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CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 14: Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency	781

President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 14

Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Today the Assembly is to discuss the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency for the year 1960-1961 [A/4883 and Add.1]. I have pleasure in inviting Mr. Cole, Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, to present the report.

2. Mr. COLE (Director-General, International Atomic Energy Agency): This is the fourth and the last time that I am privileged to present the annual report of the International Atomic Energy Agency [A/4883 and Add.1] to the General Assembly of the United Nations as required by the Agency's statute. Since I am leaving my office and the international service in a very few days, I take this opportunity to bid farewell to the Assembly and thank representatives most sincerely for the courtesies they have extended to me during the last four years. In leaving I cannot but express a certain degree of sadness at seeing not only our own Agency but also the United Nations itself notably lacking in that unity of purpose which should be our hallmark, and the promotion of which has been the object of my daily dedication during my term of office.

3. I have always believed that the Agency has two main purposes and objectives: first, to provide machinery for East-West scientific co-operation and, second, to assist developing countries to reap the benefits that the peaceful applications of atomic energy offer to them. Among our major efforts to further East-West co-operation in the atomic energy field is our programme of exchange of scientific information. This programme uses as methods the organization of scientific meetings, the convening of panels of experts from countries particularly advanced in a given branch of atomic science, the publication of the proceedings of such meetings and of other up-to-date manuals, directories and reviews and the establishment in Vienna of a world documentation centre in nuclear energy science to which all our member States have ready access. It has, I think, been of very real use also to those of our member States most advanced in the applications of atomic science to peaceful ends.

4. I have just returned from Mexico City, where a scientific Conference on the Use of Radio-isotopes in

Animal Biology and the Medical Sciences^{1/} is now in progress with leading scientists from all countries active in these fields in participation. It was an encouraging example of good international co-operation and also yet another instance of good United Nations family collaboration, since our Agency shares the responsibility for this conference with the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization. As another and particularly successful example of our scientific meetings, I might mention the Conference this fall in Salzburg on Plasma Physics and Controlled Nuclear Fusion Research^{2/} at which the world's leading fusion experts presented recent results of their own research work and held animated, thorough and unfettered discussions.

5. The legal codes and conventions which now have been drafted by the Agency in consultation with scientific experts from Member States and interested international organizations will be of direct use also to the atomically advanced Members. I have, personally, attached great importance to these efforts, being aware of the fact that until questions of liability concerning possible reactor accidents have been satisfactorily solved, the international atomic industry will not be able to develop to its full potentiality. A harmonization of national legislations as to different aspects of the handling of radio-active materials is clearly also in the common interest. Here we have moved reasonably fast in the few years that we have been operative, and I hope that the fruits of these early efforts will soon be reached.

6. I should like now to draw the attention of the Assembly to those parts of the report which deal with questions of protection against radiation, and health and safety.

7. In our wide and varied approaches to these problems, which encompass fundamental research and standardization services, health and safety measures, exchange of scientific information and different forms of technical assistance, close and fruitful co-operation is being maintained with the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, with many of the specialized agencies and other international organizations.

8. This very Assembly, through the reports of the United Nations Scientific Committee, has recognized the importance of increased international efforts in support of fundamental radio-biological research.

9. The peaceful uses of atomic energy are growing and will continue to grow, but these uses are accompanied unavoidably by certain hazards. No human ingenuity can eliminate them completely, but human skill and organization can limit the chances of exposure and thus the possibility of harm.

^{1/} Held 2 November-1 December 1961.

^{2/} Held 4-8 September 1961.

10. Much of the controversy and uncertainty so noticeable in the radiation field is clearly the result of insufficient knowledge of the effects of radiation on living matter. It is a comparatively new field of research and a field in which experiments offer particular difficulties. Cases of accidental or occupational exposure which could be studied are, fortunately, rare. The need for fundamental research and studies are therefore the more obvious. The Agency recognized this need from the very inception of its programme of research contracts, and has allotted a considerable part of its rather modest research resources to this field, in the firm belief that lack of knowledge concerning the fundamental effects of radiation on living matter required high priority to be given to such studies. It is for this reason that twenty-five Agency research projects in radio-biology are at present being executed at research stations in nineteen of our Member States, sixteen contracts in health physics and radiation protection in ten Member States, and twenty contracts in ten countries in the safe disposal of radio-active wastes and analysis of radio-active contamination of the biosphere.

11. In 1960 our total research contract programmes amounted in money to some \$400,000, and in 1961 to some \$600,000. The programmes foresee an expenditure of almost \$900,000 in the coming year. The rising trend is thus quite noticeable. Although the current trend in the Agency is to put more emphasis on applied research which is expected to yield quick and concrete results, particularly in connexion with the needs of less developed countries to use radio-active isotopes to further agriculture and medicine, the need for research, including fundamental research, in the whole field which bears on radiation protection is clearly acknowledged.

12. This autumn, work started at our laboratory near Vienna. The work already initiated some years ago with the limited laboratory facilities at our headquarters can thus be considerably expanded and improved. Although this new laboratory is rather modest in size, with a staff of approximately twenty scientists and thirty assistants, it can fulfil some definite and much needed functions. Two of the most important of these concern standardization of radio-nuclides and measurements of the radio-active contamination of the environment.

13. A three-year programme of research into the effects of radio-activity in the sea has started recently in co-operation with the Government of Monaco and the Institute of Oceanography at Monaco.

14. I now wish to turn to another aspect of our radiation safety work, namely, safety standards, regulations and recommended practice.

15. The Agency is required by its Statute to establish basic safety standards prescribing maximum permissible radiation exposure levels and fundamental operational principles. It is also asked to recommend detailed operational standards relating to particular fields of atomic energy activity. I am glad to be able to report that the basic safety standards now have been drafted with the assistance of a high-level expert panel and comments from our member States. The document is being submitted to our Board of Governors at its session in February 1962. It is my sincere hope that these safety standards, which take into account to the extent possible existing international standards, will find wide acceptance by our

member States and also serve as guidance when national legislation is being considered and promulgated. If all or a majority of member States accept the same basic safety standards we shall have taken a major step forward and perhaps also have assisted in allaying some of the public fear and apprehension that atomic energy uses still evoke.

16. As far as detailed recommendations and guides for atomic operations are concerned, we have already made some progress. We have dealt with the uses of radio-active isotopes in laboratories and research establishments, the transport of radio-active materials, the disposal of radio-active wastes into the sea and the operation of critical assemblies and research reactors. We are now working on similar manuals on the disposal of radio-active wastes in fresh water, reactor siting and the methodology of reactor hazards evaluation. The list is far from being completed, but we hope to cover in the years to come the entire field of work involving radio-active materials. The reception of those manuals or codes of recommendations among our member States has been most encouraging.

17. Radiation, health and safety form a substantial part also of the Agency's general programme of scientific and technical information, as I mentioned earlier. Among recent meetings, I would like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the Symposia on the Effects of Ionizing Radiation on the Nervous System^{3/} and on Whole Body Counting,^{4/} both held in Vienna last summer.

18. A description of the most suitable methods of determining the level of radio-activity in the biological environment has been published by the Agency following a meeting of experts from nine countries. It has been submitted to the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation together with another report on radiation damage in bone and a series of papers on various aspects of the disposal of radio-active wastes.

19. This short account of some of our work in radiation protection would be incomplete without mentioning the direct assistance we are giving our member States in training scientific personnel and in the provision of experts and equipment. Of the well over 1,000 fellowships now awarded by the Agency, more than 10 per cent have been given in the general field of health and safety. We are at present conducting a course of advanced training on the biological effects of radiation, and another course, in co-operation with the World Health Organization, on radiation health and safety. Experts in health physics have been sent to requesting member States, and equipment has been supplied.

20. In addition, the Agency has rendered services to its members in the evaluation of the safety of individual reactor projects.

21. These examples of the Agency's programme in support of radiation protection demonstrate, I hope, that the Agency is prepared to respond to the General Assembly resolution of 27 October [1629 (XVI)] and to request from individual member countries or international organizations, such as the World Meteorological Organization, increased and expanded efforts.

22. One of the more encouraging aspects of the recent fifth session of our General Conference in Vienna was

^{3/} Held 5-9 June 1961.

^{4/} Held 12-16 June 1961.

the clear evidence of a reawakened interest on the part of many member States in nuclear power projects. Although the prognosis concerning the economic competitiveness of nuclear power remains by and large unchanged from the realistic estimates of the last few years, it is becoming increasingly recognized that the present time is none too soon to commence preparation for participation in the nuclear power age, which, according to the general consensus of expert opinion, will not be long delayed and certainly will be a reality by 1970.

