee.

The paragraph was adopted by 54 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

111. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Paragraphs 3 and 4 of section A were approved unanimously by the First Committee. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly, too, has adopted them unanimously.

It was so decided.

112. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Paragraphs 1 and 2 of section B were approved unanimously by the First Committee. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts them unanimously.

It was so decided.

113. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The second Soviet Union amendment [*A/L.179*]

applies to paragraph 3 of section B of the draft resolution. I shall put that amendment to the vote.

The amendment was rejected by 36 votes to 6, with 18 abstentions.

114. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I shall now put to the vote paragraph 3 of section B in the draft resolution.

The paragraph was adopted by 54 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

115. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Paragraphs 4 to 8 of section B were approved unanimously by the First Committee. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly also adopts them unanimously.

It was so decided.

116. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution, as a whole, as it appears in the report of the First Committee [A/2805].

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted unanimously.

117. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation feels it necessary to explain its vote on the First Committee's draft resolution. My delegation's favourable vote signifies its approval of the principle of international co-operation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy, a principle which it has always pressed and will continue to press. It must not, however, be taken to imply approval of those provisions which would limit and hamper the development of international co-operation in this field.

118. The Soviet delegation considers it important that in its terms of reference and its practical activities the international atomic energy agency should conform in all respects to the generally accepted principles of the United Nations Charter.

119. International co-operation to ensure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes should, as my delegation pointed out in the First Committee, be fundamentally conceived in such a way as to bar any possibility of its use against the legitimate interests of States—a principle which is fully consistent with the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter.

120. In its memorandum of 22 September 1954 [A/2738], the Soviet Government set forth a number of important principles relating to international co-operation in this field. One was that the agreement establishing the international agency should not place any country in a privileged position; another, that the agency will be able to discharge its tasks successfully only if it is not employed in a manner prejudicial to the security of any State.

121. In carrying out its tasks, the international agency will be faced with a number of serious difficulties. For example, the Soviet Government has drawn attention to the danger that in the process of production of atomic energy fissionable materials may be accumulated which are capable of use for military purposes; a point which, of course—as was recognized by the United States Government in its memorandum of 9 July 1954 [A/2738]—is directly related to the question of the maintenance of international security. For that reason, it is essential that in the establishment of the international agency, guarantees should be provided against the leakage of fissionable materials from reactors producing energy for peaceful purposes.

122. Thus it is absolutely clear that there must necessarily be a connexion between, on the one hand, the General Assembly—or, in the cases specified in the Charter, the Security Council—and, on the other hand, the international agency. Needless to say, this relationship must not hamper the international agency's work. The link between the agency and the General Assembly and the Security Council, far from impeding the effective operation of the agency, will, on the contrary, inevitably help to increase the effectiveness of its work by ensuring that it receives the assistance and co-operation of the United Nations in the successful discharge of its tasks.

123. During the discussion in the First Committee, a number of delegations expressed the view that the international agency should be set up not as a United Nations body but as a specialized agency. In view of the nature of the tasks the international agency will be called on to perform, the Soviet delegation cannot accept that position as correct.

124. For this reason, my delegation cannot pass over in silence the plan, embodied in the resolution in concealed form, to set up the international agency through an agreement with the United Nations similar to those between the Organization and the specialized agencies. Accordingly, we have tried to remove that defect from the First Committee's draft resolution by our amendment, under which the General Assembly would recommend that the agency should be established as an agency responsible to the General Assembly and, in the cases provided for by the Charter of the United Nations, to the Security Council.

125. Mention should also be made of another serious defect in the resolution, namely, the limitation set on the number of participants in the international agency and the international conference, a point to which a number of delegations have already drawn attention. In their statements in the First Committee, the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and France made it clear that the international agency would be set up by eight countries, and that only then would it be opened for the participation of other States. It was pointed out in that connexion that, while a number of States Members of the United Nations which had not taken part in the negotiations and consultations concerning the setting up of an international agency might consider themselves legitimately entitled to participation in the agency from the very outset, not one could claim to be in the first rank.

126. On that point, references were made to the position of the countries in question in the field of atomic energy research, and to their resources of fissionable materials. That shows clearly enough that the intention was to limit the number of participants in the international agency. Since operative paragraph 3 of section B of the resolution makes it quite clear that the number of participants in the international conference is also to be limited, I need not enlarge on this point.

127. Under the second Soviet Union amendment, the Assembly would invite to participate in the international conference not only States Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies, but also all other States which express their desire to do so.