23. The studies, conferences and on-the-spot surveys organized by the Agency have, I am convinced, made a fair contribution to this reactivation of interest in nuclear power projects. I refer here, for instance, to the study on nuclear power costs, our two reports on nuclear power prospects for Finland and the Philippines, and the preliminary report by the Agency itself on an international nuclear power demonstration project for Yugoslavia.

24. Some of the factors contributing to the optimism demonstrated at our General Conference include the fact that reactor output has often proven to be higher than expected, the possibility of a substantial increase in thermodynamic efficiency, progress in industrial methods, including mass production of fuel elements, and the lowering of the world price of uranium.

25. In the course of the General Conference, the Agency was urged to respond to the keen interest now being felt by member States in increased activities in the nuclear power field. This, of course, is more than welcome to us, as such requests reaffirm the validity and the value of one of the major functions originally entrusted to the Agency.

26. Of particular interest is the request to the Agency:

"To consider the desirability of promoting the establishment of regional nuclear power projects on the basis of international collaboration between the technically advanced countries and the developing countries in the regions concerned..." ^{5/}

27. As I have already mentioned, a first Agency mission has, on the request of the Federal Government of Yugoslavia, made a preliminary study of the feasibility of building an international demonstration power reactor in that country. The tentative conclusions of our experts are positive and encouraging, and we intend to make a similar study in Pakistan before the end of 1961. It would seem to me that a nuclear power demonstration project or projects of the kind envisaged in the resolution to which I have just referred, in which the atomically advanced countries could work hand in hand with developing countries, not only might provide a much-needed injection of vitality in the nuclear power industry, but also might furnish an outstanding opportunity to demonstrate international co-operation at its best on a practical and useful level. It is certainly one of my sincere hopes that this kind of major project will become a reality under the auspices and leadership of the Agency.

28. I have mentioned some examples of our activities which are of interest and value to those member States already having well-established atomic energy programmes. The Agency has also a very special responsibility for rendering assistance to those of its mem-

bers which are only now starting, or planning to start, to utilize this new and promising tool. As I have said, this is a major function and duty of the Agency, and it was our assistance programmes which received our earliest attention and to which we have devoted a major part of our resources. I believe that we now have a fairly clear picture of the needs of the developing countries. We have sent expert missions to a great number of them; one such assistance mission—our eighth—is now visiting countries in Latin America. As a result of these missions, followed by close consultations with the Governments concerned, we have received and are meeting a number of specific requests.

29. Our programme of training, which in fact constituted the Agency's first successful action programme, has probably been our main contribution so far. Unfortunately, as the Assembly will have noted from the report, it has not been possible to enlarge this programme or the programme of technical assistance to the extent we think they warrant; this failure is due solely to the lack of financial contributions from our member States to the Agency's voluntary or operational funds, despite the resolution [1531 (XV)] adopted by the Assembly last year urging that such support be given.

30. I am convinced, however, that our possibilities of rendering aid to the developing countries will increase and expand in coming years as the new realism concerning atomic energy matters becomes more widely prevalent. Looking back over the four years of my association with the Agency, I take satisfaction in giving our efforts a certain credit for having contributed to the establishment and direction of atomic energy activities in a number of countries. In this new realism I certainly also include the debunking of some exaggerated ideas and hopes that were common some years ago. The peaceful atom has such a great potential, can contribute so much to human betterment, that there is no need to surround it with an air of magic, particularly as that could prove very costly for countries in urgent need of basic material improvements. This aspect of our work has perhaps been underrated, which is why I am calling the Assembly's attention to it today.

31. When I took office four years ago, there were sixty members of the Agency; today there are seventy-seven. But as I now address an Assembly of 103 Members, I do wish to express the hope that the Agency soon will include in its membership all the countries represented here. The peaceful atom has something to offer to every country, no matter what stage of development it has reached, and our Agency is prepared and eager to assist in every way possible to accelerate the constructive uses of this new tool.

32. In closing I would again thank the Assembly most sincerely for its support of our activities, and the understanding of the functions and aims of the Agency that has always been shown by it. I can only hope that this support and this understanding will continue unabated.

33. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I am sure I speak for the Members of the General Assembly in sincerely thanking the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency for the report which he has just introduced. I should also like to take this opportunity of expressing to him our most grateful thanks for the very praiseworthy efforts which he has devoted to the great work of peace and

^{5/} See International Atomic Energy Agency, Resolutions adopted by the General Conference during its fifth session, document GC(V)/RES/109.

progress that the Agency has accomplished under his wise and active direction at the dawn of the nuclear age, dedicated to the service of peace and humanity.

34. Mr. YOST (United States of America): My delegation is pleased to welcome once again to the Assembly the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mr. Sterling Cole, and we would like to thank him for another in a series of interesting annual reports on the accomplishments of the Agency. This fourth appearance of Mr. Cole before this Assembly will be his last in the capacity of Director-General of the Agency. We would, therefore, like to take this occasion to pay tribute to him for the outstanding and devoted service he has given to this important organization during its formative years, and for the impressive record of achievement he has maintained. We believe that his record is clear for all to see in the Agency's report for 1960-1961 [A/4883 and Add.1] now before us, which may be regarded not only as a chronicle for this one year, but also as a measure of the broad scope of operational activity achieved by the Agency during the four years of Mr. Cole's leadership.

35. In past years my delegation has expressed praise for the many useful programme activities of the Agency, from the world-wide dissemination of information in this vital new field by means of publications and scientific conferences—through the promotion of nuclear research and the highly important related activity of elaborating standards of health and safety—to the programme of direct technical assistance. This latter programme, so important to the less-developed States, ranges from the provision of expert advice and the training of experts from the member States themselves, to the provision of equipment for useful projects and even some limited funds to support research carried out in the new laboratories of the developing countries.

36. My delegation notes with satisfaction that these useful and successful programmes are being maintained, and in some instances expanded. By the nature of things the accent in the Agency has been, as it should be, on assisting those countries which have not yet developed full national programmes for the peaceful uses of atomic energy and which are desirous of doing so. At the same time, however, we should not lose sight of the fact that a number of programmes, such as those dealing with all aspects of health and safety, know no national boundaries and are equally important to all countries regardless of the stage of their technical development.

37. This year my delegation would like to single out for special attention the progress which the Agency is making, somewhat slowly but very surely, in assuming a role as a supplier of nuclear fuel and equipment. In little more than a year the Agency has acted as an intermediary in assisting two Member States, Finland and Yugoslavia, to obtain research reactors and the necessary fuels for their operation. The special nuclear material or fuel is provided from those amounts made available to the Agency by several advanced countries, including the United States. In one instance the member State has already benefited from a special offer of the United States to provide annually up to \$50,000 worth of special nuclear material, through the Agency, for research purposes. My delegation understands that a third member State is expected in the near future to request similar assistance from the Agency in obtaining a research

reactor and fuel and that this matter is likely to be considered by the Agency's Board of Governors at its next session early in 1962. In each of these cases, as in the case of Japan which previously obtained a considerable amount of source material through the Agency, the member States have demonstrated their readiness to accept the necessary safeguards against the diversion of nuclear materials to military use.

38. Moreover, my delegation is happy to report that progress is being made toward working out scales for transfer to the Agency of the safeguard functions of certain bilateral agreements. Once a pattern has been set by the first of these transfers, we are hopeful that a considerable number of our bilateral partners will desire to follow the same course. We are aware, of course, that the supplier role envisaged for the Agency in its Statute cannot be fully realized until nuclear power has become truly competitive with power produced from conventional fuels, which is not yet the case. However, programmes in this field are nevertheless going forward, as Mr. Cole has just told us. The United States for its part is making every possible effort to close the existing cost gap, not only with regard to large reactors, but with regard to smaller reactors of the type which would be most useful in the less developed countries. Accordingly, we consider it of the greatest importance that the Agency continue and intensify its studies of this question. In this connexion we welcome the resolution^{6/} of the recent fifth session of the General Conference of the Agency, requesting the Agency's Board of Governors and the Director General to give all possible assistance to member States desirous of embarking on nuclear power programmes.

39. My delegation also notes with special satisfaction the recent opening of the Agency's laboratory in Vienna, and the fact that the General Conference has requested that its work should be so organized that as many scientists as possible from the developing areas might receive training in it. This laboratory was built and equipped largely with \$600,000 donated by the United States for this specific purpose. We feel sure that it will be able to perform many useful services for those member States which do not yet have their own national laboratories, as well as for other organizations of the United Nations family which have no laboratories.