128. It is evident, therefore, that the purpose of the Soviet Union amendments was to correct the defects

in the draft resolution and thus to prevent the possibility of difficulties arising at a later stage of our work on the vitally important question of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. In proposing these amendments, our intention was to advance the cause of the peaceful use of atomic energy and to bring about the conditions necessary to ensure that the international agency will be able to discharge its responsibilities successfully. Unfortunately, our amendments were not accepted. I must add that in the view of the Soviet delegation a number of matters connected with the question of international co-operation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy will require additional consideration during the future negotiations between the States concerned.

129. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): There are no more speakers on this subject. In the circumstances, I believe that I am conforming to the Assembly's wishes by briefly emphasizing the great significance of the unanimous vote that has just been taken.

130. The entire world will rejoice at the thought that now, after a first step forward in the matter of disarmament, the ninth session of the General Assembly has paved the way for practical achievements on an international basis in a field of such promise as the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

131. Like the disarmament question, the question of the peaceful use of atomic energy is not, as representatives know, the concern merely of a few specialists or of governmental circles, but claims the interest of the citizens of all countries who hold the general welfare at heart.

132. This is not the place to introduce the abundant testimony of that truth, but I should like to bring you just one example which I find typical. I have here a letter from an Indian national, a man whose style, and even the paper on which he writes, give the impression that he is what I would call an average citizen. He writes as follows:

"I write to congratulate you and Member States for setting up an international atomic energy agency for peaceful purposes. This is a historic event and history is in the process of making.

"President Eisenhower's atoms-for-peace plan has been approached in a realistic way. The world is moving from destruction to construction, from death to life.

"Apart from alleviating human sufferings and raising living standards the atomic energy agency should act as a proselytizing agency. It should be an international forum for exchanging ideas and thoughts and for interweaving the ideologies and patterns of life and thought into one composite and homogeneous unit. I am certain that the creation of such an agency would go a long way toward paving the way for world peace.

"I hope this finds representatives of Member States, the Secretary-General, yourself and others in the best of health."

133. This is the reaction of an average man, the reaction, I am firmly convinced, of hundreds of thousands of peace-loving citizens in all countries. It is an indication—provisional, no doubt, but eloquent—of the significance of what the Assembly has just accomplished.

AGENDA ITEM 11

Report of the Security Council

134. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): In adopting the agenda for the ninth session, the General Assembly decided that the report of the Security Council [A/2712] would be examined directly in plenary meeting, without being considered by a Committee.

135. The General Assembly has before it a draft resolution [A/L.180] proposed by Brazil and Turkey which reads:

"The General Assembly

Takes note of the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly covering the period from 16 July 1953 to 15 July 1954."

136. If there are no objections, I shall consider the draft resolution adopted.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 18

Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

REPORT OF THE AD HOC POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/2826 AND CORR.1)

Mr. Derinsu (Turkey), Rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Political Committee, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

137. Mr. DERINSU (Turkey), Rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Political Committee: At the 38th meeting of the Ad Hoc Political Committee, Mr. Hamdani, the representative of Pakistan, asked the Rapporteur to include in his report to the General Assembly the following passage from the statement of Mr. Labouisse, Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, at the 37th meeting of the Committee:⁴

"Operative paragraph 4, concerning rehabilitation, actually reproduced the first part of paragraph (e) of the recommendations in the special report of the Director and the Advisory Commission (A/2717/Add.1), since it decided to maintain the rehabilitation fund of \$200 million, subject to reductions for expenditures already made. However, neither paragraph 4 nor any other paragraph referred to the second part of paragraph (e) which asked that the Director should be authorized to employ a portion of the rehabilitation fund for participation in general economic development programmes of the Governments of the area. It would seem, from the statements made by a number of representatives and, in particular, from the observations on the subject made by two of the sponsors of the draft resolution, namely the representatives of the United Kingdom (31st meeting) and France (33rd meeting), that the Agency already had, under its existing mandate, the necessary authority to participate in the financing of such programmes. If there was no objection, he [Mr. Labouisse] would act in accordance with that interpretation, it being understood that he would not commit any substantial funds without consulting the Advisory Commission."

⁴ Quotation taken from the summary record of the 37th meeting of the Ad Hoc Political Committee.

Mr. Sobolev (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the Committee's report.

138. The PRESIDENT: I shall call on representatives for explanations of vote.

139. Mr. ORDONNEAU (France) (*translated from French*): At the close of the debate in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, I had the honour, on behalf of the four delegations sponsoring the draft resolution now before the General Assembly, to make a very brief statement in explanation of certain points.

140. Unfortunately, the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee's records are summaries and are sometimes too condensed. Accordingly, the statement to which I refer was reproduced in far too elliptical a form. We therefore felt it essential to repeat this statement to the General Assembly so that it will be accurately reproduced in our records.

141. Certain misgivings were expressed during the general debate in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee about the scope of the draft resolution now before the General Assembly. My delegation and the three delegations which joined us in sponsoring the draft resolution do not share these misgivings. The draft resolution on which we are about to vote is, in our view, basically technical in scope. It is a question of prolonging the life of one of our organs for an indefinite period on the basis of its existing terms of reference, of defining a budgetary procedure, of appropriating funds and giving our views on certain types of relief and works projects.

142. The four-Power draft resolution is one in a long series of resolutions. It introduces no new elements in these resolutions and is not designed in any way to alter the established legal position. UNRWA's terms of reference remain as they were defined in General Assembly resolution 393 (V) of 2 December 1950. In the second place, the draft resolution now before the General Assembly refers expressly to a very important paragraph on the subject: paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948. We have referred twice to this paragraph in our draft resolution and naturally it was never our intention to depart from the meaning of its provisions.

143. Mr. Al-JAMALI (Iraq): My delegation will abstain on this draft resolution, not because it feels that relief is not necessary for the Arab refugees of Palestine nor because it believes that the United Nations should not render that relief. We abstain for two very fundamental reasons. The first is that this draft resolution, in spite of some good features, does not face up squarely to the basic problem of the refugees of Palestine. The Arab refugees of Palestine are entitled to their own homes in Palestine; they do not wish to live anywhere else but in Palestine. They are attached to their country like the citizens of any other country. In addition, they have religious and spiritual attachments to Palestine.

144. Israel's preventing the Arab refugees from returning to their homes is a violation of all human rights and legal and moral laws, and a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is a defiance of past United Nations resolutions, especially that of 1948. It is most immoral and inhuman to induce and urge Zionist immigrants from abroad to come into Palestine,

uprooting them from their homes and bringing them to occupy Arab homes, farms, shops and property. Raising money in the Western countries for immigrants, so that they may be brought in to deny to the Arabs of Palestine their fundamental rights, is not consistent with any human or moral laws.

145. The United Nations, which is responsible for the Arab refugees and for the creation of Israel, is thus directly responsible for this issue. The draft resolution before us should have been more direct in calling upon Israel to recognize Arab rights in Palestine. We believe that neither relief nor economic projects in adjacent countries will ever finally settle the refugee problem. Only repatriation and the recognition of the Arabs' rights to their own homes will settle the issue. That is one reason why we cannot support this draft resolution.

146. The other fundamental reason for which we abstain is that we believe that the relief allotted for the Arab refugees is meagre and inadequate. Seven cents a day is hardly adequate for any decent level of human subsistence. The Arab refugees of Palestine are discriminated against by any standard of international treatment of refugees.

147. The Arab refugees are not the victims of dictatorships; they are not the victims of nature; they are the victims of a resolution adopted by this Organization and the victims of a State created by this Organization. They are, therefore, entitled to full relief from this Organization until their problem is finally and justly settled. It is generally agreed, even by the Director-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, that the amount allotted does not take adequate account of the requirements of the refugees. This, we believe, should have been attended to, and we feel that there is no excuse for the fact that this relief is left so meagre and so inadequate. That is the second basic and fundamental reason for which my delegation will abstain on this draft resolution.

148. Mr. TAKIEDDINE (Lebanon) (*translated from French*): It is not my intention to reopen the debate on the question of the Palestine Arab refugees. I merely wish to say that my delegation is grateful to the representative of France who, speaking for the four sponsors of the draft resolution which was adopted by the Committee and is now before us, was kind enough to dispel our doubts. We are particularly grateful to him for having expressly stated that the provisions of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 remain in force, that those provisions are mentioned twice and that neither in the mind of the authors of the draft resolution nor in the spirit or letter of the text itself is any change contemplated in the acknowledged legal position; that is, the repatriation of the refugees and compensation for those who do not wish to return to their homes.

149. I should merely like to explain briefly the view of my delegation which was amply explained during the debate in the Committee.

150. My Government's position on the question before us is based on five fundamental principles.

151. First, relief, on however large a scale, is only a palliative. It cannot in any way constitute a solution to the refugee problem.

152. Secondly, the only practical solution possible is to carry out the United Nations resolutions regarding

the refugees, in particular resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 concerning repatriation and compensation.

153. Thirdly, the 5,000 square kilometres of Arab territory occupied by Israel in violation of the partition decision offer the solution to the problem. Israel should comply with the resolution in question, and UNWRA could then take possession of the territory so released and settle the refugees there permanently.