40. In summary, we think Mr. Cole deserves full recognition and praise for four years of work well done. We are happy that during these four years the membership of the Agency has increased from fifty-three members in 1957 to seventy-seven members today. During the last year alone, seven States, four of them from among the new countries of Africa, have become members of the Agency. My delegation hopes this trend will continue. In this regard, we are particularly happy that the Agency, recognizing the problem raised by the increasing African membership, has taken the timely action of approving an amendment to its Statute to increase the assured representation of the area "Africa and the Middle East" on the Agency's Board of Governors from two to four members. At the same time, the Agency has assured the same representation of four to the countries of Latin America. My delegation is confident that this amendment will be ratified by the United States Government in the near future, and we hope that other members of the Agency

^{6/} Ibid.

will also act expeditiously on this matter, so that Africa will be equitably represented on the Board at the earliest possible date.

41. My delegation thanks Mr. Cole once again for the encouraging report of his final year in office and wishes him every success in the future.

42. We would also like to take this opportunity to express our satisfaction that he is to be succeeded by an outstanding scientist-administrator, Mr. Sigvard Eklund of Sweden, a country which has provided many men distinguished for their objectivity and devotion to the ideal of international co-operation. We are confident that Mr. Eklund will carry on and build upon the good work already begun, with full understanding of the needs of the less developed areas as well as of all the many problems involved in bringing the benefits of the peaceful atom to all parts of the world in the shortest possible time.

Mr. Djermakoye (Niger), Vice-President, took the Chair.

43. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): The Hungarian delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution [A/L.364] which requests the General Assembly to take note of the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency for 1960-1961 [A/4883 and Add.1]. We sponsor this proposal, for it is customary for States members of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency to take this initiative. The overwhelming majority of delegations to the fifth session of the General Conference of the Agency elected the Hungarian People's Republic a member of the Board of Governors for the years 1961-1963. The Board elected its Hungarian member as one of its Vice-Chairmen, and the Hungarian delegation to membership in three of its permanent committees, despite the cold war attitude of the United States which refused to recognize the credentials of the representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic. We consider these elections of ours an expression of confidence in Hungary on the part of the States members of the Agency, and a great honour; and we are fully aware of the responsibility entailed by faithful representation of the interests of the countries of Eastern Europe. This responsibility is binding on us also before the General assembly, and not only in the International Atomic Energy Agency. Consequently, while recommending that the General Assembly should take note of the annual report of the International Atomic Energy Agency, we cannot help giving expression to our deep concern about the Agency's future development.

44. In making an appraisal of the activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Hungarian delegation is guided by one single aim: it wishes the activities of the Agency were in accordance with the provisions of its Statute. Much to our regret, we cannot discover that they are in accordance with the Statute. Everybody, without exception, must now admit to some extent that the International Atomic Energy Agency has not lived up to the great expectations it had aroused. This is what Mr. Sterling Cole, when acting for the last time as Director-General, expressed in his "stocktaking" speech before the General Conference at its fifth regular session:

"It is well for us at this stage, it seems to me, to review our progress, acknowledge our errors, and redouble our efforts for the future. We can now see that the Agency has developed along lines differing in some major respects from those contemplated

by the framers of our Statute and by the Preparatory Commission..." Z/

45. We think merely stating the fact is not sufficient to permit us to see clearly why, in the five years of its existence, the International Atomic Energy Agency has not fulfilled the hopes pinned on it; we have to point out the fundamental causes of the fact that the 5,146 kilograms of uranium-235 at the disposal of the Agency have not been distributed among the developing countries needing it, and that thereby the Agency failed to fulfil one of its principal tasks as set forth in the Statute. We have to give an unambiguous answer to the reasonable question, why has not the Agency properly fulfilled another of its basic tasks, that of rendering selfless assistance to the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America?

46. In common with a number of other States members of the International Atomic Energy Agency, my delegation is of the opinion that the reason underlying these failures is that some Western atomic Powers, first of all the United States, wish to covert the Agency into a political and economic implement of their own, into a dependency of certain American and other financial and industrial concerns. The political form they are trying to impose is the absolute "diktat", which encounters violent opposition on the part of other groups of member States, including those most interested, the neutral countries of Asia and Africa.

47. I should like to remind the General Assembly that on 12 December 1960, during the discussion in the Assembly [943rd meeting] of the Agency's report for 1959-1960, several speakers called attention to the grave political and practical dangers of the system of "safeguards". In the Board of Governors and at the fourth regular session of the General Conference of the Agency, the Western Powers forced through the system of "safeguards and control", with the main view of controlling all stages of the technical assistance given by the Agency. This action gave rise to protests on the part of those most concerned, the developing countries. It was already apparent at the time that this step of the Western atomic Powers was a dangerous policy which would result in persistent disregard of the interests of the developing countries.

48. This tendency and the ensuing violent opposition only increased further at the fifth session of the General Conference of the Agency, and created a looming possibility that the United States "diktat" would already this year bring about the Agency's disintegration.

49. Discussion of all practical agenda items at the fifth regular session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency was overshadowed by the dispute that flared up around the appointment of a new Director-General of the Agency. The annual report of the Agency to the United Nations General Assembly next year will be presented by the new Director-General, Mr. Sigvard Eklund. The nomination of Mr. Eklund met with the unanimous opposition of both the neutral States and the socialist countries. This is not because his personal abilities do not qualify him for this high post, but rather because he is the citizen of a Western country. The first Director-General also was a man of the West, a citizen of the United States.

Z/ This statement was made at the 48th plenary meeting of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the records of which were published only in summary form.

50. It was a requirement of equality and political common sense that the second Director-General should be a candidate of the African-Asian neutral States or of the socialist countries. The International Atomic Energy Agency is an organization established in the interest of the developing countries. The task of broadening and improving the activities of the Agency requires a man from the countries concerned, a man well informed on their conditions, to head the secretariat of the Agency. This is why eleven neutral countries, Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Morocco, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia submitted a proposal saying:

"The General Conference,

"Considering:

"(a) That the post of Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency is the key post for the successful functioning of this Agency,

"(b) That the developing countries have a special interest in the operation of the agency and that there has not been sufficient consultation with them on this matter, and

"(c) That more extensive negotiations and consultations are necessary before an agreed candidate can be found for this post,

"Requests the Board of Governors to reconsider the nomination of the Director-General immediately and to place before the General Conference a nomination which is acceptable without opposition."^{2/}

51. The proposal was supported by twenty-two member States, including the socialist countries. These countries represent a population of 900 million, in five out of the eight geographical areas stipulated by the Statute, namely: Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, the Pacific Islands, the Far East and Eastern Europe. I wish to stress again that the main supporters of the proposal were those countries for the sake of whose further development the Agency was established.

52. Under the pressure of the United States and its Western allies, however, the just aspirations of these countries did not prevail and the United States "diktat" was carried out. This aroused just indignation among representatives of the countries concerned, which was expressed after the vote by Mr. Sinaceur, Chairman of the Moroccan delegation to the Conference, whose comments we can read in the records as follows:

"At the United Nations as elsewhere, 1961 had been called the 'Year of Africa' and still more African countries would soon become independent. Those who wanted to be formalistic would do well to reflect on the consequences. If, in a few years' time, the emancipation of the Afro-Asian peoples resulted in a reversal of the majority in the various organizations of the United Nations, there would undoubtedly be an outcry and accusations that the new majority was being unco-operative if it in turn adopted the same mechanical ideas. The countries which were underdeveloped economically refused to be considered intellectually underdeveloped. Given as good an education, their nationals were perfectly able to measure up to those of the advanced countries—it was only necessary to mention as an example M. Mongi Slim, the present President of the United Nations General Assembly. That would equally apply to an African

or Asian candidate for the post of Director-General..."^{2/}

53. This calls for no comment. As the United States "diktat" created a grave situation in the International Atomic Energy Agency, the socialist countries demanded that an end be put to this situation immediately. The appointment of the Director-General is only one example, but the most significant, going to prove that the selfish interests of the Western atomic Powers have caused the Agency to follow a dangerous path. I could enumerate many other examples as evidence that the situation in the Agency has arrived at a critical point. The United States and its major Western allies have always made, and still make, the activities of the Agency dependent upon their political considerations. Although the International Atomic Energy Agency is supposed to be an organization for scientific and technical co-operation, yet the sessions of its General Conference have to face, usually under United States pressure, those cold war issues which are well known to representatives in the assembly. To mention but a few questions: refusal to ensure its rightful place to the People's Republic of China, obstruction to the consultative status of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the discrimination applied by the United States in these matters, and other cold war problems.