154. Fourthly, the refugees in the first place, and, in the second, the Arab countries are opposed to the resettlement of the refugees outside Palestine.

155. Fifthly, the United Nations retains full responsibility with respect to the refugees. So does Israel. It was as a result of a decision of the United Nations and of Zionist terrorism that one million Palestine Arabs were evicted from their homes to become refugees. Any attempt to transfer the management of the Office or the responsibility to the Arab host countries will be rejected by the Arab States.

156. In the light of these principles, and with the specific reservation that relief to the refugees is not a solution but simply a palliative, my delegation will vote for the draft resolution.

157. Mr. Zeki ABDO (Yemen): My delegation will support the draft resolution because, as we have mentioned before, we do not want 900,000 refugees to die of starvation. Before ending this brief statement, I should like to say that we note with satisfaction the statement of the representative of France, on behalf of the co-sponsors, that the present draft resolution in no way prejudices past resolutions which confirm the right of the Arab refugees to repatriation.

158. Mr. COMAY (Israel): My delegation also welcomes the statement made by the representative of France on behalf of the four sponsoring Powers regarding the meaning and scope of the draft resolution which is before the Assembly and its relation to previous Assembly resolutions which define the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

159. We note, in particular, two points in this clarification. First, it is made clear that any references to repatriation or compensation in this draft resolution hark back to provisions in previous resolutions without adding anything new. It is proper that this should be on record. For instance, paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III) of 1948 confined itself to recommending that those refugees wishing to return should be permitted to do so, and that recommendation was in itself subject to certain qualifications regarding peace, and the practicability and integral nature of that resolution as a whole. It certainly cannot be regarded as curtailing in any way the normal and exclusive right of the Government of Israel to decide who shall be permitted to enter the territory of the sovereign State of Israel.

160. Secondly, it has rightly been put on record, on behalf of the four sponsors, that the broad policy of reintegrating the refugees into the economic life of the Near East, as laid down in paragraph 4 of resolution 393 (V) of 1950 and as reaffirmed in subsequent resolutions, remains the basic mandate of UNRWA. I am glad to note the lucid statement on this point made by the representative of the Netherlands in explanation of his delegation's vote in the Committee.

161. The view of my Government is that the conditions for repatriation do not exist and that the only

prospect for finally solving the tragic problem of the Arab refugees lies in their resettlement amongst their own kin in the Arab countries. Israel did not create this problem. The problem is the fruit of a war which was not of our seeking. Yet Israel is fully sensitive to the human tragedy of the unfortunate human beings concerned. My Government has done and is doing what it can to alleviate their plight.

162. No good purposes are ever served by failing honestly to face the realities of a situation—and it was noteworthy that the discussions in the Committee produced fresh and authoritative reaffirmation of the resettlement approach to the problem. If the actual text of the draft resolution clearly reflected the sense of the previous resolutions mentioned in its preamble, as well as the views of the sponsors themselves, my delegation would have no difficulty in voting for it, just as we have voted in favour of all previous resolutions concerning UNRWA. But the present text is regrettably inexact and incomplete regarding the important points to which I have referred. For this reason only, my delegation is obliged to abstain in the voting. At the same time, I am instructed to state that my Government supports the extension of the Agency's mandate and the other operative provisions of the resolution.

163. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to explain briefly my delegation's views on the draft resolution, as contained in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee's report, which deals with the problem, or at any rate with one of the basic aspects of the problem, of the Palestine refugees in the Near East.

164. As I said when I spoke briefly in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, we are once again concerned with a deep-rooted and painful human problem of a group of people whom we cannot abandon to their fate. The General Assembly has repeatedly dealt with the problem and adopted resolutions concerning it—the resolutions mentioned in the text of the draft before us.

165. The human and most painful aspect of this problem, that is the uprooting of a social group from its environment by war which developed so dramatically under conditions known to all, deserves our special attention. That applies particularly to the plight of the women and children—mentioned in the draft resolution—whose future has been compromised by the armed struggle we all deplore. In these circumstances, the draft resolution once again places the responsibility for a decision on the United Nations.

166. When announcing its contribution towards the solution of the problem of the refugees, each Government, including my own, stated its views on the subject. In now reaffirming our solidarity and desire to help in this matter, we can do so in the assurance that the General Assembly has taken full account in the previous resolutions of the other aspects of the problem.

167. This is not only a problem of relief but of repatriation and resettlement. In saying this, I am discovering nothing new, but am stressing the same ideas which the General Assembly expressed in its different resolutions.

168. It would seem that some of these expressions in the draft resolution before us, such as "resettlement" in the place where the refugees from this war have already settled, are not always given the same meaning or used in the same way.