54. Symptoms of disproportion are to be seen even in the field of the Agency's useful activities. Specialist training is doubtless one of the useful main programmes of the Agency. Within the Agency's fellowship programme, 380 fellows have completed, and 320 are going to complete, their studies. This is a significant result. In spite of this, the fellowship programme was criticized—and with reason, we think—by many speakers and in many ways at the last General Conference. It provides some food for thought, for example, that relatively more developed states members of the Agency were granted twice as many fellowships as the developing countries which needed them much more. Thus the difference in the number of specialists is dangerously growing, to the detriment of the developing countries. If this trend does not change in the next few years, the gap will widen further instead of narrowing. The Hungarian delegation is of the opinion, which it consistently maintains also in the Board of Governors of the Agency, that only the interests of the developing countries can and must serve as primary norm in this respect as well. This requires, first of all, reconsideration of the actual methods of distributing the fellowships. It is absolutely necessary that the requirements for the placement of fellows should not be drawn up on the basis of a preconceived norm adapted to the purposes of more developed countries, but that the norm should be adapted to the conditions of the less developed countries.

55. An outstanding place in the programmes of the Agency is held by the different scientific and technical conferences, symposia and seminars—in general the scientific co-ordinative activity of the Agency. Eleven scientific meetings are proposed for 1962. This in itself would be a welcome figure, were it not for the unwelcome fact that seven of the meetings interest above all the highly-developed countries and only four such meetings are envisaged which might be interesting to the less developed countries. Of lesser importance, though in part useful indeed, is a large proportion of

^{2/} See International Atomic Energy Agency, document GC(V)176.

^{2/} See International Atomic Energy Agency, document GC(V)/OR.57, para. 75.

the scientific research programme of the Agency. Most of the research contracts, concluded for the study of various problems with research workers or institutions of member States and financed with considerable sums from the Agency's budget, are connected with the question of the so-called safeguards system, that safeguards system which encountered the most violent opposition of the countries desirous of receiving technical assistance. The question is raised with reason as to why it is necessary to widen the scope of the research contracts if the interest shown in most of them is so limited.

56. We have to express definite reservations about the programme of the so-called preliminary assistance missions. Such missions visit the less developed countries to find out when the use of nuclear energy in those countries would be profitable, and which are the most immediate demands of those countries in the different fields of the peaceful use of atomic energy. On the basis of the numerous reports at our disposal, we have to state that the usefulness of these missions is by no means in proportion to what is spent upon them. Their investigations do not supply new data about the country they visit, about its needs or the chances of meeting those needs. Their estimates are almost unanimous in stating that the use of nuclear energy in the countries concerned might not be profitable until the late 1960's, as in the case of Mexico. Negative answers to the question can be given even without sending out such missions.

57. The interest of the Hungarian People's Republic in the activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency dates from the inception of the organization. The Agency was established as an international organization for scientific and technical co-operation, and that is what we should like it to be. Hungary's scientific and industrial development in connexion with the peaceful uses of atomic energy does not depend on our relations with the International Atomic Energy Agency, which even the Agency states are useful. Hungary is an active member of the Joint Nuclear Research Institute at Dubno, where scientists are engaged in the study and research of high-energy particles, and is also a member of another organization of socialist countries, the Atomic Commission for the Co-ordination of Activities in the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, which was set up in 1960 by the Joint Economic Assistance Board. This co-operation has in the past year resulted in the elaboration and solution of many problems of general interest. In accordance with the principles of the socialist division of labour, as far as is consistent with our modest economic means, but devoting all our capabilities to the cause, we and the other socialist countries are working together on our programmes, such as the methods of specialization of nuclear instruments and equipment, the utilization of radio-active and stable isotopes for the purposes of the national economy, and a number of other problems. Along with this co-operation, large-scale nuclear research work is being carried on in Hungary. The largest of such institutions in Hungary, the Central Institute for Physical Research, with a staff of more than one thousand, is engaged in multiple research which is followed with interest abroad, too.

58. Our co-operation with other countries is also progressing on the basis of equality and common interests in research. A recent result of this is the conclusion of an agreement, of which we are proud, between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Republic of India, concerning co-operation between the National Atomic

Energy Commissions of the two countries in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. It is evident, then, that we have a great deal to do in the field of our existing relations. We think, nevertheless, that we have to participate in widening the scope of co-operation. This is what we are striving for in the International Atomic Energy Agency. We do so in the belief that the Agency will really become an organization for international co-operation. We believe that personal contacts with other peoples, scientific and other co-operation with them, may serve to enhance friendship among the peoples represented on the leading body of the Agency, the Board of Governors.

59. Nevertheless, this cannot restrain us from expressing our views frankly, as we have done here before the General Assembly. The activities of the Agency have recently taken a gravely alarming course, which strictly requires every Member State to make a fair and realistic appraisal of the situation. International co-operation cannot be built on the shaky ground of the selfish interests of a group of Member States. What is needed is co-operation, not dictation. The socialist countries have never permitted, and will never permit, any violation of either their own interests or the interests of the weaker ones, the developing countries.

60. As I have already said by way of introduction, my delegation supports the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly, although it holds the opinion that the successful functioning of the International Atomic Energy Agency in the future is hardly imaginable without correction of the deficiencies I have mentioned above.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

61. Mr. BURESCH (Austria): My delegation has devoted close attention and great interest to the report [A/4883] of the International Atomic Energy Agency for the year 1960-1961 and to the supplement [A/4883/Add.1] to that report which deals with the most recent developments in the Agency's work, including the action taken by the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency at its fifth regular session held in Vienna in October 1961.

62. At the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [973rd meeting] my delegation had the opportunity of stating from this rostrum that the Agency's report had clearly demonstrated that it had completed the task of firmly establishing itself within the family of the United Nations. This year we note with satisfaction that the organization has now embarked on a period of consolidation reflected in a detailed record of activities undertaken in a steady process of organic growth. The problems facing the Agency have, of course, not yet been fully solved. We must realize that some expectations have turned out to be premature, especially those as to the role which the Agency would be able to play in the process of the early industrial use of atomic energy. The reasons here lie outside the Agency. In the first place, earlier predictions regarding the world's natural fuel resources have proved to be too pessimistic. This and, on the other hand, the still very high investment costs for atomic power plants and nuclear installations, have dimmed the prospects of economically competitive atomic power and have consequently hampered not only national programmes in this field but also the activity of the International Atomic Energy Agency which had been designated, as an important aspect of its work, to act as a clearing-

house for fissionable material and as a major supplier of uranium for peaceful purposes.

63. The unexpected longer development period for the industrial use of atomic energy has been rightly used by the Agency to spread the knowledge of its peaceful application to a steadily growing number of countries. During the past year the Agency has provided a large number of scientists and technicians with the opportunity to become acquainted with the technical, economic and legal aspects of the peaceful use of atomic energy. One of the activities of the Agency which my delegation particularly welcomes is the progress made in the work for the benefit of those areas where there is as yet little knowledge or experience in the application of atomic energy, for instance, in the form of fellowships or through the provision of technical assistance. Studies carried out or to be undertaken regarding the future possibilities and aspects of atomic energy will undoubtedly be of great assistance to the developing countries.

64. The scope of this intervention does not allow me to pay tribute in detail to the manifold activities which the Agency has undertaken during the past year and which are reflected in this report. May I just say, therefore, that we are indeed encouraged by the achievements of the past year and by the plans for future action.

65. The Austrian delegation would also like to note with particular satisfaction that the membership of the Agency has now risen to seventy-seven member States.

66. Finally, the Austrian delegation wishes to pay special tribute to Mr. Sterling Cole, who is leaving the Agency as Director-General, for his devoted efforts during the past four years to develop the activity and the efficiency of the Agency and its secretariat. At the same time, my delegation would like to extend its greetings of welcome to the new Director-General, Mr. Eklund, who will take up his new post on 1 December 1961. We wish him the best of luck, and I can promise him on behalf of my Government every support and assistance.

67. May I then in conclusion reiterate the hope that the International Atomic Energy Agency will proceed with its efforts and, assisted by the co-operation of all member States, continue with its important contribution to the development of the atomic sciences for the benefit of all nations.

68. Mr. BERARD (France) (translated from French): In this past year the International Atomic Energy Agency has carried out its mission in conditions different from those anticipated by its sponsors. Because of the slackening pace of civil atomic energy development programmes, it has not been possible to make this organization the clearing-house for nuclear materials and techniques which it was intended to be when it was set up.

69. Today, the Agency is essentially an organization for multilateral technical assistance through which the most advanced countries contribute to the development of certain nuclear techniques in countries which are in a position to benefit from them. In performing this function, the Agency has to contend with two limiting factors: firstly, its resources are reduced by the fact that the majority of international atomic exchanges are made within the framework of bilateral agreements; secondly, its sphere of operations is limited by the difficulty, for countries which have not

yet reached a certain stage of development in education and industry, of applying nuclear techniques.

70. The Agency should therefore avoid dissipating its efforts and bring its whole attention to bear on certain questions of vital importance to a large number of countries. Among such questions may be mentioned the co-ordination of research-reactor utilization programmes; the use of radio-isotopes in medicine, for both diagnostic and therapeutic purposes; the use of radio-isotopes in agriculture, which can make a major contribution toward solving the problem of food production and conservation; research related to the problem of radioactive waste, many aspects of which must be dealt with on the international level; lastly, all aspects of international regulation, particularly as regards radiation protection, a field in which the Agency has already done excellent work. In each of these fields the Agency should employ several methods simultaneously: expert missions, training of fellows, organization of conferences, conclusion of research contracts and even the conduct of research in the Agency's laboratories.

71. France has approved the Agency's programme and budget for 1962. The latter provides for only a modest expansion of staff and an increase of less than 1.5 per cent in administrative expenditure. It is therefore quite in keeping with the prospects we have just outlined.

72. In 1962, as in previous years, technical assistance will be the Agency's main field of activity. In 1961 France placed six experts at the Director-General's disposal; it will continue to lend him the services of a number of its most highly-skilled specialists in the hope that the nature of the technical assistance projects will be such as to enable other Member States to make use of the results obtained during the missions of these specialists.

73. As far as the fellowship programme is concerned, we hope that it will continue to expand. For its part, France will this year have accepted more than thirty Agency fellows from ten member countries; it will continue to participate in this training programme.

74. Among the principal functions provided for in the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency, that of supplying fissionable materials, has not expanded as planned. The limited scale on which exchanges will take place in 1962 should lead us not to expect too vigorous an application of the safeguards laid down by the Agency.

75. France is gratified at the election of Mr. Sigvard Eklund to the post of Director-General. Because of his experience, this pioneer in atomic energy is particularly well qualified for the heavy task he now assumes. We hope that the political controversy surrounding his election will be forgotten. For our part, we are determined to give him our full support so that he may prepare the Agency for the important role it will be called upon to play when, thanks to the efforts of technicians and scientists, nuclear power production takes its place alongside the other sources of energy.

76. The French delegation takes this opportunity to pay tribute to the efforts made by Mr. Sterling Cole, the first Director-General of the Agency, to resolve the difficulties which he encountered, and to express to him our special thanks for the dedication with which he devoted himself to his task.

77. Mrs. MIRONOVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly has before it the report on the activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency for last year [A/4883 and Add.1].

78. This Agency has been operating for four years now—long enough for us to take some stock of its work. When we study the report of the International Agency submitted by the Director-General, Mr. Cole, we may get the impression that the Agency is doing a great deal of fruitful work in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and that everything there is going on smoothly. We do not deny that last year, as in previous years, the Agency did do a certain amount of useful work in some fields, more especially in the training of cadres for less developed countries, the organizing of scientific conferences, the exchanging of scientific and technical information, etc. We are, however, far from thinking that the state of affairs in the Agency is normal.

79. An unhealthy political atmosphere has developed in the Agency, as a result of which it has become almost impossible for the Agency's members to collaborate in technical and scientific matters. This atmosphere has been worsened from year to year by the representatives of the United States and the other Western countries, who, in disregard of the interests of other States, have been trying to subordinate the activity of the Agency to their own political, military and commercial interests. The Western Powers do not want to consider the interests of the socialist countries or the rights and interests of the less developed nations, more especially the countries of Africa, Asia, the Middle East and the Near East, and this arouses legitimate indignation on the part of those States.

80. Whereas, previously, the policy of the Western Powers in IAEA was somewhat camouflaged and they tried to create at least a semblance of some kind of collaboration, at the last IAEA General Conference, in September-October of this year, acting on the strength of a mechanical majority, they openly embarked on a dictatorial policy of foisting on the Agency solutions ageeable to them.

81. This became especially obvious during the discussion of the question of appointing a new Director-General of the Agency. The bitter political struggle which developed in the Agency's General Conference around the question of the Director-General clearly showed who was standing for genuine international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and who was trying, in every way, to undermine such co-operation.

82. The most correct and sensible way of settling the problem of the Director-Generalship would be to replace the single administrative office of Director-General by a collective or collegiate executive body in which the three main groups of States now composing the world would be represented on an equal footing. In any case, it is absolutely necessary that a candidate for the post of Director-General should enjoy the support and confidence of all members of the Agency.

83. The Soviet delegation in IAEA, together with the delegations of the leading countries of Africa and Asia, made great efforts to have just such a candidate chosen for the post of Director-General—namely, the representative of Indonesia, Dr. Sudjarva. The United States, however, disregarded not only the views of the

Soviet Union but also those of a large group of other States and foisted on the Agency as Director-General their own nominee, a representative of a Western country, Mr. Eklund, against the strong protests of many delegations representing very important geographical areas of the world.

84. Previously, for a period of four years, the Director-General of the Agency was, as you know, a representative of the United States. It might have seemed that neither the United States nor the other Western countries would have made a further claim on the post of Director-General and would have made it possible for a representative of another part of the world to hold this post, more especially since it is a representative of the developing countries who best understand the needs of these countries and the kind of assistance in which they are interested.

85. The developing countries stand in need of the speediest and most rational utilization of the achievements of modern science and technology, in order to develop their economies and raise their peoples' level of prosperity. They can more easily determine in which direction to evolve and what, primarily, has to be developed. But the United States and the other Western countries bluntly opposed the candidature of Dr. Sudjarva from Indonesia.

86. When the question was discussed at the General Conference the delegations of Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Morocco, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia, in a search for a solution acceptable to everyone, tabled a draft resolution¹⁰ requesting the Board of Governors to reconsider the nomination of Mr. Eklund and submitting a candidate acceptable to all the members of the Agency. This decision was supported by many delegations; and only the United States and its bloc of allies voted against this resolution submitted by a large group of African-Asian countries, thus displaying their refusal to take account of the legitimate interests of those States.

87. As is known, the Agency, under its Statute, must conduct its activities "in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations to promote peace and international co-operation". But in the International Agency, instead of a spirit of co-operation, a spirit of dictatorship and political discrimination prevails.

88. Hitherto a number of socialist countries, including the People's Republic of China, have not been admitted to work in the Agency, simply because the social and political régime in those countries does not please the United States Government. Why, for instance, can West Germany or South Korea belong to the International Agency, while the German Democratic Republic and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are not admitted to it? Is this in line with the principle of universality and with international co-operation? Or take, for instance, the question of giving consultative status to non-governmental organizations. The Soviet Union raised no objection to this status being granted to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and to the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, although we do not agree with the policy of these trade unions. It might have been expected that the United States would display a co-operative spirit in considering the application for the granting of consultative status to the World Federation of Trade

¹⁰/ See International Atomic Energy Agency, document GC(V)176.

Unions, more especially since this, the most substantial trade union organization in the world, has consultative status with the United Nations. But instead of giving support, the United States launched a slanderous attack against the World Federation of Trade Unions and put the voting machinery into action, so the World Federation of Trade Unions has not yet been given consultative status in the International Agency.

89. And does not the position taken by the United States during the annual consideration, at the Agency's General Conference, of the question of checking delegations' credentials prove that, instead of co-operating, that country infuses into the working of the Agency a "cold war" atmosphere, and thus poisons it? This year things reached the point of absurdity. It so happened that the General Conference was discussing the Credentials Committee's report after an election to the Board of Governors. The Hungarian People's Republic had, by an overwhelming majority, been elected to the Board of Governors. A prominent Hungarian scientist, Vice-President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, was elected Vice-Chairman of the Board of Governors, but the United States delegation to the General Conference continued its former policy of not approving the credentials of the Hungarian People's Republic.

90. The Agency was set up in order to develop international co-operation in a very important field of scientific and technical progress. It can do useful work and make a serious contribution to the cause of international co-operation and relaxation of tension. For this purpose, however, it is essential to put an end to the dictatorship of one group of States in the Agency and reorganize all its bodies so that all three groups of States—socialist, Western and neutralist—shall be represented on an equal footing. This is the first essential condition for the successful work of the International Agency. If this is not done, the Agency will be completely converted into an instrument of the aggressive policy of the United States alone, with all the consequences flowing therefrom.

91. The Agency's main task is the all-round development of co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and the granting of assistance to less developed countries in the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It is on this that all the resources and efforts of the International Agency should be concentrated. What, in actual fact, is happening?

92. At the present time, the Agency has at its disposal, as we have heard here, a substantial quantity of uranium—more than 5,000 kilogrammes. This is more than enough to supply atomic fuel for twenty ice-breakers of the Lenin type. But, so far, no one wants to take up this uranium. Only in the course of last year did Finland apply for the supply to it of an insignificant amount of uranium. Why do countries needing uranium and knowing that it can be received through the Agency not wish to use the Agency's services? The reason is that the United States has imposed on the Agency, against the interests of the less developed countries, a strict system of guarantees and inspection, and naturally no self-respecting State wants to barter its sovereignty for a few kilogrammes of uranium.