169. As was explained here and as we heard—though my delegation did not have the opportunity to say so in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee because of the haste to bring this question to a vote—it is clear that in approving a draft resolution on this question, we should reaffirm not only our solidarity with the refugees but the assurances that each of us, including myself on behalf of my own Government, gave earlier regarding our respective contributions, contributions which, of course, are subject to the legislative approval in accordance with the constitutional processes of a working democracy like that of my country, and the belief that the draft resolution does not alter the general provisions and principles set forth in earlier General Assembly resolutions dealing with other aspects of the problem.

170. I wish to add that we hope and trust that the two great communities concerned—the Arab people and the people of Israel—may settle all the aspects of this problem in a spirit of co-operation.

171. We who are dealing with this profoundly human and painful problem wish to repeat and reaffirm that we do not want these two illustrious protagonists, whom we admire and love, to continue their strife. We want them to live in peace and friendship and to find a final solution to all the questions left over from the conflict; we want the future generations in both communities—the great and illustrious Arab countries of the region and Israel—to live in harmony and to work for the progress of their own region and for universal progress.

172. Mr. SHUKAIRI (Syria): I shall be brief and shall speak to the point. We shall support the draft resolution now before the General Assembly. We shall do so for one reason, and for one reason only. In our humble opinion, the draft resolution is aimed at extending the mandate of the Agency and has the sole objective of assisting the refugees, who are now living in conditions of distress.

173. In our eyes, the draft resolution is a measure of relief and assistance. It is not intended to provide for the prolongation of a life of exile. We cannot imagine that the United Nations would ever decree that a life of exile should continue. If that were the objective of the Organization, it would cease to function as the United Nations.

174. In our humble submission, the draft resolution is intended to establish methods and procedures whereby the refugees would be prepared for repatriation. This is a provisional draft resolution; the ultimate objective is the repatriation of the refugees. Repatriation has been the objective of the United Nations ever since the question of the refugees became a United Nations problem. At every session of the General Assembly since 1948, in every resolution adopted since 1948, the Assembly has reaffirmed its policy regarding the repatriation of refugees. In no resolution adopted by the General Assembly has there ever been a provision denying the refugees the right to repatriation.

175. The present draft resolution recalls the previous resolutions, including the one adopted in 1948. The preamble refers specifically to repatriation and compensation. In the operative part, the Agency is requested "to continue its consultation with the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine in the best interest of their respective tasks, with particular

reference to paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III)". There can be no misunderstanding about paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III), adopted in 1948. The terms of that paragraph are absolutely clear; nothing in those terms is obscure. The paragraph affirms that the refugees' right to repatriation is final and conclusive. It states: "the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date..." Hence, the word "peace" in the paragraph relates to the individual refugee, and the word "practicable" relates to the date of the refugee's return to his home. The two prerequisites are that the refugee live in peace and that he return to his home at the earliest practicable date. We do not deny those prerequisites; we regard them as final and conclusive and as an expression of the desire of the United Nations. That is why we have suggested to the Conciliation Commission in our plan that there should be a plebiscite, that the wishes of the million refugees living in these camps should be ascertained. Then those refugees wishing to go to Palestine to live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date.

176. No State in the world can maintain that it is not practicable for a citizen to go back to his home when his home still exists, that it is not practicable for a farmer to go back to his farm when his farm still exists. It is certainly practicable for a refugee to return to his country when that country is encouraging the immigration of Jews from all corners of the world, when that process is carried out as a primary objective of its policy. Israel is gathering Jews from all over the world, persons who do not know the country, who do not know the climate, who do not possess a home, who do not possess a farm. If it is practicable to bring in Jews who have no ties whatever with the country, it is certainly highly practicable to allow the refugees to return to their homes and farms, which still exist.

177. Furthermore, I cannot see how any State worthy of statehood can invoke the plea of sovereignty in connexion with the repatriation of refugees coming from that country. It is my humble submission and my loud declaration that no State can claim sovereignty by alienating the rights of the people, and a State that can exist only by the alienation of the people of the country is not worthy of statehood and does not possess the attributes of statehood. A State can only exist by the existence of its people, and a State which can survive only by driving out the people of the country is neither a State nor does it possess the attributes of a State. The right of repatriation is not a creation of the United Nations, it is not the creation of a resolution. This right is an inherent right that rests with the people, with refugees. Even without the resolution, the refugees possess their rights, will continue to possess their rights, and will continue to exercise their rights.

178. The PRESIDENT: Since there are no more speakers, I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in the Committee's report [*A/2826 and Corr.1*].

The draft resolution was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.