93. The less developed countries quite legitimately ask why, if they receive a few kilogrammes of uranium from the Agency, they must open up their territories to the Agency's inspectors. After all, there is no need

for a strict system of control over the utilization of uranium by the less developed countries. Not one of these countries intends, nor would its economic situation permit it, to start manufacturing atomic weapons. This control is needed by the United States in order, by this means, to keep these countries dependent on it and to direct their development in the field of atomic energy along lines advantageous to it.

94. A typical example in this connexion is what has happened in Mexico. In the general plan for its economic development, Mexico proposes to process uranium ores and to build a factory for their reprocessing, as well as an atomic power reactor. Accordingly, a mission of experts from the International Agency is sent to Mexico but, instead of helping the Mexican Government to organize these operations, it recommends no less than cessation of the processing of uranium ores and of the building of the reprocessing plants. Why was such a recommendation made by the International Agency's mission—a recommendation, incidentally, which was turned down by the Mexican Government? Because certain circles in the United States want to keep in their hands all stocks of uranium, control its production and fix prices for it that will benefit the United States atomic monopolies.

95. Many forms of the International Agency's activity are entirely inconsistent with its tasks and run counter to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. The Soviet delegation in the International Agency has more than once pointed out that such operations as studying the resources of the port of Copenhagen for the accommodation of atomic-powered vessels, drafting rules for the discharge of radio-active waste from plutonium works into the seas and oceans, and certain others, have nothing to do with the peaceful uses of atomic energy. But the United States keeps urging the Agency to comply with inquiries received from NATO, quite regardless of any other consideration. It is trying to direct the Agency's work on to military tracks. For what atomic vessels, for instance, was the port of Copenhagen needed? It is a well-known fact that at present the only peaceful atom-powered vessel in the world is the ice-breaker Lenin; but it did not, and does not, intend to enter Copenhagen. On the other hand, there are American atomic submarines which, obviously, would not object to being based at Copenhagen; and this, obviously is the reason dictating the urgent study of that port by the IAEA experts.

96. For many years past the Americans, British and French have been patently polluting the seas and oceans with radio-active waste from their plutonium works, thus arousing the indignation of the inhabitants of many countries of the world, more especially those in riparian areas. Instead of taking action against these illegal activities of the Western Powers, condemning them and setting itself the problem of working out the most rational methods of storing radio-active waste, the International Agency was intending to investigate the problem of removing waste from the sea. Under pressure from the Soviet Union this matter was considered in the Agency's Scientific Advisory Committee, which did not recommend the work proposed by the Agency in this field and suggested a different programme of investigation. Nevertheless, the management of the International Agency repeatedly tries to secure the legalization of the disposal of radio-active waste in the sea.

97. The Soviet Union has attached, and continues to attach, great importance to the development of inter-

national co-operation in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy. This follows from the peace-loving policy of the Soviet State, the policy of the peaceful coexistence of States with different political and social systems. From the date of the Atomic Agency's creation the Soviet Union has supported, as it still supports, the development of international co-operation within the framework of this Agency between all countries, irrespective of their social régimes.

98. We are firmly convinced that the International Agency can and must play an important part in the peaceful development of atomic energy, especially for the needs of the less developed countries which have recently freed themselves from colonial dependence. But, if the International Agency is to be successful, the obstacles artificially created by the Western countries must be eliminated, as they slow down the Agency's work and make it impossible for it to develop its activities to their full extent. It is essential that the United States and its allies should put an end to their dictatorial policy in the International Agency, should start co-operating and understanding the interests of other States, and should give up trying to use the International Agency for their own narrowly, selfish, political, military or commercial purposes.

99. Besides participating in the work of the International Agency, the Soviet Union is developing broad co-operation with other countries on a bilateral basis. In recent years the Soviet Union has concluded with different States a whole series of bilateral agreements on co-operation in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy. A broad programme of scientific and technical co-operation in the atomic field is being operated with the countries of the socialist group. Under co-operation agreements with Poland, Bulgaria, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, these countries have been given disinterested assistance in the establishment of scientific research centres in the field of atomic physics and the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The Soviet Union also has bilateral agreements with Indonesia, India, Iraq, Ghana, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia.

100. In the comparatively short period of scientific co-operation in the atomic field, nine research reactors have been built in nine countries, as well as seven accelerators and ten laboratories furnished with modern physics apparatus and equipment. The Soviet Union has supplied more than 16,000 kg of enriched uranium for the operations of these reactors. It is co-operating on the scientific and technical problems with the United States, on the basis of a joint memorandum. Co-operation agreements have been concluded with the United Kingdom and France. This co-operation covers exchanges of visits of scientists, the exchange of scientific information, and the discussion of problems of interest to both sides.

101. While advocating co-operation in the field of the peaceful application of atomic energy, the Soviet Union feels it necessary to emphasize the exceptionally great importance, for the organization of yet broader and still more comprehensive collaboration in this sphere, of general and complete disarmament, which would create really boundless opportunities for obtaining nuclear fuel, would open up the doors of all the atomic laboratories and institutes that are now closed, and

would enable scientists to devote all their talents and energy to the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

102. The delegations of Hungary, Iraq and Pakistan have tabled for the Assembly's consideration a draft resolution [A/L.364] proposing that the report of the International Agency be noted. The Soviet delegation, despite the critical remarks it has made, will not object to note being taken of this report, and will vote for the draft resolution of the three States.

103. Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom delegation welcomes the opportunity which this annual debate gives the General Assembly to consider the valuable work of the International Atomic Energy Agency. This year we have again heard from the Director-General of that Agency an interesting and comprehensive statement of the developments of the past year. I particularly want to thank Mr. Cole for coming to report to us this year since, as we are all aware, he is approaching the end of his term of office. In thanking him for the hard work which he has put in at a very formative period of the existence of the Agency, we would assure Mr. Cole of our continued appreciation and our good wishes for the future. His successor in the International Atomic Energy Agency is another scientist of international repute. Mr. Eklund is technically very well qualified for this post. The opposition which was organized to his election was at least in part a political manoeuvre undertaken for reasons which are quite out of place in questions relating to an international scientific organization. I want to make it clear that Mr. Eklund enjoys our firm confidence and will continue to do so.

104. In particular, my delegation strongly disagrees with the account given a few moments ago from this rostrum by the representative of the Soviet Union on the election of the new Director-General. The speech of the representative of the Soviet Union is alone sufficient to show that the motives of the Soviet Government with regard to this question are entirely political and ideological, and are in no way inspired by a desire to help forward the work of the Agency or to further the interests of those States which most stand in need of assistance from it.

105. I shall not follow the representative of the Soviet Union into these sterile ideological byways. The interest of my delegation and my Government is to concentrate on the positive and creative work which the Agency can do.

106. The United Kingdom Government is among the staunch supporters of the purposes and activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency. We therefore welcome the report [A/4883 and Add.1] which is now before us and which shows that the year 1960-1961 has on the whole been a year of useful and constructive work. We will gladly support the draft resolution [A/L.364] placed before us by the delegations of Hungary, Iraq and Pakistan concerning this report.

107. The work of the International Atomic Energy Agency falls into two main categories, one of interest to all member countries and the other of particular concern to the less developed member States. In the first category, the most important part of the work of the Agency is its regulatory activities. On these useful progress has been made. Of outstanding importance was the approval by the Board of Governors in September 1960 of the Agency's regulations for the safe transport of radio-active materials. We in the United Kingdom are now preparing new national regu-

lations based on the Agency's recommendations. We hope that other member States will be doing the same so that there will be a uniform code everywhere which will facilitate the growing commercial movement of radio-active substances in conditions which involve no risk to health.

108. We also welcome the fact that during this past year the Board of Governors has adopted a document setting out the principles and certain procedures of International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. We have heard, and I regret to say that they were repeated by the representative of the Soviet Union, certain ill-founded complaints and suggestions about the nature and purposes of the safeguards established by the Agency. I say "ill-founded", because the International Atomic Energy Agency is required by articles 3 and 12 of its Statute to establish a system of safeguards. It is, I think the Assembly will agree, only reasonable that Member States should be assured that assistance given by the Agency will be used only for peaceful purposes. The safeguards policy is in no way an imposition by those who already have the use of atomic energy on those who have not. Its purpose is to retard the spread of nuclear weapons while disarmament negotiations continue. This is clearly in the interests of all Members of the United Nations. It is a policy which in no way impedes the peaceful applications of atomic energy.

109. We recognize that in the years to come nuclear energy will play an increasing part in the economies of the less developed areas of the world. There is, however, a risk that scarce resources may be devoted to nuclear projects when they could better be used on more conventional forms of development. This problem is in the second main category of the Agency's work. In the immediate future the International Atomic Energy Agency can best help the economies of the less developed areas by encouraging the use of radio-isotopes in agriculture, in industry and in medicine. We, therefore, welcome the emphasis which the report before us places on this part of the Agency's work. We are particularly satisfied to see in the report that over one-third of the fellowships granted, nearly one-third of the experts sent out and about a quarter of the research contracts granted, have been concerned with the application of radio-isotopes and radiation. The programme of work on radio-isotopes which is described in chapter II of the report is, we think, both practical and sensible.

110. There is naturally a danger of duplication inherent in a situation in which the International Atomic Energy Agency is concerned with the application of atomic energy in all fields while various specialized agencies are concerned with the application of atomic energy in their own particular fields. We, therefore, welcome the fact that the Agency is negotiating a relationship agreement with the Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization and is developing close working relations with the six specialized agencies with which it already has such agreements. It is important that the relationship agreements should be supplemented by practical co-operation and that this practical co-operation should take place at the stage when each agency is forming its plans, rather than after an agency has formed its plans and finds it difficult to modify them to take into account the views of other agencies.

111. In giving our approval to this year's report of the Agency, we do so with confidence that its work is

set on a useful path and that each succeeding year will confirm the value of the contribution which the Agency can make.

112. Mr. KURKA (Czechoslovak Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The International Atomic Energy Agency, whose report we have just been discussing [A/4883 and Add.1], was set up four years ago as a body for broad international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy—in other words, as a body which should help its member States, and especially the economically less developed countries, so that they might obtain the greatest possible benefits to be derived from the peaceful utilization of atomic energy for their development and prosperity.

113. Accordingly, the International Agency put in the forefront of its programme the useful and lofty task of ensuring the speedier and broader utilization of atomic energy for maintaining peace, health and well-being all over the world. The basic condition for the achievement of these aims is the honest and sincere co-operation of all member States with differing political systems—cooperation aimed at strengthening peace, as it is only in such conditions that the application of atomic energy can bring enormous benefit and advantage to all mankind.

114. As a result of the discovery and application of atomic energy, mankind found itself on the threshold of a new era of technological development. It is, therefore, understandable that every country attaches extremely great importance to studying the possibilities of peacefully utilizing nuclear energy to benefit technical progress and improve the living conditions of the peoples.

115. In this connexion we have no intention of belittling or ignoring the positive results already achieved in the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Numerous interesting and valuable pamphlets of an educational and informative character have been published, and the Agency's activity in the field of exchange of information in the various branches of atomic science and technology is increasing. Conferences, symposia and meetings on general or on special, more limited problems have been organized; specialists from economically less developed countries are being trained; and certain other steps have been taken, as we can see from the annual report submitted to the General Assembly [A/4883 and Add.1].

116. However, if we compare the work done by the International Agency over four years with the importance and magnitude of the tasks which this Agency should and actually could have executed, we cannot feel satisfied with the results obtained and must say that all the possibilities of the Agency have not, by a long way, been exhausted.

117. The first period of the Agency's activity was distinguished by relatively good and effective co-operation between all groups of member States. But unfortunately we have to note that, as time went on, this spirit of co-operation began to be disturbed by a group of countries, members of Western military blocs, working inadmissibly for the furtherance of their own interests in every organ of the Agency, including the General Conference and the Board of Governors, where conditions are particularly favourable for them.

118. For example, only three of the twenty-three members of the Board of Governors are representatives of socialist countries and three of neutral

countries, while the remaining eighteen are representatives of those countries which are members of the Western groupings or their allies. The dictatorship of the Western Powers was clearly evidenced at the Fourth Conference in the decision taken, by a mechanical majority, on the question of so-called "safeguards". This has already been referred to here. The measures decided on grossly violate the sovereignty of States, and especially of the economically less developed ones, which have a right to ask the International Agency for assistance but in respect of which precisely these safeguards have to be applied when such assistance is granted. The propagandist character of the United States proposal to supply, within the framework of the system of so-called "safeguards", four small and insignificant reactors cannot, of course, delude anyone as to the real intentions of those who, contrary to the spirit of the Charter, have succeeded in introducing a system of "safeguards".

119. This year, at the fifth General Conference of IAEA, the endeavour of the Western Powers to retain for themselves a leading position in the Agency was again in evidence. This was especially clear in regard to the exceptionally important political problem which has already been mentioned by previous speakers—the election of a new Director-General which resulted, against the wishes of the socialist countries and of many neutral countries, in Mr. Eklund being appointed.

120. The behaviour of the United States and its allies over the election of the new Director-General is, of course, not a fairy-tale, as our United Kingdom colleague seems to think. It is a fact—a fact which proves that the Western Powers are convulsively trying, by every possible means, to prevent the Agency and its secretariat from reflecting the profound changes that have taken place in the world.

121. In the secretariat of the International Agency there also continues to prevail the intolerable situation in which the majority of posts, as regards both number and importance, are held by representatives of countries members of the Western groups.

122. The western Powers and their allies hold, in the aggregate, 61 per cent of the posts in the IAEA secretariat, and actually 70 per cent of the senior posts. The United States alone holds, or United States citizens hold, as many posts as all the socialist countries together, and, of course, an even larger proportion of senior posts.

123. The situation which has now arisen in IAEA as a result of the attitude of the Western Powers explains why the Agency cannot completely live up to its purpose. I would like again to point out to those Western circles, which want to go on making abusive use of the Agency in their own interests, that the time when this could be done has already passed and that the general balance of power in the world has changed, and not to their advantage.

124. I would like to stress especially the point that, in all international organizations, positive results can be achieved only when all countries co-operate on the basis of equal rights, mutual understanding and mutual advantage. Only in such circumstances can their work—the work of these organizations—be useful.

125. This, of course, applies both to IAEA and to the field of atomic energy in general, especially in view of the exceptionally important position occupied, in the

field of the peaceful use of atomic energy, by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

126. It would seem, however, that in the International Agency the Western Powers still do not want to take this fact into account. As a result of their unceremonious efforts to serve their own interests and impose their own wishes unilaterally on the other member countries, the International Agency is more and more becoming their tool, by means of which they want to secure for themselves appropriate positions in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy and penetrate into the economically less developed countries. If this intolerable situation does not change, my Government will be obliged to subject its attitude towards the International Atomic Energy Agency to a thorough review and to draw the appropriate conclusions therefrom.

127. I have already said that one of the main purposes of IAEA is to render effective assistance to economically less developed countries. In this sphere, however, substantial defects are appearing, as I should like to show in the case of the Czechoslovak contribution to the technical assistance given by the Agency to economically less developed countries.

128. The secretariat of the Agency has not exhausted the bulk of the fellowships and offers of experts proposed by the Czechoslovak Government; similarly, insufficient use is being made of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic's financial contributions to the Agency's working capital fund. Nevertheless, in spite of this, my Government, in a desire to help economically less developed countries in training specialists in atomic science and technology, has again offered the General Conference further fellowships for training in the secondary schools, higher educational establishments and scientific institutes of Czechoslovakia. Instead of a money contribution to the working capital fund of the Agency, the Czechoslovak Government offered to supply one of the economically less developed countries with a complete hospital unit, which would give cobalt-ray treatment, costing about \$US 30,000, the training of specialists to work the unit being also covered.

129. If the Agency is in future to discharge all its tasks to the full, and if it is to become an organization serving not merely the unilateral interests of the Western Powers, it will be necessary to put an end, once and for all, to the policy of pressure, dictatorship and discrimination applied in the International Agency by the United States and its allies.

130. Steps should also be taken to see that all States concerned are enabled to co-operate with the Agency. This means, above all, that an end must be put to the discrimination shown in the International Agency with regard to the People's Republic of China, and that the lawful representatives of the People's Republic of China must be given an opportunity to take part in the Agency's work.

131. Further, we regard it as of the first necessity to draw up a programme covering a number of years of the Agency's work for the solution of the principal problems involved in the peaceful use of atomic energy, in such a way that provision is made in this programme for the needs of all member States and, above all, for the needs of the economically less developed countries, as provided for in the Agency's Statute.

132. The Agency, whose activity should be directed towards developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy,

should also pay more attention to achieving conditions conducive to permanent peace. The danger of nuclear energy being used for military purposes must be averted by the destruction of all forms of atomic and thermonuclear weapons as part of general and complete disarmament.

133. These critical observations and proposals, made by me on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, regarding the work of the Agency have no other purpose than to promote an improvement in the work of this Agency.

134. With regard to the draft resolution [A/L.364], the Czechoslovak delegation will vote in favour of its adoption. At the same time, I would like to express the hope that our wishes and remarks will be borne in mind in the future work of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

135. Mr. BROOKS (Canada): In normal circumstances it would not be necessary for my delegation to intervene on this item which is concerned with the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency [A/4883 and Add.1]. Canada stands firmly behind this respected member of the sister agencies of the United Nations and is, of course, ready to approve the report which has been presented.

136. We wish also at this time to take the opportunity to thank and congratulate Mr. Cole for the accomplishments of IAEA during the past four years under his leadership.

137. To take note of this report would normally be a routine matter, not expected to delay us in completing our already over-crowded agenda, if it were not for the critical remarks which some previous speakers have made about the election of a distinguished national of a neutral country as Director-General of IAEA. Records of Sweden's devotion to the cause of international co-operation speak most eloquently for themselves and need no defence from me.

138. On the other hand, loyalty to the IAEA and to Mr. Eklund personally is justification for the voice of Canada to be heard in support of his election. Mr. Eklund is beyond question as a competent and internationally recognized scientist and administrator. Canada has no doubt about his integrity and his ability to discharge his heavy responsibilities with objectivity, tact and skill. In the course of the long debates and the patient corridor discussions that preceded his appointment, nothing was said that could be taken to reflect on his competence and qualification for the exacting position of Director-General. Moreover, that he enjoys wide esteem and trust was clearly reflected by the fact that more than two-thirds of the membership of the IAEA quite unreservedly registered approval of his appointment. So far as Canada is concerned, we are strongly of the view that Mr. Eklund more than meets the requirements of article VII D of the Agency's Statute, concerning the recruitment of IAEA staff, including the Director-General. We believe that his appointment was not only constitutionally correct, but also to the credit of the Agency.

139. We have pledged, and here renew our pledge, to work in good faith and in a good spirit with Mr. Eklund, to the end that the best service may be rendered to the very important objectives of the IAEA. I would only say further that Canada most sincerely hopes that all members of the Agency will now decide to rally their strength to that same end.

140. The IAEA, in accordance with its own procedures and the wishes of the vast majority of its own members, has selected a man of eminent distinction to be its executive head. I suggest that we in this Assembly can do no less than to take note of its choice and to wish the Agency god speed in the fulfilment of its very important tasks in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

141. Mr. BLUSZTAJN (Poland): The International Atomic Energy Agency is now beginning the fifth year of its existence. Four years may not seem a very long time, but it is long enough to assess the activities of the Agency and to draw the appropriate conclusions.

142. True enough, the Agency has not lived up to the initial statutory intentions of its founders. This has been due to many reasons.

143. First and foremost, there was the international situation in general and the accelerated race in nuclear weapons, which certainly did not help to promote international co-operation in the "Atoms-for-Peace" drive.

144. An important factor also was the fact that the hopes that atomic energy could soon be used for producing great quantities of cheap power proved premature.

145. On the other hand, there remained large prospects for fruitful international co-operation both in scientific research relating to atomic energy and in the practical use of such energy in many fields.

146. It is, I think, unquestionable that the Agency has many achievements to its credit. For instance, the number of scholarships granted through it has greatly increased. Young Polish scientists, too, participate in the Agency's scholarship programme. The exchange of scientific information under the auspices of the Agency is another welcome development. The Agency's publications are greatly valued by our scholars. The links between the Agency and national scientific centres are being reinforced, owing to contracts under which the national centres carry out research in different scientific problems on behalf of the Agency. Scientific conferences, symposia and seminars convened by the Agency are also of great importance. We have always supported direct contacts among scientists, a procedure which is obviously the best way to exchange ideas and experience. But such meetings can be successful only if they are properly prepared. In particular, the important thing is to select the right topic for a meeting and to make sure that the most competent experts in the field take part in it. We think that the Agency's Scientific Advisory Committee should more fully exercise its responsibility for co-ordinating the actions of the Agency in all these fields.

147. All those activities and achievements are important. On the other hand, the fact is that the Agency has wasted and is still wasting a lot of energy in dealing with secondary matters. For instance, a great deal of effort has been spent in drawing up the rules for safeguards and control of the use of fissionable material supplied by the Agency, even though it has been clear from the outset that these rules could hardly be applied; they have turned out rather to be an element discouraging the member countries from employing the services of the Agency in this respect.

148. I think that we do agree that technical assistance should be one of the main forms of the Agency's work. But the need for such assistance is so immense and the means for meeting it so scanty that assistance

programmes must be most scrupulously examined in order to select those that can have the greatest practical value. It is no secret that much effort has been spent in the preparation of reports whose conclusions are doomed to remain—for the time being only, we hope—merely on paper. It goes without saying that the economically less developed countries, especially the newly-emerged African states, are particularly entitled to the Agency's assistance.

149. The Polish delegation believes that the Agency ought to concentrate on a long-range plan, and we do hope that the resolution adopted on Poland's initiative at the Agency's General Conference in September 1961 will help to provide the Agency with a long-range programme paying due attention to the latest scientific achievements and to the concrete needs of member States. But we must realize that no plan can serve its purpose unless there is created within the Agency the kind of propitious atmosphere which can actually further the development of international co-operation. One cannot contribute to creating this favourable climate if one presses within the Agency for solutions which run counter to an elementary sense of justice and to the interests of a large group of member States.

150. I refer in particular to the appointment of the new Director-General during the last session of the Agency's General Conference. It is our conviction that the procedure followed in this case does not serve the best interests of the Agency, and contrary to what has been said by the speaker who preceded me on this rostrum, this is not a conflict between us and Sweden or between us and Mr. Eklund. We believe that a satisfactory solution for all concerned could have been found in Vienna. We regret that the West has for purely political reasons transformed the problem of the management of the Agency into a cold war issue. The Polish delegation believes that the management of an international organization, be it political or scientific, is not a matter to be settled simply by a majority vote; and we cannot but deplore that what proved possible for the United Nations here, seemed to have been beyond the capabilities of the Agency.

151. We believe that it is also important to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China in the Agency, and to open the doors of that organization to all countries who wish to participate in its work, without any discrimination of a political nature.

152. The International Atomic Energy Agency has an important task to discharge. Nations anchor their hopes on the development of international co-operation for the peaceful use of atomic energy. Cheap power, higher productivity in industry and agriculture, better ways of fighting disease—these are the blessings of the atom. We all want to see soon the day when mankind, having destroyed all atomic weapons, will be able to devote every effort to applying atoms for peace, and for peace only. The Agency was established as an embodiment of these hopes. We must not disappoint them.

153. Mr. MATSUI (Japan) (translated from French): I should like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Cole, the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, for presenting the annual report for the year 1960-1961. This report affords striking evidence of the progress achieved in this field. The Agency's work has definitely shown satisfactory results.

154. Certain criticisms have been made in this Assembly. But while we accept constructive criticism, we must have reservations about any attempt to misrepresent the Agency's work and achievements. For instance, as representatives of a country which has shown the greatest interest in the system of safeguards prepared by the Agency and which has collaborated most closely with the Agency in developing this system, we cannot accept unjustified criticism of its purpose.

155. I should like to express my delegation's hope that the International Atomic Energy Agency under its new Director-General, Mr. Eklund, will maintain its efforts to achieve the objectives set forth in the Agency's Statute; we hope that its activities will continue to expand, both in the various parts of the world and in the various spheres of operation.

156. Without here going into the details of the various aspects of the organization's activities, my delegation would like to express my Government's readiness to continue actively to contribute to the Agency's work. May I repeat my delegation's congratulations to Mr. Cole, who through his competence, integrity and dedication has done extremely useful and fruitful work, as the report before this Assembly shows—a report which we fully endorse.

157. Mr. BHADKAMKAR (India): I am not here to make any statement on the substance of the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency [A/4883 and Add. 1], but merely to express the reservations of my delegation in regard to paragraph 8, dealing with the question of safeguards. It is not necessary for me here to elaborate on this point. The position of the Indian delegation, as also of the Indian Government, has been made amply clear in the deliberations of the Agency and the various conferences connected with that matter.

158. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now ask the Assembly whether it approves the draft resolution submitted by Hungary, Iraq and Pakistan [A/L.364] requesting the Assembly to take note of the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency. If there are no objections, I shall consider that the Assembly adopts this draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted.

159. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before adjourning the meeting I should like to announce that I still have six speakers on my list for the general debate on agenda items 88 and 22 (a); after that we shall proceed to discuss and vote on the resolutions.

160. We have two meetings scheduled for tomorrow. In order to avoid any interruption which might hinder our debate, I ask all delegations wishing to speak on the resolutions to be so good as to give their names to the Secretariat as soon as possible, so that we may organize the necessary working meetings. I appeal to all representatives scheduled to speak during the forthcoming meetings to co-operate by doing so in the order in which they are listed so as to facilitate the successful and rapid conclusion of the debate on agenda items 88 and 22 (a).

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